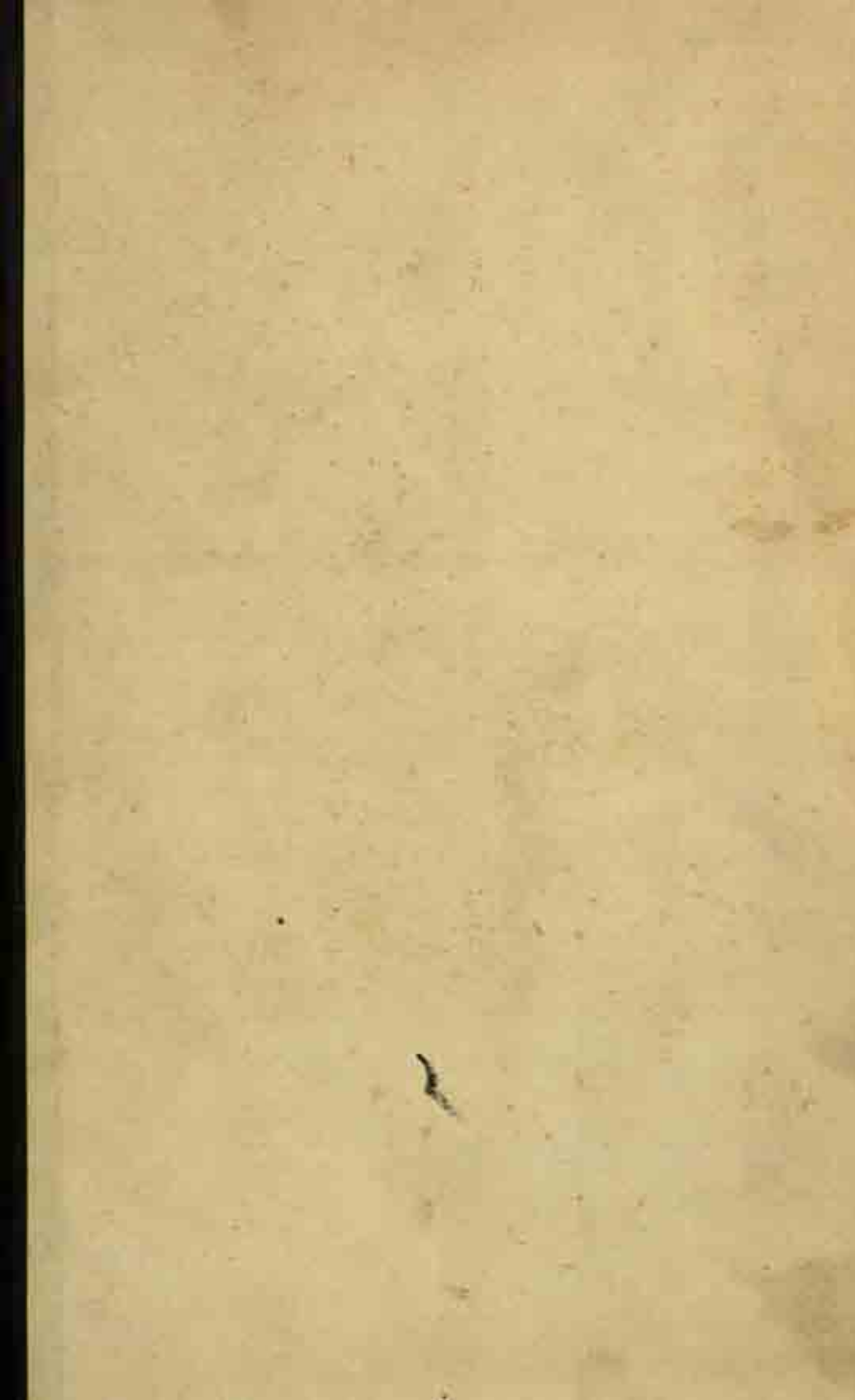


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AN ASSYRIAN LAW CODE

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I

TWENTY YEARS AGO, the French expedition excavating at Susa under the direction of M. Jacques de Morgan discovered the magnificent diorite block—about eight feet high—containing on its two sides the famous Babylonian Code of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (2123-2081 B. C.) which since its first publication by Professor Vincent Scheil¹ has been the subject of constant study by Assyriologists as well as by students of the history of law.² The discovery of this code in almost perfect condition—except for some columns intentionally polished off by the vandal Elamitic conqueror³ who carried the Code as a trophy of war from Babylon to Susa and had no doubt intended writing an inscription glorifying himself on the erased portion⁴—was heralded at the time as one of the most important contributions to our knowledge of social conditions and of legal practice in Babylonia during the second millennium B. C. What Hammurabi did was to codify existing laws and to prescribe methods of judicial proce-

¹ *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Vol. 4 (Paris 1902).

² Despite the subsequent translations into English and German by Johns, Harper, Rogers, Winckler, Peiser, Müller, Ungnad and others, a new translation, embodying the results of detailed investigations, correcting erroneous readings, filling up gaps and giving a more accurate rendering of the legal phraseology, is very much needed. New fragments of the Code on clay tablets are constantly turning up. So since the publication by Ungnad in 1909, of the 'Stele' text and of many Babylonian and Assyrian fragments on clay tablets (*Keilschrifttexte der Gemme Hammurabi*), a large tablet found at Nippur has been published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (University of Pennsylvania Museum—Babylonian Section, Vol. 5, Philadelphia 1914), No. 93, a fragment by Clay in *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven, 1915), No. 34, and four fragments by Schroeder in his *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920), Nos. 7 and 190-192.

³ The gap can be partially filled out by fragments of copies of the Code on clay tablets.

⁴ The conqueror of Babylonia who carried off the trophy was probably Šutruk-Nahunte, c. 1100 B. C.

ture which, as the thousands of legal documents found in Babylonian mounds testify, continued in vogue for many centuries, aye to the end of the Babylonian period, though no doubt somewhat modified from time to time, as conditions changed.¹ A discovery made by the German explorers of the mound of Kaleb-Shergat—the site of Assur, the earliest capital of Assyria²—and now published in a volume of texts from Assur,³ takes equal rank with the finding of the Hammurabi Code, for the German explorers found an Assyrian Code of Laws that appears to have been fully as extensive as the Code of Hammurabi, if not more so. Moreover, this Assyrian Code, we have every reason to believe, occupied the same position in the north that Hammurabi's Code did in the south. Through this new code we now have the means of instituting a comparison between legal procedure and enactments in Assyria with those prevailing in Babylonia. Each code reflects admirably the social conditions existing in the country for which it was drawn up; and the contrast between the spirit of the Hammurabi Code and that revealed in the new Assyrian Code is exceedingly instructive for a comparative study of the older and more refined Babylonian culture with the rougher and cruder civilization of militaristic Assyria.

Exactly when and on what part of the mound the portions of the Code recovered were found, the editor of the text, Dr. Otto Schroeder, does not tell us. It probably formed part of the extensive library archive discovered at Assur, of which the six volumes of religious texts⁴ published by Dr. Erich Ebeling give us hundreds of specimens. This archive is considerably older than the great library gathered by King Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.) and discovered by Layard in the ruins of the king's palace

¹ Hammurabi's Code itself gives evidence of modification in the application of legal principles to changing conditions. See Jastrow, 'Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurabi' (*JAOS* Vol. 36, pp. 1-33).

² Excavations were carried on at Kaleb-Shergat by the German Orient Society from 1903 till the spring of 1914. The same society excavated the mounds covering the site of Babylon and other mounds in the south from 1899 till the spring of 1917, when the definite advance of the British troops into Mesopotamia compelled the abandonment of the work.

³ Otto Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920, being the 35th volume of the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*), Nos. 1-6 and 143-144 and 193.

⁴ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (6 parts Leipzig 1915-1919). Several additional volumes are announced as in preparation.

at Kouyunjik—on the site of ancient Nineveh—about 65 years ago. Unfortunately, the Assyrian Code is far from being perfect. Only one tablet of the series which comprised the laws is in a good state of preservation, though even this tablet, comprising eight columns—four on the obverse and four on the reverse with about 100 lines to each column—contains some serious gaps, and many of the lines are only partially preserved. A second tablet, likewise of eight columns but less well preserved, furnishes us with 18 laws additional to the 55 to be distinguished in the other tablet, but of the rest of the Code we have only fragments—seven in all—in Dr. Schroeder's volume.⁸ The two large tablets—Nos. 1 and 2 of Schroeder's edition—evidently belong to the same series, and since text No. 1 contains the date, and a part of the eighth column is uninscribed (for the reason that the text had come to an end), we may—provisionally at least—assume that this tablet is the last of the series. Text No. 2, therefore, represents an earlier tablet in the series. We are unable to say how many tablets the series in its complete form comprised. Judging from the detailed manner in which the laws are set forth in texts Nos. 1 and 2 as well as in the seven small fragments, it is easier to err on the side of underestimation than of overestimation. Text No. 1 is almost entirely taken up with laws in which women enter as the subject, though the variety of themes introduced is large. Text No. 2, so far as preserved, is confined to laws about fields and houses, and the treatment is equally detailed. If the Code covered as wide a scope as that of Hammurabi—and there is no reason to suppose that it did not—at least three more tablets must be assumed for the whole series. Since each tablet of 8 columns must have contained over 800 lines,¹⁰ we would thus have a series of over 4,000 lines as a minimum, but the series may well have consisted of considerably more than five tablets. Dr. Schroeder notes (Pl. 14) that there are traces of effaced characters in the lower part of the uninscribed portion of the eighth column. No doubt the name of the series was given and the number of the tablet in the series. Of the colophon, however, we have only

⁸ The more complete of the two large tablets is No. 1 in Schroeder's edition covering Plates 1-13; the other less complete tablet is No. 2, covering Plates 14-18 and the seven fragments are Nos. 3-6 (Pl. 18-21), 143-144 (Pl. 89) and 193 (Pl. 106 [obv.] and 107 [rev.]).

¹⁰ Text No. 1 comprised 828 lines.

the date, indicated, as usual in Assyrian documents, according to the eponym for the year in which the document was drawn up.¹¹ The name of the eponym in text No. 1 is only partially preserved, *Sa. . . . u* Since no such name occurs in eponym lists that have come down to us, we can only conclude from the character of the writing, from the manner of writing words and from indications of language that the text dates from about 1500 B. C. A date before 1000 B. C. is made probable also from the occurrence of the old Assyrian name, *Sarati*,¹² for the sixth month in the colophon instead of the later *Ululu*, which is more common after 900 B. C., though the older names of months are occasionally met with even after that date. As for the seven smaller fragments, published by Schroeder, while there can be no doubt that they are parts of the same Code as texts Nos. 1 and 2, it is not certain that they all belong to one and the same copy. There were no doubt several copies in the archive discovered at Assur; and judging from the greater length of the lines, Nos. 6 and 143 and 144 may represent parts of a second copy. On the other hand, none of the fragments duplicate any of the preserved portions of texts Nos. 1 and 2, nor can we fit any of the fragments into the gaps in these two texts. For the present, we must, therefore, leave the question as to the relationship of the seven fragments to the two large tablets in abeyance. It is to be hoped that more fragments of the Code will turn up in Berlin or in Constantinople, and one may venture to express the hope that the authorities of the British Museum or of the Louvre, now that, through the authority of their governments, access can be had to the collections of the Constantinople Museum, will have a search made for fragments of the Code and make them accessible to scholars through an early publication. No greater service could be rendered at present to Oriental scholarship than to supplement the publica-

¹¹ The years of a king's reign were drawn up in lists prepared by the scribes to act as a guide in fixing dates. The king himself was the eponym (*limu*) for his first year, but each succeeding year had a different eponym after whom the year was dated. It is, therefore, only in the case that we have the list of all the eponyms for any reign that we can fix accurate dates for Assyrian documents. See Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York 1912), pp. 219-238, now to be supplemented by texts Nos. 19-24 of Schroeder's volume; and perhaps also No. 16.

¹² Written *Sa-ra-a-ti* (cf. VR 43. 32 occurring also in Cappadocian tablets), and the day appears to be the second.

tion of the German Orient Society, if happily some portions of the Code should have found their way to Constantinople, to which centre apparently all the finds made at Assur were shipped before the division was made with the Berlin Museum. German scholars can no doubt be depended upon to make a further search for fragments in the share of the tablets that were assigned to the Berlin Museum.

II

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the authorities of the German Orient Society for placing such portions of the Code as have been identified at the disposal of scholars, even before the appearance of the translation and interpretation which the editor, Dr. Otto Schroeder, announces as in preparation. The full credit to be given to him for his *editio princeps* will not be diminished if meanwhile independent translations of the Code published by him should be made by others. The importance of the Code for our knowledge of social conditions in ancient Assyria, as well as for purposes of comparison with the Hammurabi Code and for the fragments that we have of a Sumerian Code, forming the prototype for the compilation made by the scribes of Hammurabi,¹² not only justifies an immediate translation into English, but makes it desirable that independent renderings should be made accessible to those interested in the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia and to students of the development of law and of legal institutions and procedure. The Code fairly bristles with difficulties, and it will be by the combined and independent efforts of many scholars only that we shall be able to reach a definite interpretation, and to solve the difficulties inherent in the many new terms revealed by the Code, in the complicated syntactical constructions as well as in the strange verbal and noun forms encountered.

¹² The credit belongs to Professor Clay of having discovered and published the first fragment of such a Sumerian Code, forming No. 28 of the texts gathered by him in his splendid volume *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. Two further fragments in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum were published by Dr. H. F. Lutz in his volume of *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (Philadelphia 1919) Nos. 101 and 102.

Before giving my translation of texts Nos. 1 and 2,¹⁴ to which I have added notes, restricted to the most essential explanations, it may be useful to summarize the general character of the Code.

III

It is probably fair to assume that the new Assyrian Code represents a codification of existing usage in legal decisions and procedure at the time of the codification, as is the case with the Hammurabi Code. We may, therefore, judge both Codes by the spirit which breathes through them. From this point of view, the Assyrian Code although half a millennium later than Hammurabi's compilation reveals a harsher and cruder aspect which crops out more particularly in the frequency of punishments that stand in no logical association with the crime but are either intended to humiliate an offender or to inflict bodily torment, due to the survival of the primitive (though natural) spirit of vengeance for an injury or wrong. Among such punishments we find with nauseating frequency the cutting off of the ear or the nose or both, or boring the ear and mutilating it, or mutilating the entire face, lashes varying in number from 20 to 100 blows, castration¹⁵ in two instances, public exposure by taking an offender's clothes away, and in one case impalement, to be carried out even on a dead body.¹⁶ Now some of these punishments likewise

¹⁴ Of the seven fragments, I have contented myself—at the close of this article—with a summary of the contents so far as this can be determined. In the case of one of the larger fragments, No. 6, it is possible to restore portions of four laws with some certainty, but not without some conjectures that cannot at present be confirmed.

I wish to acknowledge valuable aid received from my friend, Charles H. Burr, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar, in selecting the proper legal terms, and who placed his profound and accurate legal knowledge at my disposal for unraveling some of the intricacies in the Code. I also owe to Drs. Chiera and Lutz some suggestions made in the course of our study of the Code in the Assyrian Seminar of the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵ The term used occurs in the Code for the first time—but one may feel quite sure that the proposed explanation (see Note 64 to § 14 of Text No. 1) is correct.

¹⁶ Text No. 1 § 51, the case of a woman who by malpractice brings on a miscarriage. Besides being impaled she is to have no burial—the most horrible curse from the Babylonian-Assyrian point of view, and even if she dies under the illegal operation, the impalement is to be carried out on the corpse which is to remain unburied.

occur in the Hammurabi Code, but with much less frequency—in itself an indication of the growth of social refinement. There is only one instance of whipping as a punishment in the Hammurabi Code, viz.: in the case of a freeman striking another (§ 202). The offender receives 60 lashes with an oxtail and, as is added, 'in public', to show that humiliation as well as bodily torment was intended. Impalement is imposed as a punishment in the case of the woman (§ 153) who conspires for the death of her husband. Cutting off the ear is prescribed as a punishment (a) for the slave who strikes a freeman (§ 205) and (b) for the slave (§ 282) who repudiates his owner. Castrating an offender or removing his or her clothes does not occur; and it is perhaps significant also of the difference in the relations of the populace to the ruler (or to the government as we would say) in the south from those prevailing in the north, that forced labor which is a most frequent punishment in the Assyrian Code—called 'service of the king' and generally for one month, imposed for every variety of offenses—is entirely absent from the Hammurabi Code. Even more significant as illustrating the divergent spirit of the two codes is the observation to be made that bodily punishments in most instances in the Hammurabi Code stand in some logical association with the crime, whereas in the Assyrian Code such association is exceptional. According to the Hammurabi Code an offender's fingers are cut off in four instances (a) in the case of a son striking his father (§ 195), (b) branding a slave without the consent of the owner (§ 226), (c) stealing from a field which one has been hired to cultivate, (d) the case of a physician who by an operation brings about the patient's death or destroys the patient's eye (§ 218). In all these cases, the punishment is prescribed on the principle that the hand which did the deed should be mutilated; and even the still harsher punishment, prescribing that the breasts of a wet-nurse are to be cut off (§ 194), who substitutes a child for one entrusted to her care that has died, betrays this association. In the Assyrian Code—so far as preserved—there are only two instances (No. 1, §§ 8-9) of such connection. The woman who assaults a man—'stretches out her hands', as the phrase runs—and injures him, has her finger cut off, and vice versa if the man assaults a woman. In further association between the crime and the punishment, we find that the man who in a brawl bites a woman has his lower lip chopped off. The punishment falls on the hand or on the lip that com-

mitted the deed. Outside of these instances bodily punishments in the Assyrian Code are imposed without any association with the crime committed.

Another feature of the Code of a general character is the cruder method of judicial procedure in comparison with the Hammurabi Code. The constant formula 'they seize him (or her) and determine his (or her) guilt' shows to be sure the existence of an established court which tries an offender, but the phrase is also applied (Text No. 1, § 14) to individuals. Witnesses (§ 11) may 'seize' an adulterer and put him to death, which is clearly a survival of an age in which punishment was imposed by individuals or by any body of citizens. Besides such instances of 'lynch law', recognized as legitimate,¹⁷ we have the frequent phrase, 'he may do as he pleases', applied to the husband or father in the case that his wife or his daughter has committed an offense. We actually find the husband authorized to impose punishment on his wife (Text No. 1, § 3) and, what is more, the same punishment that he imposes upon his wife is meted out to the one who is an accessory to a crime. The husband is free either to cut off his wife's ear in case of theft or not to do so (Text No. 1, § 4). He may kill her or not if he discovers her with another man (Text No. 1, § 14); and equal liberty is given to him in the treatment of his daughter who has committed an offense.

All this points quite clearly to the existence of less settled conditions in the north during the second millennium B.C., in contrast to what one finds in the Hammurabi Code, which does not introduce any such phrase as 'he may do as he pleases'. It assumes throughout judicial procedure by a recognized officially constituted tribunal which pronounces the verdict and—apparently—is the sole body to authorize the carrying out of its decrees.

Wife and daughters in the Assyrian Code are regarded entirely from the early point of view as forming part of the possessions of a man, over whom he has full authority. Whereas the Hammurabi Code in theory still recognizes this relationship, in practise the many laws bearing on the relationship of husband to wife, and of father to children, tend towards curbing the authority of the husband and father, as the laws dealing with slaves and with debtors tend to reduce the arbitrary power of the master over

¹⁷ It is said (Text No. 1 § 14): no guilt attaches to those who thus kill an adulterer.

his slaves and of the creditor over his debtor. In the Assyrian Code, divorce is treated in a single paragraph (§ 36) which gives the husband the choice—according ‘as his heart moves him’, as the phrase runs—to give his wife something when he dismisses her or to send her away empty-handed. The Hammurabi Code has quite a number of restrictions to such an arbitrary procedure.

The assumption throughout the Babylonian Code is that a man divorces his wife either because she is childless or because of some charge against her. In the former case it is provided (§ 138) that the marriage settlement and dowry be returned to the wife. If there was no marriage settlement, the husband gives his wife 60 shekels of silver on divorcing her (§ 139). She is not sent away ‘empty-handed’. If there are children (§ 137), the divorced wife receives her dowry and sufficient maintenance to rear her children; and upon their reaching the age of majority, she is given a share of her former husband’s estate equivalent to the portion of one son and is free to marry whom she chooses. The husband is prohibited (§ 148) from divorcing his wife because she has become afflicted with disease. He must keep her and support her in his house as long as she lives, but if she prefers to live elsewhere, she receives her dowry. Only in case there is a definite charge of neglecting her husband and her household, of being a ‘gad-about’, is she sent away empty-handed (§ 141). Moreover, the wife has a right to bring a charge of neglect or of improper conduct against her husband, and if the charge is established (§ 142) she recovers her dowry and goes to her father’s house.

It is in keeping with the general attitude toward the wives and daughters as the property of the husband and father that the wife and daughter can be sold or pledged for debt to a creditor. The Hammurabi Code (§ 117), while recognizing the right, changes the transfer to a limited indenture for three years, and provides that ‘in the fourth year they (wife, son and daughter) must be given their freedom’; and as a further provision, dictated by humane considerations, the master who sells a female slave who has born him children for debt, must ransom the woman (§ 119). There is no time limit to the pledging of a member of a man’s household in the Assyrian Code. On the other hand, it is precisely in connection with this subject, that we find the newly discovered code striking a higher note. It is provided (Text No. 1, § 47) that a creditor who holds his debtor’s daughter for

debt cannot hand her over to a third party without the consent of the father. In case the father is dead, the opportunity must be offered to the brothers to redeem their sister and a period of one month must be allowed to any brother who is desirous of doing so. As a further protection to the unfortunate daughter, it is provided that if the man who holds her for her father's debts treats her badly (§ 38) she may be rescued by any one, who, however, must pay the full value of the girl to the creditor, in order to marry the girl.

The unquestionably harsher aspects of the Assyrian Code as a whole in comparison with the Hammurabi Code must not blind us to the tendency to be noted towards protecting those whose position is dependent upon others. So, *e. g.*, Text No. 1, § 45 imposes on the sons to support their widowed mother in case the father has failed to make provision for her; and it is added they should do so tenderly as one treats 'a bride whom one loves'. If she happens to be a second wife, and has no children of her own, then the duty of support falls upon the children of the first wife. She is to have a home with one of the children.

The woman abandoned by her husband who has deliberately gone away or who has been captured while in government service is taken care of. The duty is imposed on her to remain faithful to her husband for a term of years—two (Text No. 1, § 44) or five (Text No. 1, § 35) according to the conditions of the desertion—and if the husband has left her without maintenance, the woman can appeal to the state to step in (Text No. 1, § 44), which makes over to her during her husband's absence the 'field and house', as the phrase runs, for her support. If, however, she marries within the interval, her husband on his return can claim his wife, while the children born to the second husband belong to the latter.

From the sociological point of view the new code is of extraordinary interest. It reveals a state of society in which sexual immorality had become sufficiently rampant to necessitate the large number of paragraphs—no less than 14 in the preserved portions of the Code—that deal with the various degrees of illicit and unnatural sexual intercourse and the varying circumstances under which it takes place. The 'procuress' appears by the side of the 'adulterer'. The harlot is a fixed institution (Text No. 1, §§ 39 and 50). Sodomy and malpractice find a place in the Code (Text No. 1, §§ 18, 19 and 51). On the other hand

in the regulation of property rights we find comparatively advanced legislation to prevent encroachment on a man's domain. Text No. 2—so far as preserved—deals largely with the regulation of property rights. The one who removes boundaries is severely punished, and a distinction is made between a 'large' and a 'small' trespass of this character (Text No. 2, §§ 8 and 9). Light is thrown on agricultural methods by provisions against using property not belonging to one for digging a well, for planting orchards, or for making bricks (Text No. 2, §§ 10, 12-15). Irrigation is regulated (Text No. 2, §§ 17-18) and the division of an estate carefully provided for (Text No. 2, §§ 1-5). Of special interest is the elaborate procedure for the purchase of an estate (Text No. 2, § 6) for a proclamation to be made three times, calling upon all who have a claim on an estate to appear before the recorder and deposit their claims, in written form. A month's time is allotted for such notice and the purchase is made in the presence of a group of officials which includes a representative of the king, the surrogate, the city scribe, the recorder, the prefect, and three magistrates.

Another feature, meriting special notice, are the provisions for the regulation of the dress of women when appearing in public (Text No. 1, § 39). The paragraph in question enables us to trace back the veiling of women—still so widespread in the Near East—to the second millennium B. C.; and the point of view from which veiling and covering of the head (by which a complete enveloping is meant) is regarded, is instructive for the light that it sheds upon the origin of the custom. Wives and daughters are to be veiled or to have their heads covered, or both, to mark them as the property of the husband and father, and as a warning to others to keep their hands off. Hence the hierodule who remains unmarried—who belongs to the temple and not to any man—is to be unveiled, and likewise the harlot, because she belongs to *any* man. A severe punishment is imposed upon a harlot who appears veiled in public, as also upon the one who sees her thus disguised and fails to report her 'to the palace'. The original purpose of the veiling shades over into the factor of social distinction and accordingly slave girls are likewise to go unveiled. This gradual change in the custom is again of special interest, because in other respects, the Assyrian Code is marked rather by the absence of class distinctions, in contrast to the Hammurabi Code which is full of special legislation for the

'plebeians'¹⁸ and 'slaves' by the side of 'freemen' who form a species of aristocracy. It is of course possible that in the missing portions of the Code the same distinctions were introduced, but their absence in the preserved portions is at least worth noticing. Society both in Babylonia and Assyria had passed beyond the stage of recognizing the 'clan' or kinsman as representing a social unit at the time when the two Codes now at our disposal were compiled, and it may well be that the further stage of a sharp division of classes was reached in the south long before it made its appearance in the north.

Lastly, the new Code is of interest because of the additions that it furnishes to legal phraseology. Besides the terms above noted, we encounter here for the first time the term for debtor (*habbūlu*) as against *bēl hubulli* for creditor—already known to us. We have the distinction between the *amirdnu*, 'the eye witness', and the *išmeḏnu* 'the one who hears a report'.

The person pledged for debt (*tadinānu*) and various officials for land transactions enter upon the scene. The term for the raising of loans (*kīdu*) on deposits or on property is another interesting addition. Lying outside the strictly legal province, we have also the many new grammatical forms which show a wider divergence in the speech of the north during the second millennium from that of the south than we had hitherto suspected.¹⁹

Reserving a further and more detailed study of the Code in comparison with the Hammurabi Code, in which the laws common to both will be placed in parallel columns and which will further reveal the different social conditions prevailing in Babylonia—so essentially a cultural power—as against those in a militaristic state like Assyria, let us now turn to the translation of the Code itself.

¹⁸ See C. H. W. Johns on these distinctions in his valuable work on *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (London 1914) p. 8. We owe to Johns the correct interpretation of the term *Maš-En-Kak* = *maškēnu* as the 'plebeian' in the Hammurabi Code.

¹⁹ The grammar of the Code merits a detailed study which will no doubt be undertaken by some Assyriologist. As a single illustration, we may call attention to the constant use of the ending *sini* in the plural of verbs, as in classical Arabic.

1

(Badly preserved. Treats of the case of a woman—the wife of a man or a man's daughter—entering a temple apparently to make restitution for something that she has stolen. The part dealing with the punishment is too mutilated to be made out.²⁰)

2

If a woman, be she the wife of a man or a man's daughter, does not confess²¹ the theft or under pressure²² makes restitution, that woman bears her sin²³; on her husband, her sons and her daughters she has no claim.²⁴

3

If a man is sick or has died (and) his wife steals something from his house, whether she gives it to a man or to a woman, or to anyone whomsoever, the wife of the man as well as the receivers shall be put to death; or if the wife whose husband is living steals

²⁰ The law is the first of a group dealing with theft committed by a woman, who as wife or daughter is a man's property. The Hammurabi Code deals with theft from a temple—and to which it adds 'or from a palace'—in §§ 6-8. It decrees that both the thief and receiver of the stolen property, are put to death, but the severity of the old law is modified by the exception (§ 8) that in case the stolen object is an ox or ass or sheep or pig, the thief if a freeman is to restore thirty fold the value of what he took, and if he be a plebeian ten-fold; and only in case he have not the wherewithal to make restitution is he put to death. The Hammurabi Code has no special laws with regard to women who steal, from which we may conclude that in §§ 6-8 the conventional phrase beginning 'if a man,' etc., applies to women as well.

²¹ Text has *ta-taš-ti-bi* = *taktibi* with a redundant initial syllable, for which there are several examples, for example, *ta-at-to-al-pa-at* (col. 1, 83) = *talpat*; *ta-(at)-to-eg-bat* = *tugbat* (Col. 3, 52).

²² *Mi-ki-i pi-e*, the ideographic writing for which *Ka-ta Šub-ba* (II Rawlinson 39, 13a-b) shows that it is to be rendered 'falling of the mouth', in contrast to *Ka-ta E=gi-it pi-i* (II Rawlinson 12a-b), 'utterance'. 'Falling of the mouth' cannot mean 'silently', for which we have 'closing of the mouth' (= *xi-ku-ri pi-i*, ib. 11b). I take the phrase to mean that the stolen property is restored under pressure.

²³ I. e., she is guilty, *a-ro-an-ša to-no-al-ši*, is a parallel to the Hebrew phrase in the Priestly Code *nāḥ ḥā' 'bearing sin'*, e. g., Lev. 19. 17; 22. 9; 24. 15; Num. 9. 13, etc., in the sense of being guilty.

²⁴ *la-a i-ku-ri-i-bi*, 'she shall not approach', i. e., she has no claim on any members of her family. Cf. § 26, the husband 'shall not approach' the house of his father-in-law, i. e., has no claim on it, if at the time of divorce from his wife, she is living in her father's house.

from the house of her husband, whether she gives it to a man or to a woman or to any one whomsoever, the man seizes²⁵ his wife and imposes punishment²⁶; and on the receiver of the stolen property which she has given away, (the same) punishment is to be imposed²⁷ that the husband imposes on his wife.

4

If a male slave or a female slave receives anything²⁸ from the wife of a man, the nose and the ear of the slave, male or female, shall be cut off, and for the stolen property²⁹ full restitution must be made.³⁰ Either, the man cuts off his wife's ear, or if he releases her,³¹ and does not cut off her ear, then also (the ear) of the slave, male or female, shall not be cut off, and they need not make restitution for the stolen property.

5

If a man's wife steals something from a man's house and through someone else it is restored, the owner of the stolen property must

²⁵ *u-bu-ar* from *bu'aru* 'catch', as in the phrase 'they seize him and determine his guilt,' used throughout the Code for arresting a person and convicting him of a crime.

²⁶ *ku-i-ja* literally 'sin', but here as throughout the Code for 'guilt' (like the Hebrew *hef*) and also 'punishment'. This authority given to the husband to 'seize' his wife and impose punishment on his wife (as on his daughter) in certain cases is a survival of primitive conditions when punishment was meted out by individuals and not by a judicial tribunal. See above, and parallels in Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, Vol. 2, p. 140 *seq.* Note also that the punishment meted out to the receiver follows the arbitrary one that the man imposes on his wife.

²⁷ Generally the impersonal 'they' with plural of the verb is used in the part of the law announcing the decision. It seems preferable to render this by the use of the passive, since the code does not tell us, except in certain specific instances, who actually carries out the punishment. It is interesting to note that here as in other instances, e. g., §4, the accessory to a crime receives a punishment equal to that of the main offender. Modern law provides that the accessory can never receive punishment in excess of what is imposed on the main offender.

²⁸ I. e. stolen.

²⁹ *kur-ku*, the 'stolen' property.

³⁰ *u-mal-la-u*, literally 'they fill out'.

³¹ *u-ul-lur*, used throughout the Code in the sense of 'letting one go'. A synonym is *pu'aru* 'redeem', e. g., §5, though this verb is also used as the Biblical equivalent in the sense of 'buying off', e. g., §47.

swear that when it was taken 'the stolen property was in my house²⁵.' If the husband chooses he may restore the stolen property and redeem her (i. e. his wife)²⁶ and cut off her ear, but if her husband does not wish to redeem her, then the owner of the stolen property may take her²⁷ and cut off her nose.

6

If a man's wife puts a pledge²⁸ in pawn²⁹, the receiver must surrender it as stolen property.³⁰

7

If a woman stretch out her hands against a man, they seize her. She must pay 30 manas of lead and she receives 20 lashes.

8

If a woman in a brawl injures a man's testicle, they cut off one of her fingers; and if the man engages³¹ a physician and the

²⁵ I. e., he must identify the stolen property.

²⁶ *i-pu-at-tar-ti*, a synonym of *alšuru* 'let her go' (above § 4). The implication in the Assyrian Code is that a woman who steals something from a man's house (not her husband's) forfeits her liberty, unless her husband makes good the theft.

²⁷ I. e., as his property, and presumably either to sell her or to reduce her to servitude.

²⁸ *ma-al-ka-a-ta* (from *akānu*) is 'something put on deposit'; it occurs again in Text No. 6 obv., 11, and as in our passage with *ina kidi*, and finds its equivalent in the phrase of the Hammurabi Code, § 7 *ana maggarūtīm* 'for safe keeping'. This law provides that the receiver of stolen property is put to death, even though he only accepted it for safe keeping. As the accessory to the crime he receives the same punishment as the main offender.

²⁹ *i-na ki-i-di*. According to *Cuneiform Texts* XXVII, Pl. 12, 11, *ki-di* is a part of the palace, but our passage, as well as § 43, where the phrase is again met with, leaves no doubt that *ina kidi* may designate the raising of money on some object of value—real or movable estate. It is therefore the equivalent to our 'in pawn'. The *kidi* of the palace may therefore be a storing place of some kind.

³⁰ The woman is punished according to the law set forth in the previous paragraphs.

³¹ *ur-tak-ki-is* from *rokkā* 'to contract', from which we have *rikku* and *rikālu* used in the Hammurabi Code and in the Assyrian Code, as well as in legal documents for a 'contract'.

other testicle of itself³⁹ is destroyed, compensation⁴⁰ shall be offered; or if in a fight the second testicle is (also) crushed, the fingers⁴¹ of both hands they mutilate.⁴²

9

If a man stretches (his) hand against the wife of a man, treating her roughly⁴³ (?), they seize him and determine his guilt⁴⁴. His fingers are cut off. If he bites her, his lower lip with the blade⁴⁵ (?) of a sharp (?) axe is cut off.

10

(Covering Col. I, 97 to II, 13.)

(Deals with murder, but the text is too fragmentary to be translated.)

11

If a man's wife goes out into the highway (and) a man seizes her, without even proposing intercourse with her⁴⁶ and not giving her the chance to protect herself,⁴⁷ but seizes her by force and

³⁹ *il-ti-lá = il-ti-lá*, occurring again, col. 3, 56 (§ 23) in the sense of 'by itself', independently, etc.

⁴⁰ I read [nu]-*ri-im-na tar-ti i-lá*. *Murim* from *rāmu* 'offer' or 'grant'.

⁴¹ I supply [Rit-Lal] *Meš = rittē* (like Hammurabi Code §§ 195, 218, 228, 253) or perhaps we are to read [Šu-ei] *Meš = ubandē* 'fingers'.

⁴² *i-na-bu-lu*.

⁴³ *ki-i bu-ri e-pu-u-ei*. The context points to some violent assault, like scratching or tearing the flesh. *Buru* ordinarily means a 'young animal', which however is hardly in place here.

⁴⁴ *ub-ta-e-ru-d-uš ub-ta-i-nu-d-uš*, the standing phrase throughout the Code for what we call arrest and trial. See above, p. 8. From the same stem *bu'aru* 'catch', we have in the Hammurabi Code the official *Šu-Īa = bu'ru* as the 'constable' (§§ 26-28, 30 and 32, 36, 37, etc.), while *ukin* 'to fix the guilt' occurs in §§ 1-3 and 127 of the Hammurabi Code.

⁴⁵ [me]-*ri-im-ti*, the meaning of which is to be deduced from the context.

⁴⁶ *la-a ri-ik-ki-me šu-ti-bi-a-aš-še* 'does not say to her *nikkim*', the latter term being the proposal to the woman to give herself to the man. The underlying stem *nāku* was recognized many years ago by Oppert as denoting sexual intercourse. It occurs in the Code in a variety of verbal forms; also the noun form *nakkānu* for the ravisher or adulterer. See Meissner, *Assyrische Studien*, 4, p. 10 and the passages there quoted.

⁴⁷ I. e., there is no attempt on the part of the man to try to persuade the woman, but he uses force, while she makes no advances on her part.

rapes her,⁴⁸ whether he merely overpowers⁴⁹ the man's wife, or actually has intercourse with her,⁵⁰ the witnesses⁵¹ may seize him and put the man to death. No guilt⁵² attaches to the woman.

12

If the wife of a man leaves her house to meet a man at a rendezvous⁵³ and he rapes her, knowing that she is another man's wife, then they also⁵⁴ put the wife to death.

13

If a man has intercourse with a man's wife, whether in an interior⁵⁵ (?) or on the highway, knowing that she is another man's wife, they (mutually) agreeing⁵⁶ to do so in the manner customary between a man and his wife⁵⁷, the man is adjudged to be an adulterer.⁵⁸ But if he did not know that she was another

⁴⁸ *it-ti-ak-ši* I, 2 from *nāku* as above.

⁴⁹ *ik-šū-du-ūš* 'conquers her'.

⁵⁰ *i-ni-ku-d-ni*.

⁵¹ *le-bu-tu*, who are called in to testify to the assault. From the interesting circumstance that the word *lebutu* means both 'elders' and 'witnesses', one is tempted to conclude that the 'witness' in Babylonian and Assyrian law was a 'professional' witness. The 'elders' in early society would form the natural tribunal; and they would be the ones called in to witness a legal document or to be present at the trial of an offender and to hear testimony in regard to the offender, even though they may not have actually been present at the commission of the crime. From this point of view, we can understand the extension of the term 'elder' to the very general sense of 'witness', and its still later use without reference to any professional status.

⁵² Or 'punishment'. The term is again *ši-i-ša* as above, note 26.

⁵³ *a-šar ue-pu-ti-ni* 'a place where (people) gather', i. e., the woman deliberately goes out to meet a man.

⁵⁴ *U*, the conjunction which as often has the force of 'also'. The law assumes that the man—as in § 11—is likewise put to death.

⁵⁵ *bil al-tam-me*—a new word which from the context must designate an interior in contrast to 'highway'. It is quite possible that a bed-chamber or even a brothel is meant.

⁵⁶ Literally 'saying'.

⁵⁷ I. e., as though they were man and wife. Note (as in § 22) the elaborate legal phraseology to prove that it is a genuine case of adultery.

⁵⁸ *na-i-ka-na*. See above, note 46. The punishment being death for the man according to the principle involved in § 11, it was not considered necessary to specify it again.

man's wife, the adulterer goes free.⁵⁵ The man seizes his wife and can do what he pleases with her.⁵⁶

14

If a man discovers his wife with a man,⁵⁷ they seize him and determine his guilt, and both of them are put to death. There is no guilt⁵⁸ because of him. But if he is caught and either before the king or before judges is brought, they (i. e., the judges) seize him and determine his guilt. If the man has already put his wife to death, then the man⁵⁹ is also put to death. If he has cut off his wife's nose, the man (i. e., the adulterer) is to be castrated⁶⁰ and his whole face⁶¹ mutilated.⁶²

⁵⁵ *an-a-ku*, the regular term in this Code as in the Hammurabi Code for acquittal, though also used in the wider sense of being free from any further obligation, as e. g., in text No. 2, § 6 (col. 3, 47), as well as to indicate that something is at the 'free' disposal of another, e. g., § 37 (col. 5, 25).

⁵⁶ I. e., the wife is turned over to the husband and he imposes punishment, as in § 3, according to his pleasure.

⁵⁷ Literally: 'he takes the man away from his wife'.

⁵⁸ The addition of this phrase *a-re-an-šū la-aš-šū*, 'there is no guilt because of him', shows that in this case, 'they' are not the judges, but individuals—perhaps witnesses called in by the husband—who, as we would say, lynch the man after ascertaining that he is guilty, i. e., that he knew that it was another man's wife.

⁵⁹ *a-i-la* another form for *amēlu* (pronounced *amēlu* 'man'. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 3a.

⁶⁰ *a-nu šar-ri-še-en š-šur* (see also § 19), more literally 'he is made an eunuch'. I owe to my colleague, Professor Montgomery, the happy suggestion that we have in the word *šarīšu* the name for the 'eunuch', corresponding to the Hebrew *suris*, which is no doubt taken over from the Akkadian. The meaning fits the context, and the punishment of castration is appropriate for the adulterer caught in the act in case the husband has already taken the law into his hands by cutting off his wife's nose. It is even more appropriate as a punishment (§ 19) for the one who is guilty of sodomy. These are the only two occurrences of the punishment in the Code; and it is thus interesting to be able to trace the custom of castration to so early a date. Professor Montgomery's suggestion disposes of Schroeder's view (in the brief description of the Code, page viii) that *šarīšu* means 'prison'. There is no evidence for imprisonment as a punishment either in Babylonia or Assyria, whereas, as is well known, the eunuch figures frequently among the escort of the king on Assyrian monuments. The form *šarīšu* with the formative *š* (by the side of *an*) is proper for the designation of a class; and now that the word by itself has been encountered in an Assyrian text, there is no longer any reason to question that the *šab ša-ri* mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions is the 'chief eunuch'. Furthermore, the explanation of *ša-ri* as though com-

(The rest of the paragraph—four lines apparently—is broken off.)

15

If a man [violates]⁶⁷ another man's wife, her mouth⁶⁸ there is no guilt attaching to the man. The husband can impose punishment on his wife according to his pleasure. But if by force he has violated her, they seize him and determine his guilt, the punishment being the same as that imposed upon the man's wife.⁶⁹

16

If a man says to another, thy wife has been raped,⁷⁰ and there are no witnesses, they bind him (i. e. the accused) in fetters and take him to the river.⁷¹

17

If a man says to his companion, whether in private or in a brawl,⁷² 'thy wife has been raped and I caught her', but it turns out that he could not have caught her, and the man actually did not catch her (in the act), he receives 40 lashes and must perform

posed of *šā* and *riš* ('head'), still maintained by Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, page 6, is to be abandoned in view of our *šaršū* which clearly points to a stem *šarāšu*. At the most, it might be claimed that *šā-riš* is an etymological play upon the supposed meaning of *šaršū*, but even this is unlikely and certainly an unnecessary supposition.

⁶⁸ I. e., ears and nose are cut off and possibly his eyes are put out. We have not actually encountered this method of punishment, except in the historical annals of Assyrian kings as meted out to the enemy.

⁶⁹ *i-na-ka-ru*, 'they destroy'.

⁷⁰ To be supplied. The half of the line is broken away.

⁷¹ No doubt in the sense of 'eument.' The balance of the line is broken away. The context indicates that the woman gave herself to the man willingly.

⁷² I. e., whatever the man would do to his wife, in case she were guilty, is done to the adulterer.

⁷³ *ti-ti-ni-ik-ku*.

⁷⁴ I. e., for an ordeal, to test the truth of the charge. The ordeal occurs again, §§ 23, 24; also in the Hammurabi Code §§ 2 (suspect of sorcery) and § 132 (suspect of adultery).

⁷⁵ I. e., when others are present to hear what is said. It is rather characteristic of social conditions in Assyria, that the word for a 'fight', becomes a synonym of 'in public'.

one month's royal service. They summon him⁷⁵ and one talent⁷⁶ of lead he must hand over.

18

If a man in private spreads the report⁷⁷ about his companion that someone has had (unnatural) intercourse with him,⁷⁸ or in a brawl in the presence of men⁷⁷ says to him: 'Someone has had (unnatural) intercourse with thee and I caught thee (in the act),' whereas there was no possibility of this and that man did not catch him (in the act), he receives 50 lashes, and must perform one month's royal service. They summon him, and he must hand over one talent of lead.

19

If a man has (unnatural) intercourse with his companion,⁷⁹ they seize him and determine his guilt. If he actually had intercourse with him, then he is castrated.⁸⁰

20

If a man strikes a man's daughter, so that there is a miscarriage,⁸¹ they seize him and determine his guilt. Two talents and 30

⁷⁵ *i-ga-di-mu-û* (also col. 2, 92), literally 'they bring him into the presence', i. e., of the court.

⁷⁶ 3600 shekels.

⁷⁷ *a-ma-la* (*l-tun*).

⁷⁸ He accuses his fellow of sodomy. The same verb (*û-ti-ûi-ku-û-û*) is used as in the case of rape and adultery.

⁷⁹ *Erem* (*meš*), literally 'soldiers', but frequently used for men in 'general'. The contrast is here as in § 17 between a private and a public statement.

⁸⁰ There can be no doubt that here and in the preceding law sodomy is meant. Through omen texts we learn of the varieties of unnatural intercourse that were known to Assyrians and practised by them. See the examples of such practices discussed by Meissner *Assyrische Studien*, 4 (MVAG, Vol. 12), pp. 11-13. Strangely enough, the prognostication in one case is favorable, to wit, that a man who succeeds at sodomy will become a leader.

⁸¹ *a-na lû-ri-še-en, û-tur-ru-û*, i. e., 'they make him an eunuch', as above § 14, note 64.

⁸² Literally 'she drops what is within her'.

mana²¹ of lead he must hand over; he receives 50 lashes and must perform one month's royal service.

21

If some man who is neither her father, brother nor son seizes a man's wife on the road,²² he must swear an oath that he did not know that she was a man's wife, and hand over 2 talents of lead to the husband.

(The continuation (Col. 3, 1-13) is mutilated. It set forth variant circumstances attending the assault, in which the woman shares the guilt. The river ordeal is provided—apparently for both—though they are not fettered (as in § 16). From the closing lines which read: 'When the man returns from the river, he is given the same punishment by the husband as the latter imposed on his wife,' we may conclude that the guilty wife, as in other instances (e. g. above §§ 3, 15, etc.) was punished by her husband. It would also appear that surviving a river ordeal was not regarded as complete vindication, but only proved that the man merited a milder punishment than death. Similarly in § 23.)

22

If a man's wife takes another man's wife into her house for sexual intercourse²³ and the man (i. e., the one into whose house the woman was taken) knew that it was another man's wife (and) had intercourse with her as with another man's wife, and in the

²¹ A total of 9000 shekels. This law finds a complete parallel in § 209 of the Hammurabi Code, which reads: 'If a man strikes a man's daughter so that she has a miscarriage, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver'. In the case of a woman of lower rank, the fine is only 5 shekels and in the case of a slave 2 shekels. If the woman dies, the fine is 30 shekels in the case of a woman of lower rank, 20 shekels for a slave, while in the case of the free woman, the *lex talionis* is put in force and the man's daughter is put to death. If we assume that the fine in lead is calculated according to the proportionate value between lead and silver, then 5400 shekels of lead = 10 shekels, would give us a proportion of 1 to 540. The fine however may have been considerably larger in Assyria.

²² The assumption is that any one who takes hold of a woman on the road and who is not closely related to her has designs upon her.

²³ a-na ni-a-ki.

manner customary between a man and his wife,⁴⁴ the woman is adjudged a 'procuress'.⁴⁵ But if no intercourse as between a man and his wife had actually taken place, then neither the adulterer nor the procuress have done anything.⁴⁶ They shall be released.⁴⁷ And if the man's wife⁴⁸ did not know (of the plot) and she entered the house of the woman, trusting the man's attitude towards her,⁴⁹ who had intercourse with her and if after leaving the house, she confesses⁵⁰ to having had intercourse, that woman is to be released—she is guiltless.⁵¹ The adulterer and the procuress are put to death. But if the woman does not confess, the husband may impose punishment on his wife as he pleases;⁵² and the adulterer and the procuress are put to death.

23

If the wife of a man in the face of her husband⁵³ and of her free

⁴⁴ Note again the redundancy of legal phrases (as above in §13) to make it certain that actual adultery had taken place, which in the full legal sense involves a knowledge on the part of the adulterer that he was acting with another man's wife, and that the act was fully consummated in the normal manner. Moreover, one of the main points in this law is to ascertain the guilt of the 'procuress'.

⁴⁵ *mu-um-me-ti-tu*—a new word, the meaning of which is certain from the context, and which sheds light on social conditions in Assyria. The underlying stem appears to be *amāru* 'surround', the *nummeritu* being the woman who 'enmeshes', i. e., the ensnarer. Cf. Prov. 7, 23.

⁴⁶ I. e., the man is not adjudged an adulterer, nor is the woman legally a 'procuress' if the intercourse has not actually taken place.

⁴⁷ The mere intent does not constitute a misdemeanor or a crime. The point of view in this law is consistently directed towards the wife as the husband's property. If no injury to the property has been done, there is no case.

⁴⁸ Namely, the wife who was brought into another man's house did not know of the plot.

⁴⁹ *ki-i pi-i kēnu amēla u-na li-šā*—an interesting phrase, to indicate that she had no cause for suspicion.

⁵⁰ *taš-ti-ši*, 'says,' which may merely indicate that she reports the occurrence to her husband.

⁵¹ *zu-ku-at* (as above § 13) literally—'free' of blame or guilt.

⁵² Again punishment meted out by the husband and according to his pleasure, as in §§ 3 and 13.

⁵³ So the phrase runs (*i-na po-ni mu-ti-šā*) which appears to mean—as the Hebrew *lipnē* is often used—in spite of her husband, against his protest.

will⁹⁴ is carried off,⁹⁵ be it into any large city⁹⁶ or into a suburb,⁹⁷ where by appointment⁹⁸ she enters the house of an Assyrian,⁹⁹ and without the mistress of the house¹⁰⁰ stays (there), [or if his wife (?)¹ has died, (but) the master of the house did not know [that it was]² another man's wife who [was taken]³ into his house, (and) [by stealth (?)⁴ that woman was taken,⁵ then the master of the house⁶ whose wife in his [face] of her own accord [was carried off],⁷ shall take his wife. The wife of the man who as his wife through her fault⁸ was seized⁹—her ear they cut off; and if her husband so chooses, he (i. e., the adulterer) must give 3 talents and 30 mana of lead as her purchase price,¹⁰ or if he (i. e., the aggrieved husband) chooses, he may take his wife away.¹¹

But if the owner of the house knew that it was a man's wife who was taken into his house without the mistress of the

⁹⁴ *ra-ma-an-šat* 'willingly'.

⁹⁵ *tal-da-da-at* = *tal-dadat* from *šulidu* 'drag'. In this same law we have (col. 3, 73) *tal-du-du-šat*,—to be supplied also in line 54.

⁹⁶ *ālu am-me-e-im-ma* (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 57b) in contrast to *ālu šur-bu-šat*, 'suburb'.

⁹⁷ On the sign used for city in this combination, see Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, No. 540. It is clearly *ālu* with the plural sign to indicate the towns adjoining a city; literally, therefore, 'near-by towns'.

⁹⁸ *a-šar bīti uš-du-ši-i-ni*, literally: 'the place of a house fixed for her' or by her, i. e., at an appointed house.

⁹⁹ *bīt al-šur-ra-ia*. See § 43 (col. 6, 40-41), where also an Assyrian man or woman is specified.

¹⁰⁰ *šā-tu bēl bīti*, i. e., the mistress of the house is not there. There is no suspicion of any 'procuress' in the case.

¹ The text at the beginning of this line is defective. I suspect a reading like *[lu-u aššati]-šat miš-ša-at* 'or that his wife is dead', to account in some other way for the woman being in the house alone with a strange man. The traces as given by Schröder can hardly be correct.

² Supply *ā-i* according to the traces.

³ Supply *[uš-bu]-tu-šat*.

⁴ Traces point to *[ina šur-ur-šat]-šat* from *šurūšu* 'steal'.

⁵ Read *ta-ša-aš-bat*, with the same overhanging *ta* as in the two examples above given, § 2, note 21.

⁶ I. e., the aggrieved husband.

⁷ Read *[tal-da]-du-šat* as below in line 73. See above note 95.

⁸ *šā-ti-šat*, as above, § 8 note 39.

⁹ *uš-bu-tu-ni* here in the sense of 'being caught'.

¹⁰ I. e. 12,600 shekels. A certain ambiguity arises in these laws because of the constant change of subject in the succeeding verbs, but the context clearly shows that the adulterer may purchase the man's wife whom he has raped.

¹¹ I. e., the husband takes her back.

house,¹² he must pay three times the amount.¹³ And if he denies it and says that he did not know, they take him to the river;¹⁴ and if the man in whose house the man's wife was seized returns from the river,¹⁵ he must pay three times the amount. If the man whose wife in his face was carried off of her own accord, returns from the river,¹⁶ he is free¹⁷—the river (sc. ordeal) settles all for her.¹⁸ And if the man does not cut off the ear¹⁹ of his wife who in his face, of her own accord, had been carried off, he takes his wife back and imposes nothing further upon her.

24

If a woman is retained in her father's house²⁰ and her husband has died, the brothers of her husband may not divide²¹ (the estate) even though she has no son. Whatever her husband has voluntarily²² assigned to her, the brothers of her husband cannot annul²³; it is not to be included in the division. As for

¹² Clearly, the wife of the man into whose house the woman was taken is meant and who (according to line 48 above) had nothing to do with the crime. Instead of the sign for woman (Dam) I read Nin = *bêlîti*, as in line 48, and supply *bîti* at the end of the line. A confusion between Dam and Nin is easily possible. The original probably has Nin.

¹³ I. e., of the purchase price as above given or 37,800 shekels in lead.

¹⁴ To submit to an ordeal as above, § 15.

¹⁵ I. e., survives the ordeal, by not being drowned, which survival apparently saved him only from the death penalty.

¹⁶ He also must submit to an ordeal, because of the denial of the charge that he has brought against his wife and her seducer.

¹⁷ *eo-a-ku*.

¹⁸ *gi-im-ri-êd*, literally, 'all of her', i. e., the ordeal on the part of the two men decides her fate.

¹⁹ Which he has a right to do, as above (col. 3, 57) set forth. Schroeder's text by a slip has *allat-eu* 'his wife' (accidentally repeated because of its occurrence in the next line) instead of *uz-ni-êd* 'her ear'.

²⁰ A standing phrase to indicate that she is being supported by her father and does not live with her husband. The Hammurabi Code, § 142, likewise implies that the woman separated from her husband goes to her father's house.

²¹ I. e., the whole of the estate among themselves.

²² *du-mo-a-ê*, a word occurring here for the first time, so far as I can see, and which is found again, Col. 3, 97 (§ 25) and 5, 22 (§ 37). The context makes it clear that it designates what her husband has of his own accord given to his wife during the time that she lived with him. I take the word from the stem *damāku*, 'to be gracious'.

²³ *êal-êu-a-ni*, literally 'destroy'.

the balance of what the gods have provided²⁴ they are entitled to it.²⁵ They need not submit to a river ordeal or to an oath.²⁶

25

If a woman is retained in her father's house and her husband dies, whatever her husband has voluntarily assigned to her, if there are children, they may take it,²⁷ but if there are no children, she takes it.

26

If a woman is retained in her father's house, her husband may enter it (and) any marriage gift²⁸ which her husband had given

²⁴ A curious phrase, the meaning of which must be deduced from the context. It seems to be the equivalent of our 'what Providence has granted', though it may also have a more technical import.

²⁵ *ba-ar-ru i-leš-ki-i*. Literally: 'they take as seized.' The phrase would seem to indicate that the brothers of the deceased lay their hands on anything which was not explicitly given by the husband to his wife.

²⁶ The brothers need not submit to an ordeal nor swear an oath that they have not taken anything which belongs to the wife. They may settle the estate without further formalities, as handing in a sworn account and the like.

²⁷ I. e., a woman separated from her husband has no claim to the estate of her husband, if there are children. The widow is obliged to give up anything that he may of his own free will have given her during his lifetime. This is consistent with the law of divorce, as set forth in § 36. According to the Hammurabi Code (§ 150), the children have no claim after the death of their father on anything devised by him, by a duly sealed document, to his wife.

²⁸ *mun-ma nu-du-un-na-a* used, as in the Hammurabi Code, §§ 171-172, to designate the present which the husband gives to his wife at the time of marriage, whereas the bride's dowry which her father gives her is called *šeriktu* which to be sure likewise means 'a present'. Occasionally (so e. g. Ranke *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, Nos. 84, 33 and 101, 13) *nudunna* is used for the 'dowry', and this usage is met again in Talmudic literature in the corresponding *nedunya* (see Marcus Jastrow, *Talm. Dictionary*, p. 878a)—applied to the wife's dowry from her father. The term is no doubt borrowed from Babylonian phraseology. As a survival of marriage by purchase, we have a third term *tirḡatu* which, originally given to the father or to the widowed mother, is afterwards 'tied' to the wife's 'girdle', as the phrase runs (see Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, p. 293, and the references there given), and settled upon her by the father or husband. The purchase price appears to have become a mere formality in the course of time, as we may conclude from the sum of one shekel being named in a document as the *tirḡatu* (Schorr, *ib.*, No. 36).

her, he may take, but he has no claim on the house of her father.²⁵

27

If a woman enters a man's house²⁶ as a widow²⁷ and removes²⁸ her minor²⁹ son of her own accord³⁰ from the house of her brother who brought him up, but no document of his adoption had been drawn up, he does not receive any share from the estate³¹ of the one who reared him³²; nor can one take him as a pledge³³ (for debt). From the estate³⁴ of his parents he receives the share due to him.³⁵

though in other instances the amount given (19 shekels, Schorr No. 1, and 4 shekels, *ib.*, No. 3) indicates the *gradual* shading over of the 'purchase price' to a money dowry for the wife. By special agreement, according to Babylonian usage (Schorr, *ib.*, No. 1), the *tirḫatu* may revert to the wife in case of divorce. We thus have four terms that must be distinguished from one another (1) *nudunni*, the obligatory gift of the husband at the time of marriage, (2) *dumūku*, 'act of grace' or any voluntary gift given by the husband after marriage, (3) *ṣeriktu*, the gift of father to bride, and (4) *tirḫatu*, originally purchase price and then the marriage settlement on the wife.

²⁵ The phrase used is *a-na ki bit a-ti-lā la-a i-ḫa-ar-ri-ti*, i. e., 'he is not to draw near to anything which is of the house of her father,' by which is clearly meant that he has no claim on his father-in-law's property, merely because his wife has chosen to live there.

²⁶ I. e., remarries.

²⁷ (*al-ma-at-tu* (= *almantu*) like Col. 4, 71. Cf. the corresponding Hebrew term *almānah*.

²⁸ *na-ḡa-a-at*, more literally 'plucks away'.

²⁹ Read *id ur-do*, from *ridū* 'lead', i. e., one whom one leads, to designate a small child. *Riddu*, from this stem is one of the terms for 'offspring' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 956b.).

³⁰ *il-ti-lā*, as above §§ 8 and 23.

³¹ *bitu*, 'house', in the sense of 'estate', as in the preceding paragraph.

³² I. e., from the boy's uncle.

³³ *ḫu-ba-ul-ti* is the common word for 'interest', but the original meaning of the underlying stem appears to be 'to pledge', as in Biblical Hebrew. The meaning 'interest' would therefore be a derived one, pointing to the view originally taken of 'interest' as a 'pledge' for the return of the debt in full. In fact, what became interest on a debt may originally have been partial payment in lieu of the whole, so that each payment actually diminished the amount of the debt. The intent of the paragraph is to provide that the boy is not to be held as a pledge for the debt of his uncle, since he was not legally adopted and therefore does not belong to him. It is clear from this restriction, that adopted as well as natural sons could be pledged for debt, as well as wives and daughters.

³⁴ Again *bitu*, 'house'.

³⁵ *ki-i ḫa-ti-lā* 'according to his share'. See Text No. 2, § 1.

28

If a woman enters her husband's house,⁴⁶ her dowry⁴⁷ and whatever she removes from her father's house or what her father-in-law upon her entering gave her, is free⁴⁸ for her children. The children of her father-in-law may not touch it,⁴⁹ and if her husband repudiates her,⁵⁰ then he may give it to his children, according to his pleasure.

29

If a father brings to the house of the father-in-law of his son⁵¹ a gift of anything that may be carried,⁵² the daughter is not thereby pledged⁵³ to his son; and if there is another son whose wife is retained in the house of her father,⁵⁴ and (the son) dies, then the wife of the dead son is handed over as a possession⁵⁵ to his other son.⁵⁶

(Or) if the master of the daughter,⁵⁷ whose daughter has received

⁴⁶ I. e., marries him and lives in his house.

⁴⁷ *ti-ir-ki-ki*, for which see above to § 25, note 28.

⁴⁸ *zo-a-bu*—here used in the sense that the mother has the sole right to will such possessions to her children. So also in the Hammurabi Code, § 150, which specifies that the mother may will it to any child, but not to any brother of hers. It must remain in her husband's family. Presumably, the same liberty was granted the wife in Assyria, though the code does not specify this.

⁴⁹ *la-a i-ir-ri-bu* as above § 26, etc. Her brothers-in-law have no claim upon what her father-in-law has given to her.

⁵⁰ *i-bu-ak-ki* from *abdu* 'overthrow', here in the sense of 'cast aside'. In case of divorce, therefore, the dowry and all gifts are retained by the husband, though in trust, as would appear, for his children among whom he may distribute such property in any way that he likes.

⁵¹ I. e., a betrothal gift for the prospective daughter-in-law.

⁵² The phrase is intended legally to define what constitutes movable property.

⁵³ *ta-ad-na-at* from *tadnu*. The gift of the father-in-law, though a part of the formal betrothal rites, still customary in the modern Orient (see notes 60 and 61, to § 41 below), yet does not pledge the prospective father-in-law to give his son to the girl if certain circumstances should arise, nor is the father of the girl absolutely pledged by such a gift to give his daughter to the young man. The case is different (§ 30), if the young man makes a betrothal gift to his prospective wife.

⁵⁴ I. e., the wife is separated from her husband and lives with her father.

⁵⁵ *a-na a-bu-zi-ti*, i. e., for marriage.

⁵⁶ I. e., the son, despite the betrothal gift, must marry his deceased brother's widow.

⁵⁷ *bel marti*—here intended clearly as a synonym for *abu* 'father'. He is the *bel bti* 'master of the house', as he is elsewhere designated.

the gift is not willing that his daughter should be pledged by it,³² he, (i. e., the father of the young man), is free to take away the gift which had been brought to his daughter-in-law,³³ (and) to give it to his son. And if he chooses, whatever has been given—in lead, silver, gold, or anything except food, the capital thereof he may take back.³⁴ As for food—he has no claim upon it.³⁵

30

If a man sends a gift³⁶ to the house of his father-in-law³⁷ and his wife dies, and if his father-in-law has other (daughters) and the father-in-law is willing, he may marry³⁸ another daughter in place of his dead wife, or he is free to take back whatever money³⁹ may have been given (sc. to the wife). Grain or sheep

³² I. e., he does not wish his daughter to be regarded as pledged by the gift and desires to be free to break the betrothal, which is entirely a matter between the parents of the prospective pair.

³³ *kal-la-a-su* = *kallatu*. *Kallatu* is the ordinary term for bride (as in Hebrew) and then for daughter-in-law, as the bride of a man's son. To her own father, the bride remains the 'daughter', as her father continues to be the *bel maris*. The underlying stem of *kallatu* designates the wife as the one 'shut in'. Similarly the Sumerian term *E-ge-a*, is 'the one shut in in the house'. She is 'kept' (as the term runs throughout the Assyrian Code) either in the house of her husband, or, if separated from her husband, in the house of her father.

³⁴ I. e., the father-in-law has a claim on the capital of any gift that he may have sent, if the girl's father does not wish his daughter to be pledged by the betrothal gift. He is not entitled, however, to interest on anything which (like food) may be used.

³⁵ Any food sent by a man to his prospective daughter-in-law was intended to be eaten. It is therefore put on a par with interest on which the father-in-law has no claim.

³⁶ *su-bu-ul-la-a*, which, as a betrothal gift of the prospective husband, constitutes a definite pledge to marry the girl, in contrast to the gift of the father of the young man which is not an irrevocable pledge.

³⁷ I. e., for his prospective wife living in her father's house.

³⁸ *š-ša-aš*, 'takes', i. e., he marries the deceased wife's sister. By the betrothal gift of the prospective husband to a girl, the latter is viewed before the law as a wife, even though she dies before marriage had actually taken place.

³⁹ *Ku-babbar*, 'silver', here used as in the Hammurabi Code, or 'money'. The use of the term is purely conventional, just as the Latin 'pecunia' became a general term for 'money', without reference to its original meaning as possessions in cattle.

or any kind of food is not given back to him⁶⁰; (only) money he receives back.⁶¹

31

If a woman is retained in the house of her father, her gift⁶² which was given to her, whether she takes it [to the house]⁶³ of her father-in-law or does not take it, cannot⁶⁴ serve as an asset⁶⁵ [after the death (?)]⁶⁶ of her husband.

32

(Very fragmentary, with the exception of the closing lines. The paragraph likewise deals with the status of the woman living in the house of her father, whose husband has died⁶⁷ and who has no children. Apparently, if there are no other brothers, she is given to her father-in-law as a possession.⁶⁸ The closing lines read: 'If her (husband)⁶⁹ and her father-in-law have died and she has no son, she has the status of a widow⁷⁰ and may go wherever she pleases'.)

33

If a man marries⁷¹ a widow, without drawing up a formal

⁶⁰ I. e., actual food sent to be consumed is not to be returned if the prospective son-in-law does not wish to marry a sister of his deceased bride. He is pledged by any betrothal gift to marry the girl, but not one of her sisters.

⁶¹ I. e., only cash gifts are to be given back.

⁶² *a-na nu-du-nu-šd*. So the traces at the beginning of the badly preserved line. On *nudunnū*, the marriage gift of her husband, see above, § 25 note 29.

⁶³ So evidently to be supplied in the gap.

⁶⁴ Read [*la-a na-aš-ši*].

⁶⁵ *hu-bu-ul-ki* as above, § 27,—as a pledge for debt. A creditor of her husband has no claim on it.

⁶⁶ According to the traces [*ar-ki-i mi-i-ta*].

⁶⁷ Read [*š mu-ul-a me-i māšē [la-a i-ba-aš-ši*]. That there are no children follows also from the closing lines.

⁶⁸ *a-na e-mi-šd a-na o[hu-zi-ti i-id-dau-zi]*—as in note 49. I. e., the father-in-law must marry her, which reminds us of the Judah-Tamar episode in Genesis, 38.

⁶⁹ Read [*mu-ul-ša*].

⁷⁰ *al-mu-ul-[tu] š-i-i-t*, i. e., her legal status is that of a widow, and the law regarding widows takes its course. The bond with the family into which the girl has married is dissolved if, at the time when her husband died, there are no brothers, and the father-in-law is no longer living.

⁷¹ Literally, 'takes'.

contract and for two years she is retained in his house, that woman need not leave (sc. the house).⁷²

34

If a widow enters the house of a man, whatever she brings along⁷³ belongs to her husband, but if the man goes to the widow,⁷⁴ whatever he may have brought,⁷⁵ all of it belongs to her.

35

If a woman is retained in her father's house, albeit that her husband had placed a house at her disposal for shelter,⁷⁶ but her husband has gone to the field⁷⁷ without leaving her oil, wool or clothing or any produce or food or anything, and does not bring her any produce from the field, that woman for five years must be faithful to her husband,⁷⁸ and not go to live with any (other) man; whether there be children, who are hostile⁷⁹ (to her) and have withdrawn themselves (?),⁸⁰ that woman must be faithful to her husband, (and) not go to live with any (other man); or whether there be no children, she for five years must be faithful to her husband, but on the approach⁸¹ of the sixth year she may

⁷² I. e., Living with a man for two years constitutes what we would call a common-law marriage. According to the Hammurabi Code, § 128, the formal contract is essential to constitute a woman as a legal wife, but perhaps this was not meant to apply to marriage with widows.

⁷³ *na-qu-tu-i-ni*, i. e., transfers from her home to the man's house.

⁷⁴ I. e., goes to live with the widow.

⁷⁵ *na-ap-qu-si-ni*. The assumption in both instances is that there is no formal marriage by means of a contract. The widow is a free agent and can live with a man without becoming his possession by virtue of a contract. She can dispose of her property if she takes the man into her house and has a claim on what he brings, but if she goes to live with the man in his house, she forfeits the claim to what she had before taking this step.

⁷⁶ *a-nu ba-at-ti*, from the verbal stem *bata*, 'to shelter', from which we get *bata* 'house'. The case is that of a woman who is separated from husband because of non-support.

⁷⁷ I. e., has gone away.

⁷⁸ *pa-ni wa-ti-id ta-da-gul*, 'the face of her husband she is to look up to'—a phrase indicating that she must be faithful to her husband. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 240a.

⁷⁹ *in-na-tu-si-ru* from *nakru*, 'to be hostile'.

⁸⁰ *e-ik-tu-tu* from *kafu* 'hold back', i. e., do not support her.

⁸¹ *i-na ka-ba-a-si*, 'at the threshold,' from *kabdu*, 'to tread'.

go to live with the husband of her choice.⁸² Since her husband upon going away has never come near her, she is free⁸³ to take another husband.

(Or) if he delays for a term of five years of his own accord without coming near her, or a distaste (?)⁸⁴ for the city has seized him and he has fled, or he is taken as a rebel⁸⁵ and detained,⁸⁶ (or) on his going away a woman takes hold of him who gives herself (to him) as his wife, and he takes her as his wife,⁸⁷ (or) if the king sends him⁸⁸ to another country and he delays for a period of five years and his wife has remained faithful to him, and has not lived with any (other) man⁸⁹. But if within⁹⁰ the five years she goes to live with (another) man, and bears (him) children, to her absent husband has not been faithful according to the contract,⁹¹ then she must take him⁹² back and as for her children, he (i. e., the second husband) takes them.⁹³

⁸² Literally, 'of her heart', i. e., she may take another husband.

⁸³ *za-ku-at*, i. e., free to decide. It is a clear case of desertion.

⁸⁴ *ka a-li*, 'distaste of the city', corresponding to the phrase *ali-ša i-zi-tu-ma in-na-bi-tu*, 'he hated his city and fled' in § 136 of the Hammurabi Code which forms a parallel to this section of our law. Note that as in our text, so the Hammurabi Code adds 'and fled'. By the side of *ali-ša i-zi-tu*, it has also the synonymous phrase 'he deserts (*id-di*) his city and flees'. For the underlying stem of *kā* ('to spit out' and then 'despise') see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary* 901b. Perhaps one *a* has dropped out, so that we should read, *ka-a*.

⁸⁵ Read *sa-ar-[ri]*.

⁸⁶ Read *u-ta-aš-[ka-ar]*.

⁸⁷ I. e., he comes across some woman and he marries her. We must supply that in that case his wife is likewise free to take another husband, since it is a clear case of desertion.

⁸⁸ *u-ta-par-ša* from *šapru*.

⁸⁹ Supply that in that case she is also free to marry, on the assumption that her husband is dead.

⁹⁰ *i-na pa-ni*.

⁹¹ *aš-šum ri-ut-na*, literally 'because of the contract', i. e., in view of the contract. The marriage contract is meant which probably stipulated that the wife must remain faithful, etc.

⁹² *a-na šā-a-šā*, meaning the first husband.

⁹³ While there is a certain ambiguity in the text owing to the frequent shifting of the subject of the verb, the context as well as the comparison with the Hammurabi Code points to the children of the second marriage remaining as the second husband's property. Desertion is treated in the Hammurabi Code in §§ 133-136, all dealing with the case of the husband being captured. According to the first three paragraphs, if the husband has left maintenance in the house, the wife has no right to go to another man, and if she does,

36

If a man divorces³⁴ his wife, if he chooses he may give her something, and if he does not choose, he need not give her anything and she goes away empty-handed.³⁵

37

If a woman is kept (in the house of) her father and her husband divorces her, any voluntary gift³⁶ that he has bestowed upon her, he may take, but on her marriage settlement³⁷ which she brought with her he has no claim³⁸; it is free³⁹ for the woman.

38

If a man has given another man's daughter⁴⁰ to a husband,¹

she is drowned ('thrown into the water'—not a river ordeal, but actually drowned). If the husband has not left maintenance for his wife, then the latter if she goes to another man and bears him children must—as in our Code—go back to the first husband upon his return. The children from the marriage with the second husband belong to the second husband. The woman, however, receives no further punishment, since the first husband left no maintenance for her. If, however, (§ 136) the husband deliberately deserts his wife who thereupon marries another, the husband on his return cannot take his wife, because, as the text adds, 'he took a distaste for his city and fled'. There is no specification of any time limit in the Hammurabi Code.

³⁴ *e-i2-ei-ib*, from *esēbu*, 'forsake'—likewise in the Hammurabi Code the term for divorce §§ 137-141 and 148.

³⁵ *ra-ku-ti-e-šd*.

³⁶ *du-ma-ki*, as above, §§ 24-25.

³⁷ *ti-ir-ša-ti*. See note 28 to § 26. Our passage is conclusive evidence that by the time of the Code the 'purchase price' for the wife had become the marriage settlement, devised for her by her father.

³⁸ *la-a i-šar-ri-ib* as in §§ 26, 28, etc.

³⁹ *za-a-ku*, i. e., entirely at the disposal of the woman and free of any claim to be made upon it.

⁴⁰ Literally, 'one who is not his daughter'. The case is that of a girl held for a debt contracted by her father and who has been handed over by him to a third party as a wife. According to § 47, this cannot be done without the consent of the father if he is living, and if the father be dead, the opportunity must be given to one of her brothers to redeem her, before the creditor can give a pledged girl to a man. Our law assumes that whatever formalities are necessary have been fulfilled, and takes up the question what the husband must do upon receiving the girl from her father's creditors.

¹ *a-na mu-ti*, used for 'husband' throughout this Code.

her father having been at some previous time² a debtor³ for a transaction,⁴ at the settlement⁵ of a former business partnership,⁶ he (i. e., the husband) must go (and) pay against the pledging⁷ of the girl the price⁸ of the girl. If he cannot give the pledge,⁹ then the man¹⁰ takes¹¹ the one pledged.¹²

But if she is living in misery,¹³ she is free¹⁴ to any who rescues her¹⁵; and if the one who takes the girl¹⁶, be it that a document

² *šum-ma pa-ai-ma*, 'if formerly', detailing how the girl came to be held, because at some period in the past her father had contracted a debt which he could not pay.

³ *šab-bu-ul*—(occurring again § 47) 'the pledgor', clearly the term for the debtor—as against *bēl šubullī*, 'the owner of the pledge', i. e., the creditor.

⁴ *š-i-š la-par-ti*, occurring again § 43 and Text No. 6, obv. 8 and 14. In the latter two passages *šaparta* is used in contrast to *kašpu*, 'money' or cash, from which we may conclude that *šaparta*, literally 'a shipment', from *šapru*, 'to send', designates a business transaction in products or property as against a money loan or other cash transaction.

⁵ *še-šu-bal*, st. constr. of *šešubtu* from *šādbu*, 'to dwell, settle', etc., is the exact equivalent to our 'settlement'.

⁶ *um-mi-u-nu pa-ni-d*. On *ummiānu* (also Text No. 6, rev. 21 and 25) as a business partnership, see the passages in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, Index s. v. p. 557.

⁷ *ina šis ta-di-na-u-ni*—the latter a substantive formation in *anu* like *naikānu*, 'adulterer' (above § 22), *amirānu*, 'eye witness' (Text No. 1, § 46) and *abiānu*, 'the taker' in our law, (see note 10), from *iadānu*, 'to give as security and the like'. *Tadinānu* is, therefore, the object or person pledged.

⁸ *šinu*, 'price', i. e., the market value of the girl. The husband, who thus receives a girl as his wife, must pay her value to the one from whom he takes her and who had held her as a pledge or security for a debt remaining at the time of a dissolution of a business partnership.

⁹ *a-na ta-do-a-ni la-aš-šā*, more literally: 'it is not to him to pledge,' i. e., he has not the wherewithal to take over the pledge, i. e., the girl.

¹⁰ I. e., the one mentioned at the beginning who held the girl as a pledge for her father's debt. Presumably the father is dead (see § 47), and there was no brother to redeem the girl or none willing to do so.

¹¹ I. e., he retains the girl or takes her back from the husband.

¹² *ta-di-na-na* as above, note 7, i. e., the girl as the one pledged.

¹³ *i-na lum-ni*, a very general phrase to indicate bad treatment on the part of the one who held her for debt, though possibly the husband who obtains her by paying her market value is meant.

¹⁴ Read *[a]-ku-at*, i. e., she may be rescued by anyone.

¹⁵ *mu-bal-ti-ša-ni-šā*, literally, 'who restores her to life', an interesting expression for the rescuer.

¹⁶ Read *a-šī-šā-a-[nu šā]-a Šal*, 'the taker of the girl.' See on the formation above, note 7.

is drawn up for him¹⁷ or that a claim is put in for him,¹⁸ settles¹⁹ for the price of the girl, the one pledged²⁰ [is taken away (?)].

39

The first 15 to 20 lines of this law, which deals with the manner in which women of various grades and classes should appear on the street, are badly preserved. So much, however, is clear that the law begins by setting forth that married women and unmarried daughters 'when they go out in the highway'²¹ are to appear with their heads [covered].²² The same applies to a third class of women—perhaps 'concubines' (*šūgetim*), who are mentioned in the Hammurabi Code §§ 137, 144–145 and 183–184 by the side of the chief wife. There is a further specification in regard to daughters who should be veiled,²³—perhaps those betrothed—whether in street dress²⁴ or in [house (?)] garments.²⁵

¹⁷ *ul-ta ru-ū-šu = ul-ta-ru-ū-šu*.

¹⁸ Read *ru-gu-[um-na]-a ir-ti-ši-ū-[ni-e-eš-šū]* (cf. § 53, Col. 8, 14) 'they grant a claim for him'.

¹⁹ Read *ū-kal-lim*, 'he makes good', as against *i-kal-lim*, 'he pays'.

²⁰ One would have expected *ta-di-na-a-na* [*i-leš-ši*]—i. e., 'he (the rescuer) takes', but the reading is *ta-di-na-a-na* in the nominative case which, therefore, demands a verb in the passive sense. It is possible, however, that *na* is a slip for *na*. In any case the meaning is perfectly clear that the rescued girl goes to the rescuer upon his redeeming her by paying her market value.

²¹ Read *la a-na ri-be-ti* [*li-il-la-ku-ū-ni*]. The beginning of the sign *ti* is visible. Cf. ll. 57 and 59.

²² The verb is broken off. We must supply *la-a pa-at-tu-ū-ni*, 'not uncovered' or some such form as *kuttumūns* from *katūmu*, 'cover'. Cf. the description of the night as the *kallatam kuttumtum*, 'the covered bride' (*Makla Series*, ed. Tallqvist, 1. 2)—pointing incidentally to the custom of covering or veiling the bride. At all events, the context points clearly to the statement that the women are to go about with covered heads.

²³ Read *po-aa* [*gu-na-at-tu-ū-ni*], followed by *ka-kul-zi-na* [*la-a pa-at-tu-ū-ni*] i. e., they must be both veiled and with their heads covered. The covering of the head does not refer to a hat or bonnet, but means that women must conceal their entire head by a drapery, as is still the custom in parts of Syria and in Tunis, Algiers and Morocco. See the illustrations in *Plass-Bartels Das Weib* (9th ed. Vol. 1, pp. 527 and 531).

²⁴ *Ku* (= *hubūku*) *li ri-be-ti*, 'dress of the highway'.

²⁵ Specification broken off. It is reasonable to conjecture that, by way of contrast, house garments were mentioned.

When the text again becomes legible (after two entirely effaced lines), it reads as follows:

..... she need [not]
be veiled.²⁶ In the daytime when on the highway²⁷ she
goes about, she is to veil herself. The captive woman,²⁸ who
without the mistress [of the house]²⁹ goes about on the highway,
is to be veiled. The hierodule³⁰ who is married³¹ to a man is to

²⁶ Read [*la-a up-ta-aq-qa-an*], as in lines 57 and 65 of col. 5, from *pašānu*, which, in the meaning of 'conceal', occurs in the Babylonian text of the Behistun Inscription, line 102 (*lapissānu*, 'thou coverest up'; see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 815b). The frequent occurrence of this stem in our law and in various forms (*tu-up-ta-aq-qa-an*, *pa-aq-qu-un-ta*, *i-pa-aq-qa*, *u-pa-aq-qa-an*, etc.) leaves no doubt as to the meaning 'to veil'. We are perhaps to supply 'when in the house, she need [not] be veiled'.

²⁷ *i-na ri-be-ti*, equivalent to our 'in public'. What class of women are here referred to who are to be veiled in the daytime on the highway, but otherwise not, can unfortunately not be determined, because of the break in the tablet—perhaps the widow, for whom, as we have seen, there was a special legislation, e. g. §§ 33-34.

²⁸ *e-ši-ir-tu*, i. e., the woman captured in war for whom, it will be recalled, special provision is also made in the Deuteronomic Code, Dt. 21. 10-14. According to our Assyrian Code, a man may recognize the captive woman as his wife (§ 40), just as according to Deuteronomy he is urged to legitimize a captive woman as his wife; and though free to dismiss her, if he no longer cares for her, he cannot sell her. The position of the *esirtu*, not actually married to the master of the house, would correspond to the modern 'mistress'. She would be required to go veiled in public, to mark her as the property of a man.

²⁹ Read *bīlūt bītī*, as in § 23.

³⁰ *ke-di-il-tu* = *kadīštu*, 'the sacred one', the well-known name for a class of temple prostitutes or hierodules. According to our Code, the *kadīštu* could either be married or unmarried. The Hammurabi Code, on the other hand (§ 181), assumes that Nu-Gig (= *kadīštu*, Brünnow No. 3017), like the Nu-Mah (= *zermahītu*, see Meissner, *OLZ* 8, p. 358), as a rule remains unmarried, for it stipulates that these two classes of votaries receive their 'dowry' from their father just the same. See examples of a *kadīštu* holding property in her own name in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, Nos. 182 and 280. If the translation of *i-na ir-ši-ti-šā*, 'at her betrothal', in No. 211. 6, is correct, she could also marry; and this is confirmed by the statement in a school text furnishing extracts from a Sumerian Code of Laws (*VR* 25. 10e-d), which takes up the case of a man marrying a *kadīštu*, despite her status. The *kadīštu* appears to act frequently as a wet-nurse, e. g., Schorr, Nos. 78 and 241, where 'hierodules' appear as witnesses in a case involving the fee to be given to a wet-nurse. From this, we may also conclude that the *kadīštu* could marry or could become the mistress of the priest, as intimated by Herodotus, 1. 181. 'The priestess of Marduk', likewise mentioned in the

be veiled on the highway. The one who is not married is to have her head uncovered on the highway.²² The unclean²³ [woman] is to be veiled, the harlot²⁴ is not to be veiled; her head is to be uncovered.²⁵ Whoever sees a veiled harlot shall seize her.²⁶ He shall summon witnesses and bring her to the palace.²⁷

Hammurabi Code, § 182, might also be married, as Schorr, No. 280. 14, shows, but the Nin-An ('woman of a god'), another class of votaries who live in cloisters, it would appear from the Hammurabi Code, § 127, must remain virgins, as one may also conclude from § 110, prescribing severe punishment for a Nin-An who enters a wine-shop, which was the brothel in Babylonia and Assyria.

²² *la mu-tu iṣ-zu-ki-ni*, 'whom a man has taken', ac. as a wife. *aḫṣu* being the regular term for taking in marriage.

²³ Since she does not belong to any man, she need not be marked as a warning to those who might approach her.

²⁴ *la-a-tu*, see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dict.* p. 464b. Because of the demon of sickness or of uncleanness within her, she must warn those whom she encounters not to come near her, as the leper in the Priest Code (Lev. 13. 45) must go uncovered of head, but cover his upper lip and cry 'unclean, unclean'.

²⁵ *Kar-lil* = *ḫarimtu* (Brünnow, No. 7745) is the common 'woman of the street', as she is called in a Sumerian Code (Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, No. 102, col. 2. 12). She is not a hierodule as Langdon renders (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1920, p. 506).

²⁶ *ḫaḫḫad-as pa-at-tu*—which shows that the phrase in the Priestly Code usually translated 'to let the hair of the head go loose' means rather that she is not to go 'covered of head'. So in Num. 5. 18, the case of the woman suspected of adultery—who is for the time being put on a plane with the harlot—must have her head uncovered, while undergoing the ordeal to determine her guilt or innocence. The harlot is to be marked by being both unveiled and uncovered of head. The veiling of women which can now, through our Code, be traced back in the East to the middle of the second millennium, appears to be the custom introduced by a more advanced society and as a protection to the master of the household, so that every one may recognize his wife and his daughters and his mistress as his possessions, and forbidden to everyone else. Hence the harlot as belonging to everyone must not veil herself or cover her head. The veiling naturally leads to the introduction of the social factor. The veil becomes the distinguishing mark of the mistress of the house and therefore slave girls marked as such in other ways are not to be veiled. For a further discussion of this law with its bearings on Biblical passages mentioning the veil, and on the custom of veiling in Mohammedan countries, see an article by the writer on 'Veiling in Ancient Assyria' to appear in the *Revue Archéologique*.

²⁷ Read *t-pa-ba-as-si* = *iṣbat-si*, as shown by the parallel *t-pa-ba-at-si* (line 90). The sign *pa* has dropped out or has been omitted by Schroeder.

²⁸ *a-na pa-i ḫal-lim*, literally, 'to the entrance of the palace'.

Her finery³² they shall not take away, (but) the garment in which she is seized shall be taken away.³³ She receives 50 lashes, and pitch³⁴ they pour on her head. And if a man sees a harlot veiled and lets her go,³⁵ (and) does not bring her to the palace, that man receives 50 lashes, his *batikan*³⁶ (and) his garment are taken away. His ear they pierce,³⁷ boring it with a drill³⁸ and attaching it (i. e., the lobe) to the back³⁹ (sc. of the ear) and he must perform one month's royal service. Slave girls are not to go veiled.⁴⁰ If one sees a maid veiled, one must seize and bring her to the palace. They cut off her ear, and the garment in which she is seized is taken away.⁴¹ If a man sees a maid veiled and lets her go, does not seize her and does not bring her to the palace, they seize him

³² *hi-ku-ul-ta*, 'precious, costly' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 1035a), here seems to refer to the harlot's ornaments.

³³ I. e., she is probably exposed.

³⁴ *hi-ra-a*, for which Hommel long ago suggested 'pitch' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 432b). Since pitch was used for caulking, the term also acquired the force of 'caulking' in the sense of filling up with pitch. So in the Deluge Story (Gilgamesh Epic XI, 66).

³⁵ *u-ta-ak-šar* (also line 95) from *šāru*, which among many meanings also has the force of 'let go', and from which the intensive form *ušāru* means to 'release, acquit', etc., as used in our code, e. g., § 4.

³⁶ *ba-ni-ka-an-lil* (so also to be supplied in line 104) is an implement of some kind made of iron (Muss-Arnolt, p. 206b) but exactly what is meant is hard to tell—perhaps a sword, or possibly the ornamental stick (like a mace-head) which, according to Herodotus, I. § 195, every freeman carried.

³⁷ *u-pal-lu-šil-lil*, from *palāšu*, 'to pierce'.

³⁸ *i-na ib-ll*, evidently designating the boring instrument.

³⁹ *u-na ku-tal-li-lil*. The pierced lobe of the ear is bent back and attached with an awl to the back of the ear. This is apparently done to disfigure the individual. The piercing alone without the attaching of the lobe to the back of the ear occurs in our text, § 43, as a punishment for the one who retains an Assyrian man or woman in his house for debt. The 'boring of the ear' in the Covenant Code (Ex. 21. 6) and in the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 15. 17) for the slave who declines to accept his freedom, must have been originally a form of branding the slave. Perhaps a clay tag was attached to the pierced lobe, identifying the slave. The Biblical law which proposes to modify the law of slavery by limiting slave service (in the case of Hebrews) to a period of six years—practically an indenture—retains the old custom of thus branding slaves, but limits it to slaves who decide to remain with their master.

⁴⁰ Because belonging to a lower class of society. Slave girls no doubt were distinguished in some other way, perhaps by a tag attached to the ear or by a brand on the forehead.

⁴¹ As a female slave, she is not supposed to have any finery.

and determine his guilt. He receives 50 lashes. They pierce his ear, boring it with a drill (and) attaching it [to] its [back] (sc. of the ear). His [batikan],³⁸ and his clothing [are taken away];³⁹ [he must perform]⁴⁰ one month's royal service.

40

If a man places⁴¹ his captive woman⁴² veiled among five (or) six⁴³ of his companions' (and) in their presence veils her⁴⁴ and says 'she is my wife',—then she is his (legal) wife. The captive woman, who in the presence of men⁴⁵ is not veiled, and her husband does not say 'she is my wife'—is not a (legal) wife; she is a captive⁴⁶ woman. If the man dies and there are no children to his veiled wife,⁴⁷ the captive⁴⁸ children are regarded as (his) children.⁴⁹ They receive their share.

41

If a man on the day of blessing (?)⁵⁰ pours oil on the head of a

³⁸ The traces point clearly to [ba-ti]-[ka]-an-šá as above, line 82.

³⁹ So the traces as above, line 80. ⁴⁰ So to be filled out as above, line 87.

⁴¹ u-še-ši-ib, or as we would say 'introduces her'. ⁴² e-ši-ir-tu-šá.

⁴³ Expressed by the numeral five, followed by six without any connecting particle. To introduce a veiled woman to five or six individuals is equivalent to a public announcement of her status.

⁴⁴ u-po-še-an-ši. ⁴⁵ šabē, 'soldiers', but used for men in general as in § 18.

⁴⁶ e-ši-ir-tu-šá-ma šá-i-it, i. e., her status is that of an *esirtu*. She is the man's mistress, not his legal wife.

⁴⁷ I. e., his legitimate wife.

⁴⁸ eš-ša-a-ti, plural of *esirtu*, i. e., the children of the captive mistress.

⁴⁹ I. e., as the legitimate heirs.

⁵⁰ i-na ūmi ra-a-ki—an obscure phrase. The act here referred to of pouring oil on a man's daughter appears to be some ceremony performed by the father on a prospective daughter-in-law, marking his acceptance of the marriage agreement which, in accordance with custom, was arranged by the parents of the young couple. The pouring of the oil might be a form of blessing to symbolize the hoped-for fertility from the union. But what is the *rāku* day? According to IIR 36, No. 3, 72, ra-a-ka is entered as an equivalent of the Sumerian *Sar*, which has such meanings as 'blessing, fertility, increase, offspring,' and the like (see Brünnow, Nrr. 8218; 8226-8228; 8231-8232, etc.). Tentatively, therefore, one may assume that the phrase stands in connection with the blessing of the prospective bride by the father-in-law. Among the Moroccans to this day, there are special designations for the days marking the betrothal ceremonies, as the 'day of finishing' and 'the day of fulfillment', etc. See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 31. At all events, the ceremony of anointing the head of the bride constitutes a symbolic acceptance of the marriage arrangement, after which the engagement can not be revoked.

man's daughter, or in a *šakultu* brings products (?)⁶¹ there can be no revocation.⁶²

- 42 -

If a man, be it that he pours oil on the head⁶³ or brings products(?), and the son for whom she was intended as a wife dies or flees, he is to give her to anyone whom he pleases among his remaining sons from the eldest to the youngest whose years are 10.⁶⁴ If the father dies, and the son for whom he had intended (sc. the girl) as a wife dies, any son that there may be of a deceased son whose years are ten marries her⁶⁵; and if at the end of ten years

⁶¹ Even more obscure is the second symbolical ceremony here described. To judge from the context, the *šakultu* is a receptacle in which something is carried to the bride, while the word that follows *ku-ru-up-pa-a-ti* (pl. of *šuruppu*) would represent gifts of some sort. The only meaning we have for the underlying stem *šarāpu* is 'to pluck, tear' and the like (gathered from a Syllabary, S⁶, 222; Muss-Arnolt, p. 339b), from which we get *šarpu* 'harvest time' (cf. Hebrew *šoreph*). The most plausible guess, therefore, is that *šuruppūti* are field products, offered to the bride—perhaps again as a symbol of the hoped-for fruitfulness of the union. Such gifts form part of the betrothal ceremonies among the Moroccans of the present time. See Westermarck *ib.* pp. 33, 43, 45, 47, etc. (wheat, butter, flour, sugar; also sheep).

⁶² *tu-ur-ta la-a u-ta-ar-ra*, literally: 'a revocation they cannot revoke'—the term used being the same (from *uru*, 'return, restore,' etc.) which is elsewhere in the Code used for restitution, e. g., § 2. The two ceremonies represent the agreement on the part of the prospective father-in-law to the marriage. Hence the obligation resting on the latter—as set forth in the next law—to provide a husband for the girl from among his sons, if the son intended for the girl dies before the marriage takes place.

⁶³ Sc. 'of a man's daughter,' as in the previous paragraph. Note that *ina ūmi rāki* and *ina šakultu* are omitted in this abbreviated description of the ceremony.

⁶⁴ Note the construction, '(a son) who has his ten years', as in Hebrew 'a son of ten years'. The age of ten is, therefore, the minimum age of betrothal for the young man. Early betrothals—even before the age of puberty—are still customary in the East. See, e. g., Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 1, p. 214 (betrothals at 8 or 7 years of age); Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 34-48, 49, and Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib* (9th ed. Leipzig, 1908), 1, pp. 698, 702, 704, etc. The point of our law is that the prospective father-in-law is obliged to provide a husband for the prospective daughter-in-law, after the ceremonies described have been performed.

⁶⁵ *ib-ku-uz*—the usual term for 'marriage' as above pointed out. The case assumed appears to be that there are no brothers of the deceased prospective husband living, in which case one of the grandsons must marry the girl, provided he is of age, i. e., 10 years old.

the sons of any son are (still) minors,⁶⁶ the father of the girl may, if he pleases, give his daughter (in marriage),⁶⁷ and, if he pleases, he may make recompense⁶⁸ by agreement⁶⁹; and if there is no (other) son,⁷⁰ whatever may have been received in money(?)⁷¹ or anything except food,⁷² the capital⁷³ (thereof) is to be returned, but any food is not to be returned.

43

If an Assyrian man or an Assyrian woman⁷⁴ is retained⁷⁵ for a transaction,⁷⁶ whatever its amount,⁷⁷ in the house of a man,

⁶⁶ *gi-ib-bi-ru* 'are small'—still too young to be betrothed. The father of the girl need not wait any longer if he has a chance to marry off his daughter.

⁶⁷ I. e., to any one of these minors, despite their minority.

⁶⁸ *tu-ur-da . . . u-da-ar*.

⁶⁹ *a-na mi-it-ba-ar*, which apparently means that the relatives of the one to whom the girl was betrothed must be recompensed for the failure of the marriage agreement.

⁷⁰ I. e., no brother of the deceased prospective husband or no grandson.

⁷¹ The text has *Na*, the sign for 'stone', used as a determinative before stones and metals, but which acquired a more general sense to designate any inorganic substance, as against the sign for 'plant' for organic substances of any kind. In legal phraseology *Na* appears to have been applied to any metal used in coinage, 'lead, silver or gold', as is more specifically indicated in another passage in the Code, § 29 (col. 4, 37).

⁷² As above in §§ 29-30, it is assumed that food given to anyone is for consumption and is not to be reckoned as a betrothal gift that may under certain circumstances be taken back. This would tend to confirm that *šuruppai* (above, note 61) at all events include food products as is the case in Moroccan betrothal ceremonies.

⁷³ *šakku* as in § 29.

⁷⁴ The specific references to Assyrians in the Code (see above § 23, col. 3, 46) and Text No. 6 obv., 20, in Schroeder's volume and No. 143 (Pl. 89, obv. 8) are of interest as showing that there was not in Assyria 'one law for the native and the stranger', which is the ideal in the Priestly Code (Ex. 12, 49; Num. 9, 14).

⁷⁵ I. e., as a pledge. From this passage it appears that men as well as women were held as hostages for debt, though the purpose of the law is to prevent Assyrians from being so held. Hence the severe punishment meted out to those who committed the crime. The law, however, does not apply to wives, minor sons and unmarried daughters who could be thus pledged—whether Assyrians or not—by the husband and father, and retained by the creditor.

⁷⁶ *ša-par-ti* as above § 38 (also Text No. 143, obv. 7).

⁷⁷ *am-mar šumi-šá*, i. e., for the amount of the transaction.

the full amount is taken away,⁷⁶ and he is obliged to give a quit-tance.⁷⁷ They mutilate his ear by boring.⁷⁸

44

If a woman is pledged⁷⁹ [to]⁸⁰ her husband who has been captured by an enemy, and she has neither father-in-law nor son,⁸¹ for two years she must remain faithful to her husband.⁸² (But) during these two years she may go and testify that she has not had any support and that she is a dependent(?) upon the palace.⁸³ She

⁷⁶ I. e., the creditor as a fine forfeits the value of the transaction by order of the court.

⁷⁷ *i-na-af-tu i-ba-ak-ka-an*. My translation rests on the interpretation of *ibakkan* as a denominative verb of *buḫanu*, which is of frequent occurrence in sale documents dealing with slaves or real estate, to indicate that the transaction is legally concluded. The phrase in business documents reads: 'he has handed over the *buḫanu*'. (See the passages in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, s. v., p. 516.) The ideographic designation (Gi) Gan, shows that the *buḫanu* was a utensil of some kind (cf. Ungnad, *Zeits. für Assyriologie*, 23, p. 88) used as a symbol and serving, therefore, as a formal recognition of the transaction. If the *buḫanu* was (as is generally assumed) a 'staff', we would have an analogous practice in the *lex salica* to which B. Fehr, *Hammurapi und das Salische Recht*, p. 40, called attention. But whatever the symbol was, it served as a receipt, and our verb (the intensive form points to its being a denominative) is therefore to be taken in the sense of a legally completed transaction. Literally, therefore, 'It is proper (or obligatory) that he (sc. the offender) should hand over the *buḫanu*'.

⁷⁸ *i-ḫap-pa*, from *ḫipā*, 'destroy'. On the boring of the ear, see above § 39.

⁷⁹ *ta-ad-na-at*, Permissive 3d person fem. from *tadnu*, which we encountered above, § 29. The woman is betrothed but not actually married.

⁸⁰ Read *a-na*.

⁸¹ She is deprived of support by her husband, and has no one to look after her. Her father-in-law, presumably, is dead and she has no offspring.

⁸² *pa-ni ta-ad-la-gal* as above, § 35, to indicate that she is not free to marry until after the expiration of two years.

⁸³ The text is defective at the beginning of the line, so that there is a doubt as to the term to be supplied before *la ekal-lim*, 'of the palace'. Three signs are clear, to wit: *la-i-tu*. The traces of the one preceding *la* point to *kal*. It may be, therefore, that she is designated as 'a bride of the palace', but this is unlikely for two reasons: (1) the meaning is obscure, and (2) we should expect *kal-la-tu*. Furthermore, there is room for another sign before *kal*. The most probable restoration seems to me to be *tuk-kal-la-i-tu* from *takdu*, 'to entrust', designating the woman as one whose charge falls to the state, in view of the fact that she is left without support in consequence of her betrothed's departure. It is assumed that her betrothed has been captured while in the service of the state (*dan-na-at karri*, 'service of the king', line 82).

has no one⁸⁸ to support her and whose service⁸⁷ she might do. She is a ⁸⁹.....

(At this point and for seven lines the text is defective. There is apparently a reference to the state(?) stepping forward to 'support her' by placing a field and house—presumably the entailed property of her husband for which she is held—at her disposal. She is represented as again 'going' to testify that she has 'no support'. When the text becomes legible it reads as follows:)

The judges immediately(?)⁹⁰ . . . shall ask the magistrates⁹¹ of the city that they go to the field in that city and turn over⁹² the field and the house to be used for her support for two years. She occupies it and they draw up a document for her. Upon the completion of the two years, she may go to live with the man of her choice.⁹³ A document for her as of widowhood⁹⁴ they draw up. If at any future time her lost husband returns to

Another reading which is possible is *sub-kal-la-i-tu*, a feminine adjectival form for *sakallu* designating a 'deputy'—some one attached to a high official (see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vol. 2, p. 88). In any case the term used defines the dependent position of the woman, which is further described in the following line—unfortunately still more defective.

⁸⁸ Read *lu-aš šu*, 'there is not to her', i. e., she has no one.

⁸⁹ In return for her support. Read *šu-pa-ur-šū ti-p-pa-aš*, as in § 45 (col. 6, 108).

⁹⁰ Her status is further defined, but the line is too broken to be restored. The word *šu-ub-šū* (genitive), perhaps 'attached', points to another designation of the deserted woman as dependent upon the state, which must step in to 'support her', as is indicated at the close of the following line—likewise defective.

⁹¹ Read *šo-šū*, favored by the traces, the meaning of which fits the context.

⁹² (Lu)Gal (Meš) (*=rabūtū*) *šū a-šū*, a class of officials often mentioned in legal documents of Assyria. See Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2, p. 155, for their functions.

⁹³ *up-pa-šū*, literally, 'to be made', i. e., converted to her use. The expression 'field and house', must be taken in the general sense of property—a dwelling and means of support through a cultivated field—placed at the disposal of the deserted woman.

⁹⁴ Literally, 'of her heart,' i. e., she is free to marry anyone whom she chooses if her husband does not return. The paragraphs in the Hammurabi Code (§§ 133-135) dealing with the captured husband (see above, to § 35) mention no time limit.

⁹⁵ *dup-pa šū ki-i al-na-ti*, i. e., she is given the status of a widow, free to marry again. The assumption is that her betrothed from whom she had not heard for two years, is dead.

the land, he may take away from his wife what she may have secured on loan,⁹⁴ (but) on her sons whom she bore to her second husband he has no claim.⁹⁵ Her second husband takes (them). The field and the house which for her support at the full value were deeded (to her) as a loan,⁹⁶ if he (sc. her first husband) was not in the service of the king,⁹⁷ he must refund what was deeded to her⁹⁸ and (then) take (it). But if he does not come back and dies in another country, then his field and his house in place of what the king gave⁹⁹ is to be given.

45

If a woman whose husband dies had not left the house of her husband within a year,¹⁰⁰ and if her husband has not assigned¹

⁹⁴ *a-na ki-i-di*, as above, § 6 (col. 1, 71).

⁹⁵ *la-a i-šar-ri-ib* 'he may not draw nigh' in the sense of having no claim, as above §§ 26, 28, 37, etc. This is in agreement with § 135 of the Hammurabi Code—the case of a woman whose husband (without providing for her support) has been captured and who marries another man and has children through him. She must go back to her husband on his return, but the children belong to their father, i. e., to the second husband. The assumption in §§ 134 and 135 is that the husband has been captured while on 'royal service'—as in our text.

⁹⁶ Again *a-na ki-i-di*, which here is equivalent to our loan. The reference is to the action of the state which had placed the field and house at her disposal for two years for her support.

⁹⁷ I. e., had not gone away in public service, whether to war or on some mission as is assumed in the first part of the law. The phrase used, *a-na dan-na-at šarri*, 'the service of the king', occurs a number of times in the Hammurabi Code, e. g., § 27, which also bears on our law. It reads: 'If a garrison officer or constable returns from the service of the king after they have given his field or his plantation to another, upon his return to the city, they restore to him his field or his plantation and he attends to his business (sc. as before)'. Assuming that this was also the law in Assyria, the man who goes away on private business is at a disadvantage, in being obliged to refund the state for the support of his wife during his absence.

⁹⁸ *ki-i ta-aš-šu-ni*, i. e., he must pay the sum 'pledged' or deeded to her before he can get possession of his property—the field and house.

⁹⁹ His estate falls to the State, in return for the support given her for two years by placing a property at her disposal. It is interesting to note that the king in this Assyrian Code is still looked upon as the source and representative of all governmental authority, but the use of the plural verb (*id-du-nu-š-ši* with *a-šar šarri*) also shows that the term has become a conventional one for the state or the court as a collective body.

¹⁰⁰ I. e., had not separated from him within a year of his death.

¹ *id-tu-ra-aš-še* (= *išturāša*), 'written for her'.

anything to her, in a house of one of her sons, whichever one she chooses, she may dwell. The sons of her husband are to support² her with her food and her drink³. As to a bride whom one loves they should attach themselves to her.⁴ And if she was a second wife⁵ and had no sons of her own, (with those of) the first wife⁶ she is to dwell. Together⁷ they should support her. If she has sons of her own, the sons of the former wife⁸ may decline to support her. In a house of her own sons, whichever one she chooses, she is to dwell. Her own sons are to support her and she shall do their service.⁹ And if among the sons of her husband, the one who had taken her [to support] her

(The rest of the law—four lines—is broken off. Presumably, it stipulated that if the son in whose house she lived dies, then another son must take his place for the support of the mother. the last word of the law, 'support her', is preserved.)

46

If a man or a woman practice sorcery¹⁰ and they are caught in the act, they seize them and determine their guilt. Anyone who

² *u-lu-ku-du-ti ki*, literally: 'feed her'.

³ *u-ku-lu-ti-ki u ma-al-ti-en*.

⁴ *u-ra-ak-ku-su-ni-e-lu*, from *rakûsu*, 'to bind'. This is the single passage in the Code in which a note verging on a gentle sentimentalism is struck. The sons should treat the widowed mother lovingly and with attachment to her.

⁵ *ur-ki-il-tu*, corresponding to the Sumerian *egirra* in the Sumerian Code (Lutz, *Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, No. 102, col. 1, 2, etc.) to designate a second wife by the side of the first one.

⁶ *il-te-en-tu = il-tentu*, 'first'.

⁷ *u-na pu-up-ri-ku-nu*, 'together', i. e., each bearing his share.

⁸ *pu-ni-ti*, i. e., the first wife who may still be living, though the term may also imply that she has died.

⁹ *ki-par-ku-nu* (as in § 44 above), the same expression as in the frequent reference to 'service of the king'. The mother is to render service in return for her support, to assist in the household of the son with whom she lives or in the field.

¹⁰ *ki-pi*, the same term which is used in the second law of the Hammurabi Code dealing with the charge of sorcery preferred against someone and providing a river ordeal for the one suspected, if the charge cannot be definitely established. If he succumbs to the ordeal (i. e., the river-god drowns him), then his property goes to the accuser. If he is proved innocent, he takes the property of the accuser who is put to death. It is characteristic of primitive law everywhere to forbid sorcery and to punish the offender with death. See Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, 2, p. 64-67. See also Ex. 22, 17, and the long list of various classes of sorcerers and demons, Deut. 18, 10-11.

practises¹¹ sorcery is to be put to death. A man who witnessed the performance of sorcery, or the one who from the mouth of an eye witness¹² to the sorcery heard him say about them,¹³ 'I saw it', any one who hears¹⁴ (this), must go (and) report it to the king.¹⁵ If a witness who was (supposed) to report to the king denies it, and in the presence of Mercury,¹⁶ the son of the Sun, declares¹⁷ that he did not say so,—he is free.¹⁸ The eye witness¹⁹ who (is reported to have) said so and denies it, the king interrogates him as much as possible and sees his back.²⁰ The sorcerer²¹ on the day that they bring him (sc. to the king) shall be forced to confess, and one should tell him²² that 'from the oath²³ which thou hast sworn to the king and to his son, he (i. e., the king) will

¹¹ *mu-up-pi-id-na*.

¹² *a-mi-ra-a-ni*, literally: 'the one who saw', an eye-witness.

¹³ About the man or woman suspected of sorcery.

¹⁴ *id-mi-a-nu* 'the hearer', i. e., 'an ear-witness.'

¹⁵ I. e., either of these two kinds of witnesses (a) the *amirānu*, the direct witness and (b) the *imirānu*, the one who heard—and therefore an indirect witness—must report the occurrence to the king. This direct reference to the king—and later on in the law also to the king's son (as the heir to the throne)—may be taken as an indication of the antiquity of the law, just as in the Hammurabi Code the section dealing with sorcery belongs to the oldest stratum of the Code. See Jastrow, 'Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurabi' (*JAOS* 36, p. 32).

¹⁶ The god Gud ('bull') is the planet Mercury, frequently mentioned in Astrological texts. Mercury as the smallest of the five planets known to the Babylonians and Assyrians and being always near the sun is appropriately designated as the son of the sun-god (Shamash). This reference to 'Gud, the son of Šamaš' occurs again in an omen text, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXVII, 4. 19 (=Pl. 6, 15), describing twins born to a woman, 'with a joint like Mercury, the son of the Sun' (sc. is joined to the sun). It is a case like that of the famous Siamese twins.

¹⁷ I. e., swears.

¹⁸ *za-a-ku*.

¹⁹ *a mi-ra-a-nu*.

²⁰ Exactly what is meant by this phrase is not clear—perhaps 'he dismisses him'.

²¹ *a-ši-pu*.

²² *ú id-ut i-ku-ab-bi*, i. e., warn him.

²³ *mu-mi-a*, i. e., the clearance oath.

not absolve thee.²⁴ According to the document which is sworn to the king²⁵ and his son, thou hast sworn.²⁶

47

If a man who has retained²⁷ the daughter of a man who is his debtor,²⁸ as a pledge in his house, asks her father, he may give her to a man; (but) if her father is not willing he cannot give (her).²⁹ If her father has died, the owner³⁰ must ask among her brothers. To each one of her brothers in turn³¹ he shall speak, and if one brother says: 'I will redeem³² my sister in one month,'—if at the end of the month he does not redeem (her), the master³³ is at liberty, to declare her free³⁴ and to give her to a man.

(Of the rest of the law—18 lines—only partial lines are preserved. The case of a harlot who dies is referred to towards the close.)

48

(The first six lines of this law are badly preserved. From the first line which may be restored as follows:

'[If a man] strikes [the wife of a man],'

the general subject is revealed. There is also an indication in the sixth line that a miscarriage (or a still birth [?]) has taken place in consequence of the blow. The text then continues as follows:)

He must make restitution for human life.³⁵ And if the woman

²⁴ *la-a i-pa-šd-ra-ku-su*. The sorcerer is to be warned of the consequences of perjury.

²⁵ I. e., the written testimony.

²⁶ *to-am-'a-a-ta*, i. e., the written deposition stands against him, if it is found that he is guilty of sorcery.

²⁷ The girl is held for debt.

²⁸ *šab-bu-š-šū*. See above, § 38, note 3.

²⁹ I. e., the father's consent must be given to the girl's being handed over to a third party.

³⁰ *bēlu*, i. e., *bēl bīti*, 'the master of the house', in this case, the creditor.

³¹ *šū-ut*, equivalent here to our 'respectively'.

³² *a-po-šar*. See note to § 5.

³³ Again *bēlu*. See the above note 30.

³⁴ *š-ak-ka-a-šī*, here in the sense of not being obliged to undergo any further formalities. He can dispose of the girl freely.

³⁵ *nap-šd-a-š i-ma-al-la* (referring to what precedes), set forth in the form of a general legal principle, and, therefore, repeated at intervals in the law as a standing phrase, as the result of the blow. Cf. Text No. 2, § 1, *nap-šd-a-š i-ma-al-la* 'he destroyed human life'. *nap-šd-š* though a plural is used collectively for 'human life'.

dies, they put the man to death. In compensation³⁸ for her (lost) offspring, he must make restitution for human life. And if the husband of that woman has no son, and they strike his wife so that she has a miscarriage, in compensation for her (lost) offspring, they put the one who struck the blow to death.³⁷ And if what was in her womb was a (developed) foetus³⁹, he must make restitution for human life.

49

If a man strikes the wife of a man not yet advanced in pregnancy⁴⁰ so that she has a miscarriage,⁴¹ for that guilt he must hand over two talents of lead.⁴²

50

If a man strikes a harlot⁴³ so that she has a miscarriage, blow for blow they impose upon him. He must make restitution for human life.⁴⁴

51

If a woman with her consent brings on a miscarriage,⁴⁵ they seize her and determine her guilt. On a stake they impale her⁴⁶

³⁸ *ki-i-mu-ú*, 'in place of'.

³⁹ The milder law in § 20, imposing a fine, lashes and public service, applies to a man's daughter. The severer punishment here is for two reasons, (1) it is a man's wife, and (2) there is no male offspring and there may be none in the future, because of injury to the woman.

⁴⁰ *gu-ú-a-ar-tu*, i. e., 'a little one'—to designate that the woman's pregnancy was advanced to the extent of a developed foetus, close, therefore, to being an actual human life.

⁴¹ *la-a mu-ra-bi-ta*, 'not large' through pregnancy, by way of contrast to a woman dropping a *gubartu*, according to the previous instance.

⁴² Afterwards, in consequence of the injury.

⁴³ The same fine as in § 20, the pregnant daughter of a man, but without the 50 lashes and one month's royal service.

⁴⁴ *Kar-il* (= *karintu*) as in § 39; also § 47 towards the close.

⁴⁵ The law does not specify in what manner. It is hardly to be assumed that in the case of one striking a harlot, the offender is put to death if by a premature birth a human life is lost. The restitution is more probably a fine to be fixed by the court, or by agreement with the woman.

⁴⁶ I. e., by malpractice.

⁴⁷ The Hammurabi Code (§ 153) prescribes impaling for the woman who conspires for the death of her husband.

and do not bury her⁴⁶; and if through the miscarriage she dies, they (likewise) impale her⁴⁷ and do not bury her; and when they curse⁴⁸ that woman because of her miscarriage, they say [to her (?)]⁴⁹.....

(The rest of the law—nine lines—is broken off.)

52

(Of this law only a few signs of the last four lines are left. It likewise dealt with striking a woman, slave girls and perhaps others.)

53

[If a man] takes a virgin from the house⁵⁰ of her father, [and against her will (?)]⁵¹ does not return (her) to him; and if [by force?]⁵² she had not been deflowered⁵³ and had not been handed over⁵⁴, nor held as a claim on the house of her father, any man

⁴⁶ No burial was the worst curse that could be imposed upon any one. It meant that the *etimmu*, or shade of the dead, wandered about without a resting place in *Arallu*—the gathering-place of the dead—suffering pangs of hunger and thirst. See the vivid description at the close of the *Gilgamesh Epic* (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 512).

⁴⁷ I. e., they impale the corpse—a good instance of Assyrian barbarism. See *Post Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, 2, p. 46, for examples of punishment extended even to the corpse—characteristic of primitive society, though it is worth noting that (as Mr. C. H. Burr informs me) the same punishment was imposed on the corpses of suicides in England till 1823, and their personal property was confiscated till as recently as 1870.

⁴⁸ Read *ti-ti-zi-ru-d-ti*.

⁴⁹ The form of the curse was presumably given.

⁵⁰ Read *(ti-tu bi a-bi-ti-ka) (u-bu-tu-d-ni)*.

⁵¹ One hesitates between supplying *a-na bi-ti-ka*, 'to her house', which would make a somewhat awkward construction, and *ina pa-ni-ka* (cf. § 23), in contrast to *ra-mu-an-ka*, 'with her consent', in § 54.

⁵² Are we perhaps to read *(ina-e-mu-ka)*, 'by force'? The traces of *ka* are clear in Schroeder's copy.

⁵³ *la-a pa-ti-a-tu-d-ni*, 'not opened', the general term for the untouched virgin or animal. One is reminded of the law in the fragment of a Sumerian Code published by Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, No. 28, §§ 6-7, where a distinction is made between a girl abducted, but not 'known' (i. e., not raped) and one who was abducted and 'known' or actually seduced.

⁵⁴ *la-e sh-tu-d-ni*, 'not taken', i. e., 'not taken by any one as a wife,' here applied to the girl captured, but not actually handed over to some man.

who whether within a city or outside, whether at night on a highway or at an eating house,⁵⁵ or at a city festival forcibly (?)⁵⁶ seizes the virgin (and) violates her,⁵⁷ the father of the virgin takes the wife of the seducer⁵⁸ of the virgin and gives her to be ravished. To her husband he does not return her; he takes her away (from him).⁵⁹ The father of the ravished girl gives her as a possession⁶⁰ to the seducer. If the man has no wife, then three times the purchase price of the virgin the seducer must give to her father. The seducer who marries her cannot spurn her.⁶¹ If the father does not wish to receive three times the price of the girl,⁶² he may give his daughter to any whom he pleases.

54

If a virgin with her consent gives herself to a man,⁶³ the man must swear an oath (sc. to that effect). On his (sc. the adulterer's) wife⁶⁴ there is no claim. The seducer gives three times the price of the virgin, and the father can do to his daughter what he pleases.

⁵⁵ *bil ka-ri-e-ti*, 'house of feasting', which seems to correspond to our 'restaurant'.

⁵⁶ *ki-i da-a-a-ni*, an obscure phrase but for which I suggest a meaning 'duress'. Cf. *di'atu* for 'distress', Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, p. 286.

⁵⁷ *u-ma-an-zi-e e-ki*, from *masû*, 'to press'—an euphemistic term to indicate rape. It is not surprising to find so many terms in Assyrian for sexual intercourse. Modern Arabic is full of them, and in fact most languages have a large variety of such terms—some popular, and some of a literary origin.

⁵⁸ *na-i-ka-a-na* used for the adulterer (above § 22), as well as for the seducer of a virgin.

⁵⁹ A curious and barbarous punishment that the innocent wife of the seducer should suffer for the crime of her husband and be made the victim in the same way as the virgin was victimized, but quite in keeping with the crude application of the *lex talionis* which marks this Assyrian Code.

⁶⁰ *a-na a-bu-zi-ti*, 'as a possession'—here, no doubt, in the sense of marriage.

⁶¹ *la-a i-sa-ma-ak-ki* from *samaku*, which from the context, as well as from a passage in an incantation text in which a form of the verb has been found (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 766a), must have some such meaning as 'reject, dispose of,' and the like.

⁶² I. e., he declines to receive the large indemnity which, however, involves his giving the girl to the seducer.

⁶³ I. e., is not taken from the father's house as in § 53.

⁶⁴ *a-na aliati-ku la-a i-ka-ri-i-bu*, i. e., the action set forth in the preceding law cannot be followed, in case the virgin willingly gave herself to the man.

(The text—fourteen lines—is mutilated beyond certain recovery. The law continues the general subject of illicit intercourse, and at the close provides that if the suspected woman is 'released of her guilt,' the husband by a document gives his wife a quittance.⁶⁵ Apparently, it is added that if he had mutilated his wife's ear,⁶⁶ 'there is no guilt attaching to him.')

This completes Text No. 1 in Schroeder's publication. If the colophon had been preserved in full, we would be able to indicate the place of the tablet in the series.⁶⁷ All that is left of the colophon, however, is the date according to the custom of the Assyrian scribes, viz.:

The month of *Sarāli* (6th month) 2d day eponymate of
Sa.....u.....

Such dating prevents us from fixing the reign in which the tablet was drawn up, unless we happen to have a list of eponyms in which the name occurs. That is not the case in this instance.

TEXT No. 2.⁶⁸

1

(Beginning mutilated. The subject of the first six laws [covering Col. II and III] is the division of an estate among brothers.)

..... ground⁶⁹
[the oldest son] sets aside⁷⁰ and takes two parts⁷¹ [as his share].⁷²

⁶⁵ *i-ba-ka-on*, as above, § 43.

⁶⁶ *uz-ni-šat u-bap-ša*, as above, § 43.

⁶⁷ See the remarks above, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Schroeder, No. 2 (Pl. 14-18) is likewise a tablet of four columns each on obverse and reverse, belonging to the same series as No. 1. It is badly broken. The 1st and 8th columns are entirely gone, and of the other six columns none is complete. Assuming that it contained as many as 55 laws (like Text No. 1), the 18 laws preserved would represent not more than one-third of the tablet.

⁶⁹ *ka-ti-ri* = *ka-kharu*, 'ground', as Col. 5, 19 (§ 13).

⁷⁰ *i-na-a-ku*. The elder brother has the first claim, for which in Sumerian-Babylonian legal phraseology there is a special term *Sib-ta* = *elitum* (Schorr, *Altassyrische Rechtsurkunden*, s.v., p. 573) as against *Ho-la* = *zittu*, the general term for 'portion' or 'share'.

⁷¹ *ka-a-ka*, 'hands', i. e., two shares. Cf. above, Text No. 1, § 27, *ki-i ka-ti-šat*, 'his share'.

⁷² To be supplied as in Text No. 2, § 2 (line 21) *a-na zitti-ša*.

[and] his brothers afterwards in turn⁷⁵ set aside and take (se. their share). From the field any expenditure (?)⁷⁶ and all the outlays⁷⁵, the younger son subtracts (?).⁷⁶ The oldest son sets aside the one part of his share, and in return for his second part⁷⁷ exacts⁷⁸ service to him⁷⁸ from his brothers.

2

If one among the brothers of an undivided estate⁸⁰ destroys⁸¹ human life,⁸² they hand him over to the owner of the human life. If the owner of the human life chooses, he may kill him and if he chooses to be gracious,⁸³ he merely takes away his share.⁸⁴

3

If one among the brothers, of an undivided estate, either [meets

⁷⁵ *ur-ki a-ha-šē*, in which combination the second word has the force of 'brother by brother' and is a variant form to *aḥameš*, 'together'.

⁷⁶ *šē-šē(?)-šē mi-im-ma*. *Šikillu*—if the reading is correct,—may be a variant form of *šikillu*, 'expenditure' (?) (Ugnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 218, 31-32).

⁷⁷ *ma-na-ša-a-ti*, plural of *manāḫtu*, which is of frequent occurrence in legal documents as well as in the Hammurabi Code, (§§ 47 and 49), and has the force of our 'outlay', for the improvements made on a property.

⁷⁸ *uš-su-ak* for *uḫṣaḫ* (?)

⁷⁹ *šē-ni-ti ša-ti-šē*.

⁸⁰ *i-qa-al-ti* from *qālū*—perhaps in the sense of 'implores' or 'demands'.

⁸¹ *šē-pur-šē*, 'his work', i. e., his share of the work on the estate, which the brothers must perform at the demand of the older brother.

⁸² *la zi-zu-ū-tu*, i. e., before the settlement is made.

⁸³ Read *ik-mu-ur* from *kaṣṣū*, a synonym of *dātu*, 'kill' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 397b).

⁸⁴ *nap-šē-a-ti*, 'human life' as above, No. 1, § 48, which here appears to refer to the household or retinue of the estate, just as in Hebrew the corresponding word has this force, e. g., Gen. 12. 5, 'all the *nefesh* which they had acquired in Harrau', i. e., the household. Perhaps the livestock was also included in the general term.

⁸⁵ *im-ma-an-qa-ar* from *magāru*, 'to be favorable', and the like.

⁸⁶ *a-na zitti-šē*. It rests with the elder brother either to kill his brother, or to pardon him and to take his share—again an illustration of the crude spirit of the Code which regards not the crime primarily, but the property loss involved in a human life, and therefore leaves it optional with the 'owner' to exact punishment or not.

with an accident (?)⁴⁵ or flees, his share falls to the king,⁴⁶ [according to] his pleasure.⁴⁷

4

(This law—likewise dealing with an undivided estate—is too badly preserved to permit of a translation.)

5

(Of this law, continuing the same general subject, only the ends of eight lines are preserved.)

6⁴⁸

(The beginning of this law, revealing in a most interesting manner the procedure in ancient Assyria for disposing of an estate, is broken off. When the text becomes intelligible, it reads as follows:)

...for silver⁴⁹ [a man wishes to acquire], he must agree [in regard to the field and] house, not [to acquire it]⁵⁰ for silver, for one month.⁵¹ The [surrogate]⁵² within the city of Asshur shall cause proclamation⁵³ to be made three times. Three times, he shall cause the field and house which is to be acquired to be proclaimed in the city, to wit⁵⁴: the field and house which

* Text defective. Some phrase, indicating that one of the brothers died is demanded by the context, as a comparison with the above text No. 1, § 42 (col. 6. 22), 'he either dies or flees', shows.

⁴⁹ I. e., as we would say, 'to the state'.

⁵⁰ Read [ki-i] ti-i-bi-i-i-ia, i. e., the king may, if he chooses, confiscate the share. It reverts to the state.

⁵¹ More than one law may be missing between the end of Col. 2 and the beginning of the third column.

⁵² A missing line described the prospective purchaser.

⁵³ Read la-a [a-lek-ki-i-ni, favored by the traces.

⁵⁴ I. e., there shall be a delay of one month.

⁵⁵ The traces point to [lu/i] (like lines 28, 31, 36, 40, etc.), an official of some kind—perhaps to be read *kuutu*, if the restoration of the determinative *Lu* before *i* in *Cuneiform Texts* XIX, Pl. 27 (K 2061, obv. 24) is correct. See Meissner, *Seltene Assy. Ideogramme* No. 4385. The restoration finds support from II Rawlinson, Pl. 48. 3a, where Ner-Gal with the force of 'lord' is likewise equated with *kuutu*. On the other hand, the official designated by *i* might also be read *maḥḥu*, 'first officer' (Meissner *ib.* No. 4386). In any case the ideographic designation having the value of 'to be high', points to an official of high standing, a surrogate charged with announcing and superintending the disposal of estates.

⁵⁶ a-a-a-a = (from *laḥi*, 'to call out'.

⁵⁷ mo-a, introducing the formal wording of the official proclamation to be made three times during the month, as a notice to all concerned.

belongs to N.N. the son of N.N.⁹⁶ within the confines⁹⁷ of this city, I wish to acquire [for silver (?)].⁹⁷ Whatever their demands⁹⁸ and (whatever) claims there may be,⁹⁹ let them draw up their documents and in the presence of the recorder¹⁰⁰ let them deposit them, and let them put in a claim¹ so as to make it free² to be disposed of.

If within this month, fixed as the time limit,³ they have not neglected⁴ to produce their documents and in the presence of the recorder have deposited them, then the man shall take to the full extent of his field.⁵

On the day that the surrogate(?) makes proclamation within the city of Asshur, one as a secretary(?)⁶ in place of the king, the city scribe,⁷ the surrogate and the recorder of the king shall assemble⁸ to dispose of the field and house within the city. (With) the prefect⁹ and three magistrates¹⁰ of the city standing by, the

⁹⁶ *an-na-na mar an-na-na*, 'this one, son of this one'. See Meissner, *ib.*, No. 7820.

⁹⁷ *A-Gar = ugaru*, a term of frequent occurrence in legal documents, and here used to indicate that the property lies within the confines of the city.

⁹⁸ *a-na [sarpi] (?)*.

⁹⁹ Read *[a-a] -ka-ša-nu*.

¹⁰⁰ Read *da-[ba]-ab-šu-nu*. Cf. Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* No. 149. 16 (*dabbi*).

¹⁰¹ *ti-pu-a-ti*, occurring again lines 24 and 43, evidently designates the office of the recorder.

¹ *li-id-bu-bu*—from *dabābu*, for which see Schorr, *ib.*, p. 372 note.

² *tu-zak-[ki]-ā-ma*.

³ *e-da-nu = adannu*, 'time limit' occurs also in Text No. 143. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 21a.

⁴ I suggest reading *la-a ma-šā-e* and combining *mašā* 'forget, neglect,' etc., with the following verb—*it-to-al-lu-ni-en-ni* IV, 2 from *dlu*, 'bring up' or 'produce'.

⁵ *a-na si-ir šēli-šū i-šal-lim*, literally, 'completing to the border of his field', i. e., the purchaser shall acquire the full estate.

⁶ Numeral one, followed by *i-na suk-kalli ša pa-ni kurri*, which would appear to designate an official acting as the representative of the king. For officials designated by an introductory *ša*, see, e. g., Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2, p. 165. The addition of *ina suk-kalli* I take as a designation of the secretarial bureau, but the entire passage must remain obscure until we find further references to the office intended in some Assyrian legal document.

⁷ *dup-lar ali*.

⁸ *iz-ša-en*, 'stand'.

⁹ *ša-zī-a-nu*, an official of frequent occurrence in official documents and who appears to have been the prefect. See Johns, *ib.*, Vol. 2, p. 148 seq.

¹⁰ *Gal(Mē) = rabūti*, as above, No. 1, § 44.

surrogate shall make the announcement. They shall hand over the documents that have been drawn up.

But if within this month, the surrogate three times makes proclamation, and within this month any one's document¹¹ was not brought, (and) in the presence of the recorder was not deposited, then on the field and house he lays his hand.¹² The one who caused the proclamation¹³ of the surrogate to be made is free¹⁴ to act. Three documents of the proclamation of the surrogate which the judges¹⁵ shall draw up [are to be deposited in the presence of the recorder].¹⁶

(Rest of the law is broken off.)

7

(Only partially preserved. It deals with some wrong committed against an owner of a house, for which a fine of one talent of lead, blows and a month's royal service is imposed, besides handing over twice the value of the house.)

8

If a man extends¹⁷ a 'large'¹⁸ boundary¹⁹ from his companion, they seize him and determine his guilt. He must hand over three times the area of what he has extended.²⁰ One of his fingers is

¹¹ Text has 'his document', meaning the document of any interested party.

¹² *ka-su e-li*, 'raises his hand', in the sense of taking possession, as in § 10 of Text No. 2 (col. 4, 32.)

¹³ *a-na nu-su-a-a-si-a-ni* from *šāsi*, for *mušassianu*—i. e., the one who brings about the proclamation.

¹⁴ *za-a-ti*, i. e., all formalities have been complied with and the estate can be disposed of.

¹⁵ I. e., all the other officials involved.

¹⁶ To be supplied and favored by the traces. Read [*a-na po-ni ki-pu*]-*ti-tu* [*iš-ku-nu-d-ni*].

¹⁷ *za-su-am-me-ih*, from *amāhu*, 'to add'. i. e., enlarges his boundary by encroaching on his neighbor's property.

¹⁸ 'Large' in contrast to a 'small' boundary in the following law must refer to an extensive encroachment as against taking only a small section away from some one.

¹⁹ *ta-hu-š-ma*, the same term that we find in Talmudic jurisprudence, no doubt borrowed from Babylonia. See Marcus Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, p. 1160b.

²⁰ Literally: 'The field as much as he has extended it, three times (as much) he must hand over'.

cut off; he receives 100 blows²¹ and he must perform one month's royal service.

9

If a man removes a 'small'²² boundary of an enclosure,²³ they seize him and determine his guilt. He must hand over one talent of lead and restore three times²⁴ as much of the field as he extended. He receives 50 blows and must perform one month's royal service.

10

If a man in a field that is not his digs a well and makes a trench(?)²⁵ (and) seizes²⁶ the trench for his well, he receives 30 blows and [he must perform] 20 days royal service.

(Of the balance of the law only the beginnings of the lines are preserved.)

11

(Of this law only the beginnings of the last 12 lines are preserved. It deals with a field, which is shared with an *ummiānu*—apparently a partner as in No. 1, § 38 [col. 5. 29].)

12

If a man in a field [which²⁷] lays out an orchard (and) [digs]²⁸ a well, (and) the owner of the field sees

²¹ The highest number of blows named in the Code. The severity of the punishment shows how seriously this crime was viewed. In view of the frequent denunciation in the Old Testament of those who remove boundaries (e. g., Hos. 5. 10; cf. Deut. 27. 17; Prov. 22. 28), this law of the Assyrian Code is particularly interesting.

²² I. e., only takes a small piece of land away from his neighbor. See note 18 above.

²³ *a-bu-ra-a-ni*, from *abāru*, 'enclosure' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 9b).

²⁴ So read according to Schroeder's *errata* to his edition (p. xxviii).

²⁵ *du-un-na*, used for a 'couch' or 'bed', (Muss-Arnolt *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 259b), but here would appear to designate a trench into which the water of the well is allowed to flow.

²⁶ *ka-a-su e-li*, 'he lays his hand', here (as above, § 6, note 12), in the sense of illegally using the trench to fill his well.

²⁷ The ends of the lines in this law are broken off. Evidently the man had no control over the field, but exactly in what relation he stood to it is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps we are to complete the line to *ši-a [a-na ar-ka-pi]*, 'a field which was taken for cultivation'. Cf. Hammurabi Code, §§ 60-61.

²⁸ *ib-ri* to be supplied as above.

the trees that he (sc. the man) raises without [protesting(?)]²² the orchard is [free]²³ for the cultivator.²⁴ The field as a field belongs to the owner of the orchard.²⁵

13

If a man on ground that is not his,²⁶ cultivates an orchard or digs a well, whether he raises vegetables²⁷ or trees, they seize him and determine his guilt. On the day that the owner of the field goes out (sc. to inspect what has been done),²⁸ he may take away the orchard together with its improvement.²⁹

14

If a man on ground that is not his, breaks it up(?)³⁰ and bakes bricks, they seize him and determine his guilt. He must hand over three times the amount of ground³¹; and his bricks are taken away from him. He receives 50(?)³² lashes and must perform [one month's]³³ royal service.

15

[If a man] on ground that is not his³⁴ and bakes bricks, they take away [the bricks and 50(?)] blows they give him³⁵ and he must perform one month's royal service.

²² The word is broken off, but the context points to a term like 'protest', perhaps *la-a i-k-bi*.

²³ Read *sa-(a-ku)*, i. e., he has the right to the crop.

²⁴ *na-di-a-ni*, i. e., from *nadû*, the one who cultivated it.

²⁵ I. e., the ground for further cultivation remains in the possession of the original owner of the orchard.

²⁶ *i-na la-a ku-ki-ri-i-šû*, for *ku-ku-ri*, as above, Text No. 2, § 1.

²⁷ *ur-ki*, 'greens'. We still call a dealer in vegetables a 'green grocer'.

²⁸ The assumption being that he voices his protest in contrast to his silent assent in § 12.

²⁹ *ma-na-ša-a-ti-šû*, more literally 'the outlays' on it, for which no compensation need be given.

³⁰ *ig-lu-ki-ma* from *gulašû*, the meaning of which is to be gathered from the context.

³¹ Sc. that he has used.

³² The text is uncertain. The number may be 40 or 50—more probably the latter.

³³ To be supplied as the usual phrase in connection with fixed labor.

³⁴ The verb which would have indicated what the man did in addition to baking bricks is broken off.

³⁵ Read *i-ma-ku-gu-d-ak*, according to Schroeder's *events* to his text (p. xxviii).

16

(This law is entirely broken away. If we may assume that it extended into Col. VI, we may conclude from the law following that it dealt with providing irrigation for fields adjoining one another, but it is of course possible that there was more than one law included between Col. 5. 39 and the beginning of Col. 6.)

17

[If it is canal]⁴² water which is collected among them⁴³ into a reservoir for irrigation,⁴⁴ [the owners]⁴⁵ of the fields divide up among themselves,⁴⁷ and each, according to the extent⁴⁸ of his field, does (his) work, and irrigates⁴⁹ his field. But if there is no harmony⁵⁰ among them, the judges⁵¹ ask each one⁵² about the agreement⁵³ among them, and the judges take away the document⁵⁴ and (each) one must do (his) work. (Each) must direct⁵⁵

⁴² Since in the following law it is 'rain water' which is to be used in common, the natural contrast to be expected here would be water from a canal, which is gathered in a reservoir and thence directed into the fields.

⁴³ I. e., by agreement among the owners of adjacent fields. The previous law, no doubt, specified who 'they' were.

⁴⁴ Read [šd e]-na ki-i-ki [a-na šd]-ka-a-ni (š-š)-ku-a-ni, as in the following law (col. 6. 23). *Šakānu* would appear from the context to be the term for 'reservoir'.

⁴⁵ Supply [Nim](Meš) = *bīlū*, as in the following law (col. 6. 24).

⁴⁷ *iš-tu a-ba-iš*.

⁴⁸ *a-na si-ir*, 'up to the border', as above in § 6.

⁴⁹ *i-ša-aš-ki* from *šikū* 'to water'.

⁵⁰ *ma-ag-ru-tu* from *maḡru*, which among various meanings has the force of 'to agree'. Such quarrels among those using water in common, must have been as frequent in Babylonia and Assyria as disputes about wells in Palestine. Cf. Gen. 26. 15-32.

⁵¹ *Di-Tar*(Meš) = *datānē*, 'judges', but here used collectively for 'court' and therefore construed in this law and in the following one with a verb in the singular, as e. g., *i-šd'-a-a-al*, 'asks', *iš-ši-bat*, 'seizes', in our law, and *i-deš-ki*, 'takes away' in the following law (col. 6. 34).

⁵² *amelu*, here in the sense of 'each man'.

⁵³ *ma-ag-ru*, i. e., what understanding there was regarding the share each one was to perform. There is the same double *entente* in the Babylonian stem *maḡru* as in the English term 'agree', used for 'harmony', and for 'an agreement'.

⁵⁴ *dup-pa*, i. e., the written agreement among the owners of the fields.

⁵⁵ *i-leš-ki*, 'take', out of the reservoir and direct into the field.

those waters by himself, and irrigate his field, but any one-else's⁴⁷ he is not to irrigate.

18

If it is rain-water⁴⁷ which is collected among them into a reservoir for irrigation, the owners of the fields divide among themselves. Each man according to the extent of his field does (his) work and irrigates his field. And if there is no harmony among them, whatever agreement there may have been among them, the court takes away the document of (each) man, because of the failure to agree.⁴⁸ (The continuation is broken off.)⁴⁹

The balance of the sixth column of the tablet is mutilated and in part entirely broken off. It is not even possible to estimate how many laws are missing—perhaps two. Of the seventh column only the remains of twenty-four lines, comprising two laws, are preserved. Both deal with agricultural matters, showing that the general subject of the previous column was continued.

Of the additional seven fragments of the Code published by Schroeder, while some—particularly No. 6 (Pl. 20-21)—are quite extensive, none is sufficiently preserved to give a continuous text. All therefore that can be done for the present is to indicate the contents of the fragments, so far as this can be determined.

(a) Of fragment No. 3, only parts of seven lines are preserved.

(b) Fragment No. 4 contains portions of five laws. The subject of the first two seems to be injuries, and of the last two, contracts.

(c) Fragment No. 5 contains parts of two laws. The character of the first is uncertain. The second deals with horse herds (*re'u su-gul-li ša xisē*, 'caretaker of herds of horses'). In Assyrian letters, we hear much of furnishing horses for the royal stables and for the army; and we would, therefore, expect stock farms to be introduced into an Assyrian Code.

(d) Fragment No. 6 gives portions of 11 laws. The subjects are, slave girls, the daughter of a man or his wife retained as a

⁴⁷ I. e., in order to avoid further disputes, no work is to be done in common.

⁴⁸ 'Water of the god Adad' = *amau*, rain, in contrast, therefore, to the kind of water mentioned at the beginning of the previous law.

⁴⁹ *a-na ili la-a ma-ag-cu-a-ta*.

⁴⁹ There is a reference to five magistrates (*rabili*).

pledge for debt, transactions regarding horses, oxen, and asses; theft, stolen property put on deposit, stolen property restored through a companion.

(e) Fragment No. 7 (No. 143 of Schroeder's edition, Pl. 89) gives portions of four laws covering monetary transactions, individuals held as pledges for debt, and guarantees.

(f) Fragment No. 8 (No. 144 of Schroeder's edition, Pl. 89)—small portion of one law.

(g) Fragment No. 9 (No. 193 of Schroeder's edition, Pl. 107 and 106)—bits of six laws, dealing with agriculture.

[As this article goes through the press, the first volume of Bruno Meissner's very valuable new work, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, Winter 1920), reaches me, in which, on pages 175-179, he summarizes some of the contents of the new code and discusses a number of the laws. Much to my satisfaction, I find that he confirms Professor Montgomery's supposition above set forth that in the term *šaršēn* (§§ 14 and 19) we have the Assyrian term for 'eunuch' and that castration was, therefore, a form of punishment in Assyria as far back as the date of the Code. I also owe to Meissner the correct interpretation of the verb *tadānu* in the sense of being 'pledged' to marry in § 29 of Text No. 1 (which applies also to § 44) and I have embodied this view, as well as one or two other suggestions derived from incidental references to social conditions as set forth in Chapter XII of Meissner's work dealing with 'The family and daily life'.]

BURUÇASKİ, A LANGUAGE OF NORTHERN KASHMIR

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FAR IN THE GREAT NORTHWEST of India, lying close to the borders of Turkistân, is the valley of the Hunza River. Along its northern banks lives a tribe of people who, tho formerly warlike and aggressive, are now industrious and peaceable. On the south side are men of a different sort: quieter, and more orthodox Muhammadans. Yet these two tribes speak very slightly differing dialects of the same tongue. This language, called *Buruçaski* by the best authorities, is, like most primitive tongues, possessed of qualities which are very strange to the peoples of the Western World. Indeed, *Buruçaski* has one phenomenon which I have been unable to find in any one of some 250 languages and dialects which I have investigated.

The object of this article is to give a brief summary of the main peculiarities of the tongue, and to discuss its possible linguistic relationships and offer some possible explanation of its origin. Later on I hope to be able to offer a scientific grammar.

Buruçaski possesses two main distinctive features. The most important of these to my mind is the so-called system of pronominalization. And in the second place there is the use of the vigesimal system. Several others might be mentioned, but these seem to me the most important ones. It is these elements, then, that we must look for in other tongues in order to classify the language. This problem has been investigated by Grierson, Leitner, and others, but the verdict so far has been 'unclassifiable'. I say this with the reservation of a statement by Prof. Trombetti which I will discuss later.

Let us now look into this matter and see whether we shall again justify the opinion of Grierson or, failing to do that, offer some constructive criticism of our own.

As I have said before, the 'pronominalized' quality of *Buruçaski* is the most striking one. It consists in the prefixing of a particle derived from the personal pronouns, and pronominal in effect, to certain nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and verbs. The principle underlying these several cases is fundamentally the same. (In fact, the actual form varies but slightly, as we shall see.) Dr.

Leitner, the original discoverer of Buruçaski to the western races of the earth, explains the pronominalization as follows: to the primitive mind the idea of 'head', for instance, is so closely associated with the idea of its possessor that the two can not be separated. Accordingly we find the mental concept reflected in the speech. There is no word for 'head' in the abstract; it is necessary to say *whose* head, either its present owner, or, if separated from the body, its past possessor. Thus we have words for 'my head', 'thy head', 'his head', and so forth, all quite distinct from one another, yet all founded upon the same root by means of prefixes. Nevertheless we do not find this root as a separate entity. It is invariably accompanied by one of the prefixes.

The pronominalization, to continue our abstract from Dr. Leitner, is therefore confined to words of family relationship, parts of the body, and mental conceptions—all of them expressing qualities, be they physical or mental, which can not be separated from their owner. They may be, as remarked above, expressed in a noun, a verb (usually, if not invariably, a compound with one of the pronominalized nouns as a component), an adjective (always a compound), or a preposition (these are very few and no regular rule is deduced). In the case of the verbs, the suffixes for the personal endings may also be derived from the same personal-pronominal roots. Thus in the pronominalized verbs we have the prefix and the suffix both. Such is Dr. Leitner's opinion on the matter.

Important as is the explanation and theory of so distinguished a scholar as Leitner, there seem to me to be some reasons for modifying it. There are, however, few 'first opinions' which survive the erosive effect of time. Facts discovered later contradict even the most logical theories.

Now as regards the Buruçaski system of pronominalization, which by its very nature causes a lack of certain abstract terms in the language, it is well to observe that, while there are cases of primitive tongues having different words for objects expressed in more advanced languages by a compound formed of a general word plus a specific modifier, these cases do not parallel ours. In them it is a question of an entire lack of abstract terms. In Buruçaski, on the other hand, altho there is no word for 'head', there is a *root* expressing that idea. Tho various personal prefixes are attached, that does not hide the significance of the existence

of the root idea in the language. To evidence the distinction I am making, I will quote several cases from other tongues. Dr. Romanes¹ cites the following examples: the Society Islanders have different words for 'dog's tail', 'bird's tail', etc., but no word for 'tail'. The Mohicans have different words for various kinds of cutting, but no verb 'to cut'. They can say 'I love you', or 'I love him', and so forth, but they have no way of expressing the simple idea 'to love'. The Choctaws have no word for the genus 'oak'. The Australians have no expression for 'tree' in the abstract, nor for 'bird', or 'fish', etc. The Eskimos can say they are fishing seal, or whale, and the like, but they can not invite anyone to go fishing with them without specifying what, where, when, or how they are going to fish.

I need quote no more of these cases to prove that, with the sole exception of the Mohican verb forms, there is no real resemblance between any of these and Buruqaski. In all of them the root too is absent. Not so, however, in the language we are studying. While the Kanjuti's (or Buruqaski-speaking man's) mind may not now be able to separate the idea of a part of the body, or what not, from the idea of its owner, his mind must at some time have had the power to conceive the root word to which he has attached his pronominal prefix—and there Dr. Leitner's theory seems inadequate.

Far more likely does it appear to me that the root word once existed and that the constant use of these now pronominalized words with the possessive pronouns led to the unifying of the two parts into one word. Subsequently, probably owing to a contraction, the significance of the possessive prefix was lost, to a certain extent, and the second half of the compound, the general term, lost its individual entity. Then the possessive pronoun was again added, and we find them now saying 'my my head', for instance. It is a similar case to that of the Southerner, who, as the story goes, had heard 'dam-Yankee' used together so much that he reached the age of discretion, so-called, without knowing that the phrase was not a word. I might also cite the use in modern English of 'the hoi polloi' as another example of how easily two words often used together become as one, frequently resulting in the addition of a superfluous particle before them.

¹ Geo. J. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man*, New York City, 1898, pp. 350-353.

Some day future nations may be saying that we lacked the mental acumen necessary to understand the original Greek. We too may be classed with the primitive savage.

To return to the subject, my analysis of the pronominalization is further borne out by the fact that the Kanjutis, according to Dr. Leitner, have been a free race, living in the same locality, and governed by the same line of kings, or chiefs, for about a thousand years. Their isolation has been almost complete for a millenium and a half. This is time enough for a language to decay as well as to advance, and their separation from the outside world would probably have not made for linguistic development. Certainly this isolation would have dulled their intelligence rather than sharpened it. Moreover it is generally acknowledged that the people speaking Buruçaski are an intelligent race, far above the Society Islanders, for instance. Thus the only logical conclusion seems to me to be that the primitive qualities of the language are due to decay. This alone, to my mind, can explain such qualities in a tongue whose speakers, according to all indications, are a very old race.

Turning now to the other main peculiarity referred to above, it will repay us, I believe, to look into this matter of the *vigesimal system*. We may be able to discover some analogies that will be of assistance in classifying, or otherwise theorising about, Buruçaski. In the first place we are reminded of the peculiar French usage in the instance of 70, 80, and 90. Instead of continuing the decimal system, French suddenly branches out into the *vigesimal*, e. g., 70, *soixante-dix*; 80, *quatre-vingt*; 90, *quatre-vingt-dix*. This is a survival of a former complete *vigesimal* system. Thus we find in early French *treiz vinz*, 'sixty', *treiz vinz et dix*, 'seventy', etc.¹ It is even continued beyond one hundred, so that we find *six vinz*, 'one hundred and twenty'. In the Keltic languages, also, we find this system,² and it is generally agreed that it was thru the contact with the Keltic that Old French developed this un-Romance quality. But, if this system is foreign to the Latin tongues, is it not also foreign to the Indo-European in general? The answer is decidedly affirmative. Whence, then, did the Kelts

¹ Friedrich Diez, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1882, pp. 725-726.

² Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 134.

derive their mode of counting? I will not stop here to go into any detail, but will merely outline a theory that presents itself to my mind. The Kelts may also have inherited the system from still earlier possessors of French soil. These tribes have now all died out, save the Basques who, I believe, are connected with the early (tho not the earliest⁴) inhabitants of Europe. (That the Basques should have invaded Europe later than the Kelts seems to me highly improbable.) Their language still uses the vigesimal system, and that is the only common ground it has to stand on with any language that exists or is known to have existed near the present abode of the Basques.⁵

This is all rather far afield, yet I do not regard it as time wasted, for it illustrates the importance of the numerical system in unraveling linguistic mysteries. Besides this, I regard the numerical system as of considerable importance in the classification of a tongue. Altho Prof. Trombetti,⁶ among others, cites the widespread use of the vigesimal system, still I should be very much inclined to investigate carefully any tongue that was within the limit of possibility geographically, and that made use of that system. The mere fact that the vigesimal system is widespread is no proof that two languages using it are *not* connected. More extensive notice of this will be taken later on.

After these all too few remarks regarding the two distinctive features of Buruḡaski I will now turn to the discussion of the linguistic affinity of the tongue and see what can be said regarding its classification. Should no classification be possible as yet, I will at least offer some suggestions as regards its more distant relationships; and at the same time see what can be said about its origin.

It is evident from the most superficial survey that Buruḡaski is not an Indo-European tongue. Authors (such as Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ancient Khotan* and in other works) who have had nothing else to say in regard to it have remarked that the language could not be Aryan. And they mean Aryan in the broadest sense of Indo-European. There is not the slightest resemblance in vocabulary, syntax, or any other way.

⁴ Wm. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, New York, 1898, p. 200. See also page 198 for further information regarding the migrations of the race.

⁵ Prof. Alfredo Trombetti, *Saggi di Glottologia Generale Comparata*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 9.

After ruling out this possibility we may next turn to another great group of tongues that is a near neighbor, namely the Tibeto-Burman group. Of this group the language geographically nearest to the Hunza is Balti. A somewhat careful comparative study of Balti and our language reveals not the slightest resemblance. Nor, in fact, can any similarity be traced in the entire Tibeto-Burman stock-in-trade. Here again we are compelled to agree with Grierson and the others. Yet there is one branch of the Tibeto-Burman group, known as the Himalayan pronominalized branch, that has many features quite opposed to the general run of things in its parent. Indeed it was for a time doubtful how to classify these pronominalized languages. They are found in little bunches scattered thru the southern slopes of the Himalayas, reaching as far west as Ladakhshān. The dialects spoken there have the greatest number of foreign elements of any of the Tibetan tongues. Yet, strange as it may seem, these idiosyncracies apparently border upon a relationship to Buruçaski. I will not discuss the resemblances at any length, but will merely remark that these likenesses, far fetched as they seem, are among the few that offer even a slight ray of hope to the comparative philologist in search of a classification for Buruçaski. The main point is that the western Himalayan pronominalized languages also use the vigesimal system. Their pronominalization is somewhat different from that in the Buruçaski, however. In the Himalayan tongues a pronominal *suffix* is used on verbs to form a primitive yet regular system of conjugation. Here we find a support for Whitney's theory regarding the origin of verbal endings. The occurrence of the vigesimal system in these languages I regard as important, however, as it is in direct opposition to some of the main principles of the Tibeto-Burman languages. More will be said of this later when I am discussing the Mundā or Kolarian languages.

Turning now to the North, we find the Tartar, Tūrki, Uigur, and other dialects and languages. Here again we must be disappointed, as regards finding relationships, for these tongues are utterly devoid of the pronominal system, or of vigesimalization, and have so few resemblances in vocabulary that they must be borrowed words. The only word, in fact, that I have so far discovered in common is the Tūrki *timur* or *temur*, 'iron', which is also found in Buruçaski in the form *cimr*, *comar*, and with various other spellings. It is undoubtedly a borrowed word,

however, because it is also found in the Indo-Iranian or Piçāea dialects of Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province.

Now we must go farther afield. The other languages of India offer themselves for inspection, and accordingly we turn to the Dravidian group. This is, with the sole exception of Brahūi, limited to the southern part of India. Philologists and ethnologists almost universally agree that the Dravidians came into India from the same direction as did the Aryans, leaving a colony in Baluchistān, which today speaks a Dravidian tongue, Brahūi.⁶ Might not they have left another such island in northern Kashmir? Alas, Brahūi presents striking similarities to the other Dravidian languages, but Buruṣaskī has practically no resemblance at all. It would make a wonderful story if the Buruṣaskī-speaking Kanjutis were a sort of little pond left by the onswEEPing tidal-wave of the great Dravidian racial migration. This would be a source of splendid fiction, but I fear the novelist will have to seek elsewhere for his story.

A page or so above I mentioned, in connection with the Himalayan pronominalized languages, the Muṇḍā or Kolarian group of tongues. It is to this group that we must now direct our glance. Separated as this group is by a dozen degrees of latitude, it does not seem to offer much promise as a related class. Yet here again we find the vigesimal system of counting. We also find a well-developed declension and conjugation, bordering more in type upon the Buruṣaskī. And, more than this, there seems to be a very slight connection in the vocabulary. From this, however, we must be careful in drawing our conclusions. The present-day knowledge of the morphology and etymology of Buruṣaskī is too meager to be sure that we are not mistaking an ending for an essential part of the word. Still I am including a list of the very few resemblances I have been able to trace: Bur. *tsil*, 'water', Himalayan pron. langs. *ti* (which Grierson thinks is related to Santālī *dak* and to Bahnar *dak* of the Mōn Khmēr languages); Bur. *haghur*, 'horse', Kanaśi (Him. pron. lang.) *ghora*, Janggali *ghorya*; Bur. (*i*)*mupač*⁷ 'nose', Santālī *mā*, Bahnar *mu*; Bur. *sah* 'sun', Santālī *siā*, Selong (Mōn Khmēr lang.) *señ*; Bur. *api*,

⁶ On the general relationship of Brahūi to the Dravidian tongues see D. Bray, *The Brahūi Language*, Part 1, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 8-19.

⁷ I might add that, besides being pronominalized, which I have indicated by parentheses, *pač* seems to me an ending, cf. (*i*)*mukač* 'cheek'.

'not', (apparently from or connected with *bē* 'no'), Santālī *ban*, Rengao *bi*; Bur. *hīr** 'man', Santālī *hār*. These are about the only words out of some two hundred compared that show the slightest resemblance, and the similarity is very, very slight in many if not all of these cases. Yet it is necessary to remember that a great interval of space intervenes and the languages might have so drifted apart that only very slight resemblances should be traceable.

The Mōn Khmēr languages in eastern India and Burma seem to have a basic resemblance to the Mundā, but beyond that and the few verbal analogies presented in the preceding paragraph they offer little similarity. They are monosyllabic, and show some connection with the Chino-Siamo-Tibeto-Burman group on the one hand and the Australo-Indonesian on the other. Slight as are these resemblances, it seems most important that various scholars of world-wide repute accept this fundamental affinity referred to above, and equally able ones have not been able to refute the theory entirely. The Chinese-Siamese group can be dispensed with summarily as it is related to the Tibeto-Burman and is like it in most matters of principle.

As regards the classification of Buruṣaskī, this seems to leave us just where we started. Yet there are a few more theories and possibilities remaining. An article entitled *The Khajuna Language* by Hyde Clarke in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1. 258, Bombay 1872, suggests a possible connection with the Agaws, Waags, Falashas, Fertits, Dizzelas, and Shankalis of Abyssinia, also the Abxās, in Caucasia, the Rodiyas, of Ceylon, and the Galelas, of the Indian Archipelago. He also instances 'a Siberian and two American Indian' tongues as possible relatives. He then assumes an autochthonous population of India speaking the parent of this group, presumably driven out by the first comers of the present Indian tongues. Not even a name is lacking: the Siberio-Nubian group. As the name of the Siberian tongue was not given, I was not able to identify the language he had reference to, tho I investigated the Yukaghir and Siberian Eskimo modes of speech with no results. What I could glean from a careful study of the material relating to the Abxās language in R. von Erckert's *Die Sprache des Kaukasischen Stammes*, Wien 1895, failed to convince me of the possibility of any valuable results being obtained there.

* Cf. Lat. *cir*, Skt. *cira*.

An investigation of the African languages referred to by Mr. Clarke also failed to throw any light on the subject. What relation there is between these languages and *Buruçaski* would certainly only be evident to one who could speak all of these languages as a native. Perhaps even he could not trace any connection.

I need go no farther to demonstrate the difficulties of applying this grouping to *Buruçaski*. Search as I might, moreover, from the Basque of Western Europe to the *Ra-txa-hu-ni-ku-i*^{*} of the *Caxinauás* of Brazil, from *Ojibway* to Finnish, I could discover no tongue having the two particularly distinctive features that I mentioned at the outset. Whatever tongue is connected with *Buruçaski* has apparently lost, in the course of time, these valuable identification marks. To me the closest resemblance seemed to lie in the *Mundā* languages. That is too remote a resemblance, however, to presume any 'blood tie'.

Since the writing of this article I have received a letter from Sir George Grierson in which he referred to a possible connection with Mongolian and Manchu. I had investigated this to some slight extent. The possibility seemed too doubtful to bother to make mention of it. I was pleased to hear that he too had felt it was 'doubtful'. The investigation of the enormous number of languages which might show some small resemblance to *Buruçaski* is necessarily a rather superficial one. The two languages mentioned above have been somewhat neglected in this article for that very reason. The letter from Grierson has thus only confirmed the opinion I had received from my own altogether too summary investigations in that line.

Hence we must again come to the same conclusion which Grierson and other authorities have arrived at. There is apparently no language on the face of the earth which is sufficiently closely connected with *Buruçaski* to admit of the latter's being classified with it. Such a classification to my mind would require a considerable amount of similarity in fundamental principles, as well as a reasonably large coincidence or resemblance in vocabulary. In other words, it must be possible to draw some philological or morphological laws from these principles for them to be of any real value for grouping. From the preceding paragraphs this is evidently not possible. If, then, clutching as a drowning man at

* Abreu, J. C. de, *Ra-txa-hu-ni-ku-i*, Rio de Janeiro, 1914.

anything, we even enlarge our definition to such an extent as almost to include Nahuatl in the same group as Sanskrit, we shall be but little better off. It may be the lack of material on Buruçaski that causes this difficulty, however, and it is quite possible that, when new data are acquired, a definite connection may be established. I have, in spite of this, decided to append an outline of a theory which may seem to be a classification of the language. This it most definitely is not. I do not feel that the suppositions entertained in it are a basis for a classification. They are merely attempts to explain the few resemblances and coincidences which I have stated above.

Now in conclusion I have a rather novel and romantic (tho I hope not impossible) theory of my own to propose. It is an attempt to account for the presence of Buruçaski in its present location. If nothing more than the suggestion of a theory more probable than any previous one is accomplished, I shall be content. So I offer it, not without some hesitation, for what it may be worth.

India, by virtue of the fertility of its soil and the equable climate in many of its parts, is the most natural place in the world to expect to find prehistoric remains. The country includes, of course, all varieties of climate and altitude, but in some regions offers unequalled advantages for the development of early man. Almost without doubt, moreover, these qualities always obtained in much the same places as today. We know, by geological evidence, that the Archean or earliest known rock formations are to be found under and at the surface of a large part of India. Hence, taking into consideration its tropical to semitropical location, we may expect to discover burial sites and other evidences of paleolithic man. In this we are not deceived. Such remains are found in the Madras district, for instance.¹⁰ From these earliest traces we have an almost complete scale of remains down thru the neolithic age, etc., to historical times. We therefore know that, long before the historic and protohistoric invasions, man was in India.

The subsequent history of these primitive human beings is not definitely known. It is certain, however, that there were two main groups of them. By far the larger portion was in the Deccan. Smaller communities existed, possibly not so early, in the older

¹⁰ Smith, V. A. *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 1-10.

regions of the North. Altho there is no positive proof (indeed compared to Europe there is little proof of such things in India at all), man has probably existed in Kashmir since a very early date. His development there would be more or less like that of man in the South. There would probably, however, have been little mutual influence. The Northern race also was probably fairer, tho not much so, than the Southern.

Resigning ourselves now entirely to theory, it is to be expected that the Gangetic basin would later have become the meeting ground of these races. The Southern type possibly even spread to the Eastern reaches of the Indus. This meeting of the tribes would tend to stimulate progress in both of them and might very likely give rise to a third race. This birth I have assumed as taking place. The race may not necessarily have been separated ethnically from the parent, but may, at the time of the earliest immigrations of foreigners, have merely been a race in the embryo. A linguistic differentiation would have taken place at an early date. This would have been the case particularly if the earliest invasions were taking place at the time of which I am speaking. The presence of another tongue is productive of great changes in a language, even in a comparatively few years: witness the growth of English in the years immediately following the Norman conquest.

From this we obtain the first premise for our theory, namely, that not long before the Dravidian and Aryan invasions of India there existed in Northern India a race possessing a sharply defined language of its own.

At a later date came the parents of the modern Dravidian tongues. There is little doubt that the Dravidians were exogenous. Where did they come from? That they entered from the North-east is highly dubious. Even more so is the theory that they came from the so-called Lemurian continent, which is fabled to have existed in the Indian Ocean to the southwest of India. The only remaining theory is the one that they came from the Northwest. Assuming this to be the most logical theory, the Dravidian people and their language must have come in contact with the aforesaid hypothetical race of Northern India. From this temporary nexus there would have resulted some linguistic intermingling. A more important result was forthcoming, however. The people already in the region were pushed apart. The larger portion turned southward while some tribes turned to the North and then,

when they reached the Himalayas, to the West. While in this region they met with the tribes of Tibetan origin and brought about the linguistic change discernible in their languages today. In the meantime the branch that went to the South and later to the East became the fathers or at least the uncles of the modern Mundā tongues. These, however, have undergone great change through their contact with the Mōn Khmēr and other languages of the East.

The forerunners of the Aryan invasions later drove the Northern branch of my hypothetical people up to the North of where the Aryans entered. The main body of Indo-European tribes thus did not come into direct contact with them. The indigenous tribes of the North, however, did come into contact with these more advanced peoples. Thus we have the opposing influences of the Northern and Southern paleolithic tribes on this split race. As the natural result of this, the division soon grew to appalling dimensions. If this theory is anywhere near the truth, it is more surprising to me that there are now any resemblances at all between the modern descendants of those peoples, than that those resemblances are so few.

Our second premise, then, is that this Northern India race was split by successive invasions and gradually drifted apart until one section was finally in the far Northwest and the other in the extreme Southeast.

With the passing of centuries one stream of people after another poured over the Northwest passes until the Northern branch of the race for the greater part lost its individual entity and assimilated the languages of the invaders. A few remnants, however, of the ancient people,¹¹ entering valleys impenetrable to the armies of olden times, continued their now isolated existence down to the present day. The final separation of the race probably dates from about the 5th century after Christ. This is the approximate date set for the beginning of the independence of the Hunza and Nagar tribes by Dr. Leitner in his *Hunza and Nagar Handbook*. The millenium and a half of division from the other related tribes located in the upper courses of the Yassin

¹¹ Sir. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 8, part 2, p. 551, which I have received since the paragraph referred to was written, also speaks of the fact that the Burūaskī-speaking peoples of today are remnants of a former larger race.

River has had but little effect on the language of the two sections. Only complete or nearly complete isolation could have produced such results.

So, as the conclusion and completion of our theory, we may assume that the modern Buruṣaski and Wurṣki or Warṣikwār languages or dialects are the most direct and least-changed descendants of the prehistoric and even pretraditional tribe whose existence was assumed in the first of these statements.

In concluding let me call special attention to two arguments in support of this rather elaborate theory, which may not have been brought out with sufficient clearness above.

In the first place we have the unaccountable resemblance of the Himalayan pronominalized dialects to the Muṇḍā group. Muṇḍā traditions point to a migration of that race from the North and West, but these traditions are, for the most part, comparatively recent. Hence they would offer but little support to a theory of the Muṇḍā peoples coming from beyond the mountains. Moreover, these tribes are typically aboriginal, or endogenous. They are more similar to the autochthonous tribes of the interior of the Deccan than to any of the Northern invaders. Yet they are far more developed than the traces of aborigines found at the present day in that region.

In the second place, the connection of the Muṇḍā tribes with the Mōn Khmēr and other tribes of the East, in a linguistic way, must somehow be accounted for. This will illustrate the difficulty of accounting for this very complex state of affairs in the compass of one brief article. The other arguments have been mentioned at sufficiently great length in the preceding paragraphs not to necessitate their repeating.

From this it will be seen that some such theory as the one outlined above is required to account for the numerous problems that arise in connection with the presence of Buruṣaski and several other languages in their present locality, as well as the peculiar common linguistic substratum of India. As I have said before, my best reward will be the awakening of interest in this problem, which I regard as of considerable importance in settling many linguistic 'mix-ups'. With this I take my leave of a labor that has been the most fascinating I have ever undertaken.

BRIEF NOTES

A Rare Work by Sir Henry Miers Elliot

READERS of the JOURNAL may be interested to know of a work on the history of India which seems to be practically unknown, though by no less important a scholar than Sir Henry Miers Elliot. This work has recently come into the possession of the Cleveland Public Library's John G. White Collection of Folklore and Orientalia, already rich in material on the history and civilization of India, and is herewith called to the attention of historians and Orientalists.

Sir Henry Miers Elliot's life work, the Mohammedan historians of India, has come down chiefly in two works. One is the *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, of which the first and only volume was issued at Calcutta in 1849. After his death his manuscripts were edited by Dowson in eight volumes as *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians* (London, 1867-77). Both works are well known; they are to be found in a number of libraries, and naturally in the White Collection.

In Elliot's last days it appears that he doubted the powers of his mind, and, to test them, wrote the book here discussed. The title-page reads: "Appendix to the Arabs in Sind, Vol. III, part 1 of the Historians of India. Cape Town, Saul Solomon & Co., 1853." This was issued in paper covers, the front cover bearing a note: "For Private Circulation. 40 Copies." It contains 283 pages, plus three preliminary leaves; thus it is a work of some size. It includes essays on the history of Sind, warfare in India, the ethnology of Sind, and a 38-page bibliographical excursus on *Indian Voyages and Travels*—the last a particularly useful compilation.

The White copy came from the library of Sir R. C. Temple, the well-known scholar. It contains a letter, dated 1871, from Elliot's brother, from which I quote the following extracts:

I send herewith a brochure written by my brother at the Cape during the illness which terminated in his death. He told me that he wrote it to satisfy himself that the powers of his mind were not impaired. It is of course *very rare*; for no more than 40 copies were printed, of which number more than half, I think, were sent into Germany, amongst whose scholars his labours were and are held in the highest estimation.

If additional testimony of the "Appendix to the Arabs in Sind"

were needed, it may be had in the fact that no allusion to it appears in the introduction to the *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, cited above, nor in Stanley Lane-Poole's sketch of Elliot in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

GORDON W. THAYER

Librarian of the John G. White Collection

Cleveland Public Library

Addendum on a difficult Old Persian passage

IN JAOS 35, 344-350, I discussed the difficulty in the Behistan inscription of Darius, col. 4, lines 2-8, part of which reads, in literal translation: 'By the grace of Ahuramazda, in one-and-the-same year after that I became king, I fought nineteen battles; by the grace of Ahuramazda, I smote *him* and took captive nine kings . . .'. The crux lies in *adamšim ajanam* 'I smote him', where we should expect the plural pronoun. Certain editors do indeed emend the text to give a plural form, but in my article above cited I showed that there were certain inconcinnities and concords *ad sensum* even in the Old Persian inscriptions themselves, scanty as is the material which they furnish. I was able also to furnish some parallels from English, from Latin, and from Greek. The conclusion was that *him* referred to a singular collective idea, 'the foe,' extracted from *hamaranā* 'battles.'

The conviction that this interpretation is correct is strengthened by the finding of other parallels sporadically since the writing of that article. Acts 8, 5 Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρίας ἐκήρυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν, shows (like four passages cited JAOS 35, 349) a plural pronoun with its antecedent implied in a city name. Sall. Cat. 18.1 *Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissime potero dicam*, contains *qua* with an antecedent *coniuratio* implied in the verb *coniuravere*. Sall. Cat. 58, 5 *Interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant*, has *cuius* with the plural antecedent *servitia*, which is doubly peculiar, since *servitium* is properly abstract, 'slavery,' and if made concrete should be collective, as it often is; but as a concrete the word is sometimes made to denote an individual slave, and therefore capable of use in the plural. This seems a favorite use of Sallust (Cat. 24, 4; 46, 3; 50, 1; 56, 5; Jug. 66, 1), though it occurs in other authors also.

The value for the Old Persian passage is that it furnishes a plural antecedent, which is then understood collectively and referred to by a singular pronoun. While one might perhaps take *cuius* as *cuius rei*, the use of the neuter pronoun in this way (where ambiguous with other genders), without express antecedent in the same number and gender, is extremely rare, and that *cuius* is actually feminine with ellipsis of *rei* is even less likely. In the next passage there can be no refuge to such subtleties: Sall. *Hist. frag.* p. 133, § 15, Eussner (in the Oration of Licinius Macer to the plebs) *ne vos ad virilia illa vocem, quo tribunos plebei modo, modo patricium magistratum, libera ab auctoribus patriciis suffragia maiores vestri paravere; quo has as its antecedent virilia illa*, thought of as a singular collective. Another passage is Livy 42. 8. 7 *quas ob rex placere senatus M. Popillium consulem Ligures pretio emptoribus reddito ipsos restituere in libertatem bonaque ut iis, quidquid eius recipere possit, reddantur curare*: in which the antecedent of the singular *eius* is the plural *bona*, as a logical collective singular. Cf. also the singular use of *news* in English, as in *The news is good*.

These passages lend additional support to the interpretation of *adamšim ajanam*, given JAOS 35. 344-350.

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An Emendation to Jer. 4. 29

In Jer. 4. 29, we read as follows *מקול פרש ורמח קשת ברחת כל העיר באו בעבים ובנבים עלו כל העיר עזובה ואין איש יושב בתן*: 'From the noise of the horsemen and those that shoot with the bow, fleeth the whole city; they go into thickets, and climb up upon the rocks: every city is forsaken, and not a man dwelleth therein.' The word *עבים* presents some difficulty as it is not found elsewhere in the Bible in the sense of 'thickets.' We ought to read *בנבים* 'into ditches.' Cf. 2 Kings 3. 16, *עשה הנחל הזה נבים נבים*: 'Make this valley full of ditches.' As a parallel passage where ditches or caves are mentioned together with rocks as hiding places, Isaiah 2. 19 may be cited; see also 2 Sam. 17. 18. This emendation gains plausibility from the Sep. rendering *σπηλαια*, which has led some to read *בסערות* or *בסערות* neither of which is as near our text.

ISRAEL EFROS

Note on Tantrākhyāyika IV, A 286

A recent textual study of Book IV of the Tantrākhyāyika brings up again the subject treated by Edgerton in his criticism of Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra: seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914), in *AJP* 36.259 ff. Hertel maintained in his Translation of the Tantrākhyāyika (1909) that in numerous cases the true readings of the original Pañcatantra could be proved to be found in the Tantrākhyāyika alone, or even in the sub-recension Tantrākhyāyika α alone,—even sometimes when all other versions of the Pañcatantra agreed on a different reading. He based this conclusion on several points, one of them dealing with the frame-story of Book IV, which I wish to take up briefly. (For Hertel's argument on this point see his Translation of Tantr., *Einleitung*, 88 ff.)

The story of the Ape and the Crocodile, the frame-story of Book IV, is fairly well known, and may easily be obtained from the translation just cited. I shall limit myself to the single point at hand. The treacherous crocodile, in his attempt to get the monkey into his power, offers him—in most versions—the hospitality of his own home and a visit to his family. To this some versions add the sensual joys of the fruit-laden island where the home is alleged to be. Tantrākhyāyika, however, does not depend on these attractions, but is—according to Hertel—far better motivated psychologically, in that it makes the crocodile offer not a visit to his own home, but the delights of an equally charming island inhabited by three young and beautiful she-apes. This gives a very specific and definite turn to the 'sinnliche Vergnügungen' promised, and is used by Hertel as an argument for the greater originality of Tantrākhyāyika. The sentence in question reads: *atra mayā 'bhinavapāvanasampannā rūpavatyaḥ tisro vānaryo* (ms. *nāryo*, Hertel em.) *dr̥ṣṭapūrcāḥ* (so both edd., but Hertel's translation seems to indicate that he intended to read 'dr̥ṣṭa°) *pratīvasanti sma*.

On pp. 260 ff. of the article cited above, Edgerton refutes the position of Hertel from the internal evidence of Tantrākhyāyika itself, showing that the following speeches of the monkey are inconsistent with Hertel's assumptions. He does not, however, point out that the sentence quoted above from Tantr., on which Hertel's case rests, is itself an interpolation, or at least an evident borrowing from another passage later on in Book IV.

Namely: in the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears (IV. 2 of Tantrākhyāyika, but the only embossed story found originally in Book IV, in my opinion), there is a like situation. The jackal who seeks to get an ass for his master, the sick lion, makes a like play on the lecherous nature of the ass in describing the delights of the forest where the lion is waiting for him. In this description occurs the following sentence (Tantr. p. 153 ll. 7 f.): *asyām vanarāṅgāyām abhinavayāvanasampannāś catasro¹ rūpavatyo rāsabhyo 'drślapūrvā api manye 'nenāi 'va nirvedeṇā 'pākṛāntāḥ*. The similarity between this sentence and that quoted above seems to be too striking to be accidental, and I believe that the latter passage is the source from which the former is borrowed. Such borrowings from one part of the text to another are not rare in the Pāñcatantra. That the borrowing was in the direction indicated, not in the reverse direction, is proved by the fact that the other Pāñc. versions are in substantial agreement with Tantr. in the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears, while in the other passage Tantr. stands alone.

This does not mean that the offer of 'specifically sexual pleasures' (I quote Edgerton *l. c.* p. 261) was not made in the story of the Ape and the Crocodile, but rather that the redactor of Tantr. made more clear a veiled allusion of the original version, of which indication is given in the later dénouement of several versions. At any rate, the idea expressed in the words quoted from Tantr. A 286 cannot be used as proof that the original contained such an idea, since it is borrowed practically word for word from the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears.

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¹ The Jain versions read *tisro* instead of *catasro*, and this was probably what the original Pāñcatantra had. Indeed, the fact that Tantr. itself reads *tisro* in the borrowing of the sentence, A 286, may be taken as an indication that the Tantr. itself originally had *tisro*. Possibly the reading *catasro* is a mere manuscript corruption (based on an original **ca tisro*?).

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in Baltimore in Easter week, March 29-31, upon the invitation of Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College. The meeting of the Directors will be held on Monday evening, March 28.

A special meeting of the Directors of the Society was held in New York City, November 27, 1920, to consider certain matters of business referred to them by the Executive Committee. The Directors took action, which was corroborated by a vote by mail of absent members, cordially inviting the Asiatic Societies of France, Great Britain and Italy to unite in joint session with this Society at its coming Annual Meeting in Baltimore. The Secretary has accordingly issued the invitations.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

The Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association held their annual meetings at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, December 28-30. Topics of general Oriental interest presented in the program of the Institute were 'Roman Wall Paintings on the Upper Euphrates' by Prof. J. H. Breasted, and 'A Papyrus Manuscript of a Part of the Septuagint' by Prof. H. A. Sanders; in the program of the Philological Association, 'On the Language of the Hittites' by Prof. M. Bloomfield, 'Bellerophon's Tablets and the Homeric Question in the Light of Oriental Research' by Prof. N. Schmidt, and 'A Translation of the *Peto Vathu*, I and II' by Dr. H. S. Gehman. The officers of the Institute were reelected. The officers of the Philological Association elected for the present year are Prof. W. B. McDaniel, president; Prof. F. G. Allinson and Prof. F. K. Rand, vice-presidents; Prof. C. P. Bill, secretary and treasurer.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held its annual meeting at the General Theological Seminary, New York, December 27-28. The Presidential address by Prof. A. T. Clay was an illustrated account of 'A Recent Journey through Babylonia and Assyria.' Other topics of general interest presented were, 'Enslavement in the Bible' by Prof. P. Haupt, 'Canticles as a Conventionalized Tammuz-Ishtar Liturgy' by Prof. T. J. Meek, and an illustrated description of 'A Papyrus Manuscript of a Part of the Septuagint' by Prof. H. A. Sanders. New officers elected are Prof. K. Fullerton, president; Prof. H. A. Sanders, vice-president.

The Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem held its annual meeting in connection with the Biblical Society. The Executive Committee was reelected and Prof. W. J. Moulton was added to it as representing the Society of Biblical Literature. Dr. W. F. Albright was reappointed Acting Director of the School for 1921-22, and Prof. W. J. Hinke, of Auburn Theological Seminary, was appointed Annual Professor for the same year. At a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee, on January 31, Prof. M. G. Kyle, of Xenia Theological Seminary, who has gone to Palestine for some months' sojourn, was appointed a Lecturer in the

School for this year, and it having been announced that Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, was expected to spend the year 1921-22 in the Orient, he was appointed Lecturer in the School for that season.

The following is the program of the Fourth General Meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society held in Jerusalem January 19: 'Traditions secondaires sur la grotte de Macpélah' by Père Abel; 'Political Parties in Palestine: Qaisi and Yemeni' by Mr. E. N. Haddad; 'Le sacrifice dans le tribu des Fugara' by Père Jaussen; 'La ville de Ramses d'après les documents égyptiens' by Père Mallon; 'The excavations at Tiberias' by Dr. Slousch; 'The Melodic Theme in Ancient Hebrew Prayers' by Mr. A. Z. Idelson; 'Haunted Springs and Water-Demons in Palestine' by Dr. Canaan; 'A Visit to Petra by an Englishman in 1852' by Mr. L. G. A. Cost.

The Directors of the University of Pennsylvania Museum have decided to excavate Bethshean (Scythopolis) in the Jordan Valley. The funds are in hand and permission has been secured from the local government.

The organization last summer of the Dutch Oriental Society (Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland) is announced, with its seat in Leiden. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje is provisional president, and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (address Noordeindeplein 4a) is secretary.

PERSONALIA

WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, M. D., a Member of this Society, died at Wallingford, Pa., August 11, 1920, in his fifty-fifth year. An explorer in the Far East, he was the author of *Head Hunters of Borneo*, *Stone Money*, and other learned publications.

JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, LL.D., a Member of this Society, died in Philadelphia on January 14, at the age of eighty-five. His life was one of broad-minded devotion to all public causes, civic, educational and philanthropic, and he was a benefactor of Oriental and archaeological enterprises.

It is announced that the remaining manuscript left behind by the late Prof. C. H. W. JOHNS, of Cambridge University, for the completion of his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, will be edited by Mrs. Johns.

In celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the doctorate of Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, fourteen of his pupils have just published a volume entitled 'Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore Maryland' (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1920; pp. xxii, 312; \$6.00). The volume contains a biographical sketch and bibliography of Professor Bloomfield's writings to date, in addition to the fourteen articles, which are mostly devoted to Indological or Comparative-Philological subjects. The names of about two hundred and fifty 'Subscribers and Cooperating Dedicators', who joined the contributors in honoring Professor Bloomfield, are also printed in the volume.

Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, attached successively to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and to the U. S. Embassy at Paris, has accepted an appointment at the University of Nebraska as Associate Professor of Philosophy, and is lecturing on Civilizations of the Orient, Oriental Philosophies and Oriental Religions.

Dr. D. G. HOGARTH, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, etc., has been visiting this country in February and March. He has lectured at the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, the University of Wisconsin, and at Chicago, Cincinnati, and other points. On March 4 he addressed a joint session of the Oriental Club and the Classical Club of Philadelphia.

THE LOCATION OF THE FARNBĀG FIRE, THE MOST ANCIENT OF THE ZOROASTRIAN FIRES

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1. General Divisions of the Sacred Fires in Avestan and Pahlavi

AMONG THE SACRED FIRES of Zoroastrian antiquity, as reflected in the Avesta and clearly portrayed in the Pahlavi literature of Sasanian times, there seem to be three which stand out as most holy and most ancient.¹ According to a special grouping they represent a threefold division of the sacred element, corresponding to the social division of the community into three classes, priests, warriors, and laborers.

This threefold classification, based on the social order,—as contrasted with a fivefold division of fire according to its manifestation and place of origin (namely, light of heaven, bodily warmth, heat in trees and plants, lightning, and the altar-fire, for example, *Ys.* 17. 11; *Bd.* 17. 5; *Zts.* 11. 5-8)—is foreshadowed in the Avesta (*Str.* 1. 9; 2. 9) and is often referred to in Pahlavi literature.²

The names of these three specially sacred fires, which undoubtedly had separate temples dedicated to their service from the earliest times, are given in Pahlavi (though with variations in spelling) as follows: 1. Ātarō Farnbāg (or -bāg), the fire of the priests; 2. Ātarō Gūšnasp, the fire of the warriors; 3. Ātarō Būrzīn-Mitrō, the representative fire of the laboring class. Thus among other Pahlavi passages may be cited *Dēnkart* (9th century A. D.) 6. 293, the text of which I here transliterate, retaining the 'Huzvarish' (or *Aūzārīšn*) Semitic forms when they occur in the text, and transcribing them in general according to the traditional manner of reading, but adding in parentheses () the corresponding Iranian equivalents.

¹ Compare *Yasna* 17. 11; *Strōm* 1. 9; 2. 9; *Rāndahishn* 17. 5-8; *Zatspuran*, 11. 8-10; and see other citations below; consult also the references to Pahlavi works, Arabic and Persian texts, and the writings of modern authorities, including Darmesteter, referred to in the footnotes to Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 98-100.

² Cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 149-157.

Dk. 6. 293. *Ātarō ī Farnbāg pavan (pa) āsruvanān gās kartō yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt); va Ātarō ī Gūšnasp pavan (pa) ārtēš-tārān gās kartō yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt); va Ātarō ī Būrzīn-Mitrō pavan (pa) vāstryōšān gās kartō yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt).*

'The Fire which is Farnbāg has made its place among the priests; and the Fire which is Gūšnasp has made its place among the warriors; and the Fire which is Būrzīn-Mitrō has made its place among the agriculturists.'¹

2. The Location of the Three Oldest Fire-temples

When making the first two of my four journeys through Persia I was able to identify with considerable accuracy, I believe, the site of the second and third of these fires, namely that of the warriors and that of the laboring class. Thus, the seat of the great fire temple Ātar Gūšnasp, that of the warriors, was shown to be located (as Rawlinson foresaw) among the ruins of Takht-i Sulaimān, midway between Urūmiah and Hamadān, which I visited in 1903 and described with full references in *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 124-143. The location of the Mithra fire, that of the laborers, I identified with reasonable certainty, in 1907, as being near the village of Mihr, half-way between Miāndasht and Sabzavar on the Khurāsān road to Nishāpūr, and gave a detailed account of the probable situation in the volume *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyām*, pp. 211-217.

There still remained open, however, the question of the location of the Ātar Farnbāg, the fire of the priests.

3. The Farnbāg Fire in particular

This sacerdotal fire was probably the most ancient and certainly the most venerated of the holy fires in Iran, because it was the earthly representative in particular of the Avestan *Ātar Spānīšta*, 'Holiest Fire' (*Ys.* 17. 11), which, according to the com-

¹ *Dk.* 6. 293, text ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, *The Dinkard*, vol. 12, p. 11-12; tr. p. 12, Bombay, 1911; cf. D. M. Madan, *Pahlavi Dinkard*, vol. 2, p. 536, Bombay, 1911. On this same threefold division according to the social classes, see also the Pahlavi work *Kārdānīk-i Artakshār-i Papānān*, 1. 13, ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, pp. 3-4 (text), p. 3 (transl.), Bombay, 1896; ed. E. K. Antia, p. 3 (text), p. 4 (transl.), Bombay, 1900; id. p. 4, n. 8 (citation from the 'Afrin-i Hamkāre' in the Iran. Bd.).

mentary of the Pahlavi version of the Avesta, *Phl. Ya.* 17. 67 [= 11], 'is the one (burning) in Paradise in the presence of Ormazd in a spiritual state,' *zak (ō) ī dēn (andar) Garōtmān pēš ī Aūharmazd pavan (pa) mēnōkīh yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt).*² The name of this priestly fire, it should be furthermore noted, appears in Sasanian and later Persian times either as Farnbāg, Frōbā, or as Khurrād, Khūrdād,³ these two sets of forms being respectively a corruption of a theoretic Avestan form *Hvareno-bagha or of *Hvareno-dāta, that is, the fire 'of the Glory (*x'arənah-*) Divine,'⁴ or the fire 'Glory-given'—see Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 153, and Jackson, *Zor.* p. 99.

In the last-mentioned volume (*Zor.* p. 99, n. 4) I noted from the Indian recension of the Būdahishn, 17. 5-6, the tradition that this famous fire existed as early as Yima's reign, having been established in the Khorasmanian land, or east of the shore of the Caspian Sea, and was removed by Vishtāsp to Kābul. In other words, according to the reading and interpretation of the Pahlavi name 'Kāvul' as Kābul in the texts of the Indian Būdahishn then available (and adopted by Dr. West in his translation, *SBE* 5. 63), the fire was removed southeastward into what is now the province of Afghanistan. At the same time, however, I observed that Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 153-154, gave reasons for believing that it was not removed eastward but to the southwest of Iran, to a locality in the province of Fārs, or Persis Proper, especially on the authority of some Arab-Persian geographical writers. On the whole, at that time (1899), in favoring the view that the noted pyraeum was located at Kābul, I followed, though with some reserve, the tradition in the current editions of the Indian recension of the Būdahishn by Westergaard and by Justi (afterwards by Unvalla), and the translation by West.

Upon returning from the American Relief Commission to Persia

² Cf. also *Zasp.* 11. 1, 2, 6; *Dē.* 7. 3. 73, 75, 78; likewise *Bd.* 17. 1, 3, but on the misplacing of the attribute *spōnūt* in the latter see Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 150, and Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 88; cf. furthermore, West, *SBE* 5. 61, n. 2.

³ On the variety of spellings in the texts see West, in *SBE* 5. 63, n. 3; Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, 2, 83-84. Throughout the present article the transliteration as Farnbāg (with long ā) has been adopted unless there were special occasion to draw attention to a textual reading -bāg (with short ā).

⁴ More literally, 'the Glory (which is) Divinity'.

in 1918-19, I had occasion to take up the entire matter again in the light of the Iranian recension of the *Būdahishn*, the so-called 'Great Iranian *Būdahishn*,' which had meanwhile become accessible to me in the photo-zincographed facsimile of the TD manuscript, edited by T. D. Anklesaria and his son Behrangore T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908. It is the purpose, therefore, of this paper to review the whole subject of the Farnbāg Fire and present all the data that I have been able to gather from Zoroastrian and Muhammadan sources in regard to the question of its location.

4. The Statements in the Pahlavi *Būdahishn* regarding the Location of the Farnbāg Fire

Assuming, as above explained, that the Farnbāg Fire of the sacerdotal class is the earthly representative of the *Ātar Spānisha*, or 'Holiest Fire,' of the Avesta, I shall take up the most important Pahlavi passage relating to it, which is found in the *Būdahishn*, giving it first (a) in the Indian recension and second (b) in the divergent Iranian recension, and then (c-r) shall add a general discussion of the subject, drawing from other sources as well.⁷

a. Indian recension of *Būdahishn* 17. 5-6

(Principal variations from the Iranian recension are indicated by spaced letters)⁸

Bd. 17. 5-6 (Ind. rec.). *Va Yim ilēn (andar) xūtāih hamāk kār pavan (pa) aīyyarih [i] valmansān (ōsān) kōlā (har) ā ālāš avīrtar kart; az-aš Ātarō Farnbāg val (avō) dāt-gās pavan (pa) gadman (khūrah)-hūmand kōf i pavan (pa) Xvārazm yetibūnāst (nišast) yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt). Mūn (ka)-sēn Yim burā (bē) kirinēt gadman (khūrah) i Yim min (az) yadman (dast) i Dahāk Ātarō i Farnbāg bōtēt. Dēn (andar) xūtāih Vištāsp Malkā (Šah)*

⁷ On the general characteristics of the Indian and the Iranian recensions of the *Būdahishn* see West, *Pahlavi Literature*, in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, 2. 91-102; Anklesaria, *Būdahishn*, Introd. pp. xxix-xxxvi.

⁸ The following texts of the Indian recension have been compared—N. L. Westergaard, *Bundehesh*, p. 41, Copenhagen, 1851; F. Justi, *Der Bundehesh*, p. 41, Leipzig, 1868; M. N. Unvalli, *The Pahlavi Bundehesh* (lithographed), p. 48, Bombay, 1897; Pāzand text, ed. E. K. Antia, *Pāzand Texts*, p. 81, Bombay, 1909. For the text of the Iranian recension see below.

⁹ The reading *kirīnēt* 'sawed' is the correct one, see note 12 below.

pavan (pa) *pētākīh mīn* (az) *Dēn az Xvārazm val* (arā) *rōšan kōf*
pavan (pa) *Kāvulīstān*¹⁰ *Kāvul*¹¹ i *matō* (dēh) *yefibānast*
(nišast), *cigūn ketan* (nūn)-ic¹² *tamman* (ānō) *katrūnēt* (mānēt).

'And in the reign of Yim every action was more fully performed through the assistance of all these three fires; there-upon the Fire Farnbāg was established at the lawful place [i. e. temple] on the glory-having mountain which is in Khvārazm. When they sawed Yim in twain,¹³ the Fire Farnbāg saved the glory of Yim from the hand of Dahāk.¹⁴ In the reign of King Vishtāsp, upon revelation from the Religion, it was established out of Khvārazm, upon the shining mountain in Kāvulīstān, the district of Kāvul (Kābul),¹⁵ just as it there even now remains.'

Two deductions may be made so far as the Indian recension is concerned:—

The first is that the Farnbāg Fire was originally located in Khvārazm. This is also in accord with the statement of the Pahlavi Selections of *Zāt-spāram*, II. 9: 'The place of the Fire

¹⁰ There seems to be no doubt in the reading in the Indian recension of the Phl. text *Kāvlīstān Kāvl*; the Pāzand text (ed. Antia, p. 81) has *Kāvalistān Kāvl dēt*—the last two words (instead of Kābul) being noteworthy in connection with the reading of the Iranian recension, as discussed further on.

¹¹ So rightly (Phl. *kenū* or *kenū*) in Westergaard, Unvalla, as against Justi's text *ken p c*; the Pāzand (ed. Antia, p. 81) has *nūnū*.

¹² This is the best reading and rendering of the text (Phl. *katrūnēt*), just as in Bd. I. 5, *Spītūr cak* (ānō)-i *yehvūnēt* (būd) *leputman* (arā) *lām* (? Wg. p. 77, l. 9) *Dahāk Yim barā* (bē) *kerūnēt*, 'Spītūr was he who, along with the creature (?) Dahāk, sawed Yim in twain.' See also Justi, *Bund.* transl. pp. 23, 44. The allusion (as was emphasized by Darmesteter, *Études Iraniques*, 2. 70, 84, Paris, 1883) is to the well-known Iranian tradition, as old as the Avesta (Yt. 19. 46, *Spityuram Yimōkarantam*) that Spityura, the false brother of Yima, together with the monstrous tyrant Dahāka sawed Yima in two. See also Firgāusi, *Shāh-nāmāh* (ed. Vulliamy) I. 34, *Dahāk b-arrah var ārd bō-dū nim kard*, 'Dahāk with a saw cut that one (Jamshid) in two halves'; cf. also Mohl, *Liens des rois*, I. 47.

¹³ In the somewhat mythological account given in the Avesta (Yt. 19. 47-51) of the struggle between the Fire and Dahāka and Spityura, who sawed Yima in twain, the 'Glory' (*X'arənah*) when saved by the Fire expands as far as the Sea Vourukasha (i. e. Caspian), thus pointing to the fact that it was originally associated with the Khorasānian region.

¹⁴ The reading *Kāvul* (Kābul) is correct, see n. 10 above. For a late Rīvāyat tradition associating a portion of the Khordāt (Farnbag) fire with Kangra in India, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA* I. 154.

Farnbag was formed on the Gadman-hōmand ('glorious') mountain in Khvārazm.¹² It agrees likewise with the Iranian Būdahishn, cited below, as well as with the traditions, quoted further on, from the Arab-Persian sources. It should be remarked, moreover, that the designation 'glorious (*gadman-hōmand*) mountain in Khvārazm,' which is found equally in the Iranian recension below and is taken by Dr. West (*SBE* 5, 63) as a proper name, refers to the mountain being resplendent through the illumination of the sacred fire, as does also the 'shining (*rōshan*) mountain in Kāvulistān' to which it was removed, although the name and place of the latter are quite different in the Iranian recension.

The second deduction is that the Indian version regards the fire as having later been transferred to the region of Kābul, although some reasons will hereafter be noted for raising the question whether the Indian text, with *Kāvulistān* and *Kāmul*, may not be due in part to a misreading of an older Iranian archetype. However that may be, it is proper, before proceeding farther, to give support for the Indian claim of the removal of the fire to Kābul.

One argument in support of it may be drawn from the fact that an old Pahlavi legend regarding the immortal hero Keresāsp (Av. *Kərəsəspa*), who had once sinned by perpetrating an act against fire, associates his name in part with Kābul, while in the Avesta itself also, in Vd. 1. 9 (33-36), Keresāspa is mentioned in connection with the region *Vaēkarəta*, for the Pahlavi version which gives *Kāpūl*, i. e. Kābul.¹³ This old Pahlavi legend regarding Keresāsp's affront to fire and his consequent punishment after death is found in Dk. 9. 15. 1-4, being briefly summarized from the original Avestan Sūtkar Nask, and is given with fuller details in a Pahlavi *Rindyt* which in some manuscripts precedes the *Datistān-i Dēnik*. According to this tale the soul of Keresāsp, when barred entrance into heaven by the outraged fire, makes appeal to Ormazd and to Zoroaster, as intercessor in his behalf, beginning his plea with: 'I have been a priest of *Kāpūl(f)*' i. e. Kābul—*aēgh (ku) Kāpūl(f) aērpātō bāt hōmannm (am)*.¹⁴ But

¹² See *Zitp.* 11. 9, tr. West, in *SBE* 5, 186.

¹³ Besides Vd. 1. 9, Keresāspa is mentioned in the Avesta also in Ya. 9. 10-11; Yt. 5. 37-38; 13. 61, 136; 15. 27-28; 19. 38-41.

¹⁴ See West, in *SBE* 18, 373, and the text ed. B. N. Dhahar, *The Pahlavi Rindyt accompanying the Dāstān-i Dēnik*, p. 67, Bombay, 1913; and consult especially the references to the whole Keresāspa legend in Darmesteter, *Le ZA*, 2. 626, n. 58.

there is some uncertainty as to the textual reading, which is written *Kāp ā r* (not with the usual sign for *l*, and with a long *ā*); and another reading of the characters as *Kāj li*, meaning 'would that I' had been a priest, has been suggested, which accords with the Persian version which has *kāš kē*, 'would that,' altering the rest of the sentence to match this.¹⁸ There is, moreover, no actual reference to the Farnbāg Fire by name, though it may be implied. So this argument for Kābul as a whole is not entirely convincing.

The second point that may be urged in favor of viewing the transference of the Farnbāg Fire southeastward from Khwārazm is found in the fact of its association with Peshyōtanū (Av. *Pašōtanū*), the immortal son of Vishtāsp and ruler of Kangdez, which was somewhere in the eastern region.¹⁹ According to the Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht* (Byt. 3. 29, 30, 37), Peshyōtanū will appear at the final millennium and celebrate the worship 'of the Gadman-hōmand ("glorious"), which they call Rōshanō-kerp ("luminous form"), which is established at the lawful-place (*dātō-gās*, i. e. temple) of the victorious Farnbāg Fire.²⁰ This celebration will be accompanied also by the ritual worship of the other two most sacred fires, Gūshnasp and Būrzīn-Mitrō. Dr. West (*SBE* 5. 227 n. 1) saw in the passage quoted an allusion to the removal of the Farnbāg Fire from the 'Glorious' mountain in Khwārazm to the 'shining' mountain in Kāvulistān, of *Bd.* 17. 5, 6, above cited. In the text itself, however, there is no actual mention of Kābul, any more than there is of the locality of the other two fires which co-operate; nevertheless Peshyōtanū, ruler of Kangdez, belongs more particularly to Eastern Iran as does also in general his father Vishtāsp.

¹⁸ See Dhahar, *op. cit.* p. 66, n. 8; and cf. West, *op. cit.* p. 373, n. 5; on the Persian version also see E. K. Antia, *The Legend of Keresaspa*, in Spiegel Memorial Volume, p. 94, Bombay, 1908.

¹⁹ Various conjectures have been made regarding the locality of Phl. *Kangdez* (Av. *Kāhha*, Pers. *Gang-diz*); for example the region of Tashkend has been suggested by F. Justi, *Beitr. z. alten Geog. Persiens*, 2. 20-21, Gießen, 1869-1870 (Marburg Univ.-program); cf. W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, pp. 52-54, Erlangen, 1852. The territory of Bukhārā, or even Khiva, has been proposed by Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 2. 380, n. 70. It would be fanciful to guess Rūnduz, east of Balkh in Afghanistan, because of the spelling.

²⁰ See text and transliteration of Byt. 3. 29, ed. K. A. D. Noshervan, *The Pahlavi Zand-i-Yohūman Yasht*, pp. 17, 20, Bombay, 1900; and cf. translation by West, in *SBE* 5. 227.

Thus much having been said in favor of the removal of the Farnbāg Fire to Kābul, on the testimony of the Indian Būndahishn, we may now turn to a quite different statement on the older authority of the Iranian Būndahishn.

b. Iranian recension of Būndahishn 17. 5-6

(Principal variations from the Indian recension are indicated by spaced letters)²²

Bd. 17. 5-6 (Iran. rec.). *Va Yim dēn (andar) xūtāsh-i hamākō kār pavan (pa) aīgyārīh-i valmanšānō (ōšān) kōlā (har) sī dātā avīrtar hamat²³ kartō; az-ak Ātarō Gadman (Khūrah) val (avō) ī dātō-gās pavan (pa) gadman (khūrah)-hōmand kōfō pavan (pa) Xvārazm nīšāstō. Amat(ka)-šānō Yim barā (bē) kirīnētō gadman (khūrah) ī Yim min (az) gadman (dast) ī Dahākō Ātarō Gadman (khūrah) bōlēnēt. Dēn (andar) xūtāsh Vištāspō Malkō (Šāh) pavan (pa) pētākīh min (az) Dēnō min (az) Xvārazm val (avō) rōšanō kōf- ī Kavārvand²⁴ Kārō matā (dēh) vašt(ē)²⁵ nīšāstō-hōmand, cigūn kavun(nūn)-ic tamman (ānō) katrūnēt (mānēt).*

It will be observed that a large part of the Iranian recension of Bd. 17. 5-6 is the same as the Indian version transliterated and translated above, except that the fire is called Ātarō Gadman (Khūrah), 'Fire of Glory,' which is only another way of saying Ātarō Farnbāg, 'Fire of the Glory-divine' (according as the Semitic or Iranian designation is chosen); and both recensions agree that the fire was originally in Khvārazm. But in the latter part of the passage there is a very noteworthy difference in the Iranian version regarding the place to which the fire was removed. In contradistinction to the Indian Būndahishn, which locates the transferred fire 'upon the shining mountain in Kāvulistān, the district of Kāvul (Kābul),' the Iranian Būndahishn says:

'In the reign of King Vištāsp, upon revelation from the Religion, it became established out of Khvārazm, on the shining mountain of Kavārvand ("vaporous") in the Kār district, just as it there even now remains.'

²² See text ed., in photosincograph process, by T. D. Anklesaria with introduction by B. T. Anklesaria, *The Būndahishn, being a Facsimile of the T. D. Manuscript brought from Persia*, pp. 124-125, Bombay, 1908.

²³ So ms. adds hamāt, 'always'.

²⁴ So the Pahlavi word *kavārvand* is to be read. See below.

²⁵ So at least it seems that this and the following word are to be read.

The old local name of the mountain, which became illuminated when the sacred fire was transferred to it, I decipher from the original Pahlavi script (*k n ā r n d*) as *Kavārvand*,—the Pahlavi sign for *v* and *n* being the same—and suggest connecting it with Mod. Pers. *kavār*, 'vapor, mist which appears in summer nights',²² and comparing the common suffix *-vand* (*-vant*), 'possessing', in such mountain-names as *Rēvand* (Av. *Raēvant*), *Arvand* or *Alvand* (Av. *Aurvant*), *Damāvand*, and Skt. *Himavant*.²³

The next point is to identify the 'Kār district,' or town, indicated by Phl. *Kārō matā* (*dēh*) of our Iranian recension, where the fire was located on the *Kavārvand* mountain. The photo-zincographed copy of the text plainly reads *Kārō matā*, and it should be particularly noted that the Pāzand version even of the Indian *Būndahishn*, ed. Antia, p. 81, as remarked above, p. 85, n. 10, also gives *Kārī dēz* (although preceded by *Kāvalstān*, which in itself may have been due to some original misreading of the obscure *Kavārvand*, unfamiliar in India, as previously hinted). I do not know the source of Darmesteter's reading (*Le ZA* 1. 154) *Kārikān matā*, 'le pays de Kārikān,' regarding which he adds, 'le pehlvi Kārikān serait en persan Kāryān'; but he was certainly on the right track when he went on to suggest that the place was to be identified with *Kāriyān* in Fārs, celebrated for its sacred fire which had been transported there from Khvārazm, as reported by Mas'ūdī, 4. 76, cf. Yāqūt, p. 471.

*Kāriyān*²⁴ is the name of a small town and district of the old province of Fārs, being located about ten miles southwest of

²² See F. Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.* p. 1057a. The place is not to be confused with *Kavār* or *Kuvār*, a town southeast of Shirāz, although that is also in Fārs, cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 253, Cambridge, 1905. It should be added that a Mod. Pers. paraphrase of Avesta *Sirōza* 1. 9 (cited by Spiegel, *As. Übersetz.* 3. 199, n. 2, Leipzig, 1863; id. *Comm. über d. Av.* 2. 697, Vienna, 1868) places the *Ādar Frā* or *Farnbāg* Fire 'on the mountain *Kānkarah*' (*bar kāk-i Kānkarah*), the interpretation being evidently due to a misreading of Phl. *Kavārvand*. Cf. furthermore Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285, n. 2239.

²³ Possibly *Damāvand* (judging from various spellings, Armen. *Dambāvand*, Arabic *Dambāvand* beside *Damāvand* and *Dabāvand*, and a Pāzand transliteration as *Damāvand*, in Paz. *Jāmāspī*, ed. Modi, pp. 67, 114; cf. also Marquart *Erānshahr*, p. 127) may be derived from an original Av. **dunmāvant*, 'having vapor'. So I find *Salemann*, in *Grdr. iran. Phil.* 1, p. 266; but this is opposed by Bartholomae, *AWb.* s.v. *dunman*, col. 749.

²⁴ On such formations in *-ān* see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Araber, aus Tabari*, p. 112, n. 1.

Juwaim (Juwun), roughly midway between Sīrāf (Tahiri) on the Persian Gulf and Dārābjird in the interior, or again inland between Jahram and Lārs, and is still marked on modern maps as approximately situated between lat. $28^{\circ} 1'$ and long. $53^{\circ} 1'$, not far from Harin.¹⁹ According to the medieval Oriental geographers it was celebrated in antiquity for its strong fortress, crowning a hill-top, and as being the site of an ancient fire-temple from which the Zoroastrian priests distributed the sacred fire to other places.²⁰ As the identification of Kāriyān with the 'Kār district (or town)' of the Pahlavi text seems to be correct, judging from the various old allusions, I shall proceed below to give all the data that I can find regarding the subject in the Arab-Persian geographical and historical sources.²¹

Before presenting the material from these Oriental sources, however, I shall insert, as a parenthetic paragraph, an important account of Kāriyān by an English traveler who visited it some forty years ago. It is the only modern description of the place that I know, among the long list of travels in Persia, and I found it just after this article was completed and ready to be sent to the press, but happily in time for insertion here. The description is by Edward Stack, of the Bengal Civil Service, who visited Kāriyān,

¹⁹ See map at end of Curzon, *Persia*, vol. 2, London, 1892; also Edward Stanford, *Map of Persia*, London, 1887 (Indian Survey); and especially compare Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map vi. Consult furthermore the map in W. Tomaschek, *Zur Topographie von Persien*, in *Sitzb. d. kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Cl.*, vol. 108, p. 652, Vienna, 1885; likewise the map in E. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, 1. 72, London, 1882 (cited below). It should be observed, in passing, that the name Kāriyān, as *Ramn al-Kāriyān*, 'Tribe of Kāriyān,' appears as a local designation of several places in the Province of Fārs (see Istakhrī 1. 114 l. 6; cf. 1. 99 l. 2; 1. 141 l. 4; Ibn Hākal, 2. 180, l. 7; cf. 2. 180 l. 5; Muḥaddat, 3. 424 l. 6; 2. 447 l. 8; 2. 451 l. 7); but the tribe in general is not to be confused with our Kāriyān of the Fire-temple, as noted also by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 284, n. 2237; compare likewise the discussion by Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 2. 91-92.

²⁰ See Le Strange, *op. cit.* p. 265 (with references); P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter aus den arabischen Geographien*, 2. 91-92; 3. 137, Leipzig, 1910, 1912; also A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 65, Copenhagen, 1907. On an old Kurdish tribe of Kāriyān, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285; Le Strange, *Description of the Province of Fārs*, p. 13, London, 1912.

²¹ I may add that I had practically completed collecting these data before having access to G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, pp. 281-289, Leipzig, 1880, which served, however, as a most admirable supplement as the footnotes hereafter will abundantly show.

March 19, 1881, and devotes a half dozen pages to the town and its environs (calling it 'Karyun,' correctly enough after the local pronunciation of the name today), in the first of his two volumes entitled *Six Months in Persia*, 1. 117-123 (New York, 1882, Putnam's). His record has all the more value when used as a supplement to the Arab-Persian geographers, of a thousand years before, about whom he knew nothing. It unconsciously supports their testimony as to the antiquity of the town, its hills and fertile suburban districts, and especially it mentions 'the fort of the Fire-well, so called from the discovery of naphtha in a well hard by.' The features that are characteristic in Stack's account for comparison with the older Oriental writers are here indicated by spacing the words. He rightly described Kāriyān as three miles distant from Harm, which is also still indicated in the maps; and both places at the time of his visit were suffering seriously from 'the effects of drought and famine' then prevailing in Persia.

E. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, 1. 118-123: 'Harm is a large village, with extensive date-groves, and perhaps two hundred houses. It was deserted and in ruins; we could find no quarters there. Karyun is still larger; it must have had a population of 2000 souls, but we could find only three families in the whole place . . . Two other forts [besides a modern one] stand in the plain, a mile east of Karyun. One is the Mud Fort (*Qala-i-Gilt*), built when Karim Khan was reigning in Shiraz (1780); it is a square earthwork with a side of 120 yards, and had a tower every twelve yards. The other is the fort of the Fire-well, so called from the discovery of naphtha in a well hard by; it is a tower girt with a wall, on a mound. Forts and well are in ruins now. Karyun stands in the middle of three rocky hills, and these, also, are said to have been fortified. I went up one hill with some men of the village. They stopped at the foot, picked up bones, and said, "These are the bones of men," and proceeded to tell me the following story:—Shah Kāran was besieged here by 12,000 Mussalmans, when the Arabs first invaded Persia. [The story continues with an account of Shah Kāran's successful resistance at first, until he was betrayed through the treachery of his own wife, and fell into the hands

of the Arabs, and the fortress was taken]. Such was the legend of Karyun. Shah Kāran was, of course, a fire-worshipper [and a footnote adds, "the Chah Tashi (*atashi*) or fire-well, was perhaps a holy place in Shah Qaran's time"]¹¹ and [he] seems to be a semi-historical personage. He is credited with having made sixty qanats (underground conduits for water). It is probable enough, too, that Karyun may be an ancient place. In a country like Persia, where the habitable spots have been marked out by Nature from the beginning of the world, the smallest human settlement in the desert may date back thousands of years. It is at least true of Karyun that the ruins of a fort do actually stand on the hill, and that bones are plentiful in the dry torrent beds. What with relics of mortality, ruins, and robbers, Karyun was an eminently cheerful place. My guides said there were twenty inhabited houses; I doubt it. The place was once flourishing and well-built. Conical domes of *abambara* (water-cisterns) rose among the houses, testifying to a large water-supply and large population in former years . . . In good seasons, the plain where these villages [Kāriyān and Harm] (and a few others) are situated ought to be extremely rich. I saw some very fine wheat under Karyun. An ancient qanat waters Karyun, and an unsuccessful attempt has recently been made by Lutf Ali Khan [the governor] to strike out another.'

Keeping in mind this interesting modern account of Kāriyān with its 'fort of the Fire-well,' named from a fountain of naphtha and marked by a ruined wall and tower crowning a mound, and remembering the legend of its hill-top fastness, so long impregnable, we may now turn to the Arab-Persian records of the place, which date a millennium earlier. From their allusions to Kāriyān it will become perfectly clear that the town, like the other places, Dārābjird, al-Baidā, Nasā, Fasā, that are mentioned in connection with the sacred fire now under investigation, was certainly located in the Province of Fārs. Concerning that there remains no question.

¹¹ The Persian *chāl-dāsh* signifies 'fiery well'.

5. Arab-Persian Allusions to the Farnbāg Fire

c. Ibn Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (903 A. D.)

The earliest Arab-Persian geographer to refer to the Farnbāg Fire, under the title Ādhar-Khurrah, was Ibn Faḳīh of Hamadān, Persia (903 A. D.). In his Arabic account of an ancient fire-temple in the district of Farāhān, near Hamadān, he goes on to mention several other well known sacred fires in different places, one of which was 'The Fire Ādhar-Khurrah and fire of Jamm ash-Shīdh (Jamshīd), which is the oldest.'²² This he also says was originally in Khvārazm, and was removed by the Sasanian monarch Anūshīrvān (he does not mention Vishtāsp) to Kāriyān, adding, moreover, that at the time of the Arab conquest a part of it was carried for safety to Fasā, a town which is likewise in Fārs. Ibn Faḳīh's statement (ed. De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* 5: 246, Leyden, 1885) may be translated as follows:

Ibn Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, 5: 246 l. 8 f. 'As regards the fire of Jamm ash-Shīdh (Jamshīd) it is the Ādhar-Khurrah (i. e. Fire Farnbāg). It was in Khwārazm, and Anūshīrvān removed it to al-Kāriyān. Now when the Arabs came into power, the Magians were afraid that it would be extinguished. So they divided it into two parts, one part (remained) in al-Kāriyān, and one part was carried to Fasā,²³ thinking that if one of them should be extinguished the other would be left.'²⁴

d. Mas'ūdī (943 A. D.)

The most important passage to be brought into connection with the Būndahishn account is the reference to the fire of Jamshīd (i. e. the Farnbāg Fire) in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab* ('The

²² Lit. 'first', ed. De Goeje, 5: 246.

²³ The town Fasā is some fifty miles west of Dārābjird; but it must be noted that Mas'ūdī (see below) says Nasā (Nisā). Incidentally it may be remarked that Fasā is particularly mentioned in connection with Zoroaster and Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp) by Tha'alibi, tr. H. Zotenberg, pp. 255, 262, Paris, 1900. On Fasā see Le Strange, *op. cit.* pp. 290, 293, 294; Schwarz, *op. cit.* 2: 97-100, but there is no special mention of a fire-temple in connection with this industrial town. It is possible that Fasā in Ibn Faḳīh is misread for Nasā (see below).

²⁴ Ed. De Goeje, 5: 246; cf. also tr. Gotthelf, *References to Zoroaster*, in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Driener*, p. 45, New York, 1894.

Golden Meadows,' text and French tr. by Barbier de Meynard, *Les Prairies d'or*, 4. 75-76, Paris, 1865). Mas'ûdî, after mentioning ten celebrated pyraea, comes to speak of the fire of Jamshîd, which Vishtâsp (Bishtâsp or Yistâsf), at the direction of Zoroaster, removed from Khvârazm to Dârâbjird, the chief city in the land of Fârs. (For this latter sentence in the original, Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285, suggests reading, 'nach der Stadt [al-Kâriân, einer Dependenz von] Dârâbgerd, einer Kûra im Lande Fârs'—giving his reasons for the conjecture in a footnote, n. 2240). Mas'ûdî goes on to state that King Kai Khusrau (who lived between the time of Jamshîd and Vishtâsp) had worshiped this fire while it was in Khvârazm, and he notices also the divergent tradition that it was Anûshirvân who had removed it to Kâriyân,²⁶ repeating likewise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the fire was divided for the purpose of safety, a part being left in Kâriyân and a part removed to Nasâ and al-Baidâ in Fârs. As noted below, both these latter places (or practically the same place) are, like Kâriyân, situated in the Fârs Province. The whole passage from Mas'ûdî is here translated.

Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, 4. 75-76. 'Zarâdusht directed King Yistâsf (i. e. Vish-tâsp) that he should search for the fire which had been venerated by King Jam. He made search and found it in the city of Khvârazm, and Yistâsf then removed it to the city Dârâbjird,²⁷ of the land of Fârs and its country. In our time, the year 332 [A. H. = 943 A. D.], this temple is called *Âdharjûy*, and the translation of this is 'Fire-stream' (or Fire-river), *âdhar* being one of the names for 'fire' and *jûy* being one of the names for 'river' in old Persian. The Magians revere this fire in a manner in which they revere no other fires or fire-temples.

'In Persian (tradition) it is reported that when Kai Khusrau²⁸ went forth to make war against the Turks, and marched

²⁶ See the citation above from Ibn Fakih al-Hamadhânî; but observe some of the statements given below which would militate against the Anûshirvân tradition.

²⁷ For Hoffmann's suggested emendation 'to the city [al-Kâriân, a dependency of] Dârâbjird' see the introductory paragraph above.

²⁸ As remarked above, Kai Khusrau lived about two hundred years before Vishtâsp according to the traditional dates, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 180.

to Khvārazm, he inquired there about that fire, and when he found it he venerated it and worshiped it.

'And it has been said [by others]³⁸ that Anūshirvān was the one who removed it to al-Kāriyān. The appearance of Islam caused fear to the Magians lest the Musulmans should extinguish it; so they left a part (lit. some) of it at al-Kāriyān and removed a part (lit. some) of it to Nasā³⁹ and al-Baiḍā in the district of Fārs, so that one of them should be left in case the other was extinguished.'⁴⁰

e. *Shahrastānī* (1086-1153 A. D.)—based largely on Mas'ūdī

Quite an extended notice of various fire-temples and their founders is given by Abū'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ash-Shahrastānī in his well-known 'Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects' (*Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Nihāl*, text ed. Cureton, part 1, pp. 197-198, London, 1842; German tr. by Haarbrücker, 1, pp. 298-299, Halle, 1850).⁴¹ As Shahrastānī was a native of the large village of Shahrastān in Khurāsān, being born there in 1086 A. D., and had studied at Nishāpūr, he must have had a good knowledge of Persian traditions regarding the sacred fires. When, however, he comes to speak of the fire of Jamshīd he follows Mas'ūdī rather closely in his statements regarding Khvārazm, Dārābjird, and the tradition mentioned above with respect to Anūshirvān and the transference of the fire to al-Kāriyān (erroneously written in

³⁸ See Ibn Faḳīh, cited above, and Shahrastānī (after Mas'ūdī), cited below.

³⁹ The text here reads *Nasā* (not *Fasā* as in Ibn Faḳīh, cited above); so also Shahrastānī (based on Mas'ūdī) has *Nasā*, as quoted below. *Nasā* and al-Baiḍā (the latter meaning in Arabic 'The White' town) are names for the same town (or possibly for two places merged into one town, like the modern Isfahān-Jul'ah), located about twenty miles northward from Shirāz in the Province of Fārs (cf. Muḳ., p. 432, 1); the Persians called it also *Nasātak* (lq. p. 126, 11 ff.), signifying according to Yāḳūt (I. 791, 20, and cf. 4. 778, 6), Dār-i Isfīd, 'White Palace'—see Schwarz, *Iran in Mittelalter*, I. 16-17, Leipzig, 1896; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 280 (and map, p. 249).

⁴⁰ For help in connection with the translation of the various Arabic passages throughout, I am particularly indebted to my assistant, Dr. A. Yohannan of Columbia University; and also to my former pupil, Professor William Popper of the University of California. This special passage from Mas'ūdī is rendered likewise by Hoffmann, *Ausätze*, pp. 285-286.

⁴¹ Cf. C. Huart, *Hist. Arab. Lit.*, p. 268, New York, 1903.

the text as al-Kārmān, and not to be confused with Kirmān).⁴² The special passage follows.

Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 197-198 (cf. Haarbrücker, l. pp. 298-299). 'Kushtasf gave orders that the fire which Jam venerated should be sought for, and they found it in the city of Khvārazm, and transported it to Dārābjird. It was called Āzar-Khū[r]ā;⁴³ and the Magians venerate it more than (all) the others. And when Kai Khusrāu went out to war against Āfrāsiyāb, he venerated it and worshiped it. It is said that it was Nūshirvān who transferred it to Kāriyān;⁴⁴ they left some of it there and carried some of it to Nasā.'

f. Iṣṭakhri (951 A. D.)

The somewhat earlier geographer Abū Ishāk al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhri (951 A. D.) alludes to Kāriyān and its impregnable fortress which crowned the Mountain of Clay, and, a few paragraphs beyond, he states that the fire-temple of al-Kāriyān was the most famous in Fārs.

Iṣṭakhri, ed. De Goeje, l. 117 l. 2 f. 'The fortress of al-Kāriyān⁴⁵ is built upon the Mountain of Clay (*Jabal Tīn*).⁴⁶ Muḥammad ibn Wāṣil attacked it with his army (because) Aḥmad bin al-Ḥasan al-Azdi had intrenched himself within it, but he was not able to take it.' And Iṣṭakhri continues, some paragraphs further on (p. 118 l. 6 f.) to say: 'The fire-temples of Fārs exceed my power of enumeration, as there is no city, village, or place without a large number of these fire-temples; but a few of them are more celebrated and surpass the others in importance. Of these is the Fire-temple of al-Kāriyān,

⁴² See also Hoffmann, p. 285, n. 2240.

⁴³ On the reading see Hoffmann, p. 286 (last paragraph), with references.

⁴⁴ See remarks above on the erroneous spelling *Kārmān* in the text instead of *Kāriyān*.

⁴⁵ v. l. *Kāribān*, *Kādhizān*, *Kāripān*.

⁴⁶ This is the same mountain as Kavārvand of the Pahlavi text, but there is no connection to be traced between the name in Arabic, *Tīn*, 'clay' and Phl. Pers. *Kundruand*; consult also above, p. 89, n. 25, and the reference to Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285, n. 2239.

which is known as *Nār Farrā*, and as the Fire-temple ba-Khurrah, that is the Fire Khurrah' (cf. *Ādhar-Khurrah*, above).⁴⁷

g. Ibn Haukal (978 A. D.)

Ibn Haukal (978 A. D.) follows the statements of Iṣṭakhri practically verbatim with regard to the large number of fire-temples in Fārs, the most important being that at Kāriyān;⁴⁸ and (like Mas'ūdi, also above) he says that this pyraeum was called *Nār-jūy*, 'Fire-stream' (with the variant reading *Nār Farrā*, cf. *Ādhar-Khurrah*). The passage follows and should be compared with the others previously given.

Ibn Haukal, ed. De Goeje, 2. 189 l. 5: 'But the fire temples of it (i. e. of the Province of Fārs) are excessive in number and the mind is incapable of grasping it, as there is no city, village, or place, which has not in it a large number of these fire-temples besides those famous ones which surpass the rest in importance. Of these (latter) is the Fire-temple of al-Kāriyān which is called the temple of *Nār-jūy* i. e. "Fire-stream" (v. l. *Nār Farrā*) and the Fire-temple ba-Khurrah.'

h. Muḥaddasī (985 A. D.)

There is an allusion likewise to the Kāriyān fire-temple in the geographical work of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Maḥdāsī, or Muḥaddasī (985 A. D.), as he is more commonly called.

Muḥaddasī, ed. De Goeje, 3. 427 l. 12 f.: 'Kāriyān'⁴⁹ is small, but its suburban villages are well-populated.⁵⁰ In

⁴⁷ The reading *Nār Farrā*, i. e. 'Fire Farrā' is the correct one as construed from the variants in the Arabic texts. See also especially Hoffmann, p. 284, and his remarks; compare likewise Schwarz, *Iran*, 2. 91, with references not only to Iṣṭakhri, p. 118, l. 8 (just quoted), but also to Balādhuri, p. 389, l. 13 (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1866), where Kāriyān may be implied though not mentioned.

⁴⁸ For a reference likewise to the 'Zam (town or territory) Kāriyān' see W. Ouseley, *Or. Geog. of Ibn Haukal*, p. 91, London, 1800, and see above, n. 28.

⁴⁹ v. l. *Kāribān*.

⁵⁰ For an idea of the fertility of the suburban districts around Kāriyān see the passage cited from Stark above, p. 92.

it there is a fire-temple that is highly venerated, and they carry the fire from it to (all parts of) the world.¹²⁴

i. Yāqūt (1225 A. D.)

Similar (and including a repetition from Iṣṭakhri) is the statement of Yāqūt in his great geographical dictionary, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 4, 224-225, Leipzig, 1869; cf. French tr. by Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 471, Paris, 1861. The passage runs as follows:

Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4, 224-225; cf. Fr. tr. Barbier de Meynard, p. 471: 'Kāriyān is a small city in Fārs, and its suburban villages are well-populated. In it there is a fire-temple which is highly venerated by the Magians, and its fire is carried to (all parts of) the world. Iṣṭakhri says that among the fortresses of Fārs which have never been taken is the fortress of al-Kāriyān, which is on the Mountain of Clay (*Jabal Ṭīn*). 'Amrū, son of Laith as-Ṣaffār,¹²⁵ attacked it and besieged in it Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Azdi, with his army; but he was not able to take it, and withdrew.'¹²⁶

j. Ḳazvinī (1275 A. D.)

This statement is repeated in substance also in the 'Cosmography' of Zakariyyā al-Ḳazvinī (1203-1283 A. D.), who was a Persian, though writing in Arabic, and derived his name from his native place, Ḳazvin in Āzarbaijān.

Ḳazvinī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 2, 162 l. 5 f., Göttingen, 1848: 'Kāriyān is a city in the land of Fārs, in which there is a fire-temple held in high esteem by the Magians, and its fire is carried to other fire-temples in the world. Iṣṭakhri says: "One of the fortresses that can never be taken is the fortress of Kāriyān; it is situated on the Mountain of Clay (*Jabal min Ṭīn*), and has several times been besieged but has never been taken".'

¹²⁴ Besides this passage there are two mere mentions of Kāriyān in Muḥ., pp. 52, 454; see also above, note 28.

¹²⁵ i. e. the Ṣaffārid ruler in the latter half of the ninth century A. D.

¹²⁶ There is a mere mention of 'the fortress of Kāriyān' also in Yāqūt, 3, p. 338.

k. An earlier passage in Albīrūnī (973-1048 A. D.)

There is a long and important earlier passage in the famous 'Chronology' of Albīrūnī (Abū Raihān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī), which has a special bearing on the Ādhar-Khurrah (or Farnbāg) fire-temple in Fārs. It is of particular interest because this celebrated scholar was born in one of the suburbs of Khvārazm (973 A. D.), and his family was of Persian origin. It will be noted that while he does not mention Kāriyān by name, speaking simply of 'the famous fire-temple in Ādhar-Khūrā in Fārs', or again of 'the town Ādhar-Khūrā,' his allusion is undoubtedly to the famous Farnbāg Fire of Jamshīd, referred to several times above, under this or similar forms, as located at Kāriyān; and this is further borne out by the fact that Albīrūnī's statement shows that it was situated somewhere in the general region of Dārābjird. It is expressly to be observed, moreover, that Albīrūnī's account proves that this sacred fane must have been celebrated long before the time of Anūshirvān, because that Sasanian monarch's grandfather, King Fērōz (Pērōz), who ruled 459-484 A. D., visited it and prayed there for rain to relieve the dire affliction of drought which was devastating Ērānshahr. This fact regarding Fērōz at that time is all the more important as recorded by a chronologist, and it seems to indicate that the Anūshirvān tradition was a later one or is to be otherwise explained. I select the significant portions, relating to the fire-temple, from the long account which Albīrūnī gives, *Chronology*, tr. E. Sachau, pp. 215-216 (=ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 228-229), London, 1879.

Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, pp. 215-216: 'Once in the time of Fērōz [459-484 A. D.], the grandfather of Anūshirvān, the rain was kept back, and the people of Ērānshahr suffered from barrenness.' [The account then continues to describe the measures which Fērōz took to relieve the distress of his people, even 'borrowing money from the properties of the fire-temples to give to the inhabitants of Ērānshahr'; it then describes the king's act of veneration at the chief pyraeum as follows.] 'Now Fērōz went to the famous fire-temple in Ādharkhūrā in Fārs;⁴ there he said his prayers, and asked God to remove that trial from the inhabitants of the world.' [After describ-

⁴ Lit. 'to the fire-temple known as Ādharkhūrā in Fārs.'

ing his meeting with the priests, his fervent supplications at the altar, and his pious gifts to the shrine, the account continues.] 'Then he started from the town Ādhar-khūrā in the direction of the town Dārā (i. e. Dārābjird). But²⁶ having come as far as the place where is now the village called Kām-Fērōz in Fārs—it was at that time an uncultivated plain—a cloud rose and brought such copious rain as had never been witnessed before, till the rain ran into all the tents, the royal tent as well as the other ones. Fērōz recognized that God had granted his prayer . . . He did not leave this place before he had built the famous village which he called Kām-Fērōz. Fērōz is his name, and *kām* means "wish"; so that it signifies "that he had obtained his wish".'

From the above account it is clear that the fire-temple was somewhat distant from Dārābjird, since he proceeded from it 'in the direction of the town Dārā'.²⁶ As the district of Kām-firūz lies north of Shīrāz on the map,²⁷ Fērōz must have passed a long way beyond Dārābjird, if we are to locate Kāriyān as above indicated. Under any circumstances the Ādhar-khūrā (Farnbāg) Fire was regarded by Albārūnī (like the other authorities) as situated in the Province of Fārs. So much is clear.

1. Incidental allusions in the Persian Epic of Firdausī (1000 A. D.)

There are a couple of incidental allusions to the Fire Khurrād or Khūrdād (which is the same as the Farnbāg Fire, as noted at the beginning of this article) in the *Shāh-nāmā* of Firdausī.²⁸ Thus it is mentioned as one of the three most sacred fires in a verse—*chū Ādhar Gush[n]asp u chū Khurrād u Mihr*—in connection with the history of King Ardashīr of Fārs, the founder of the Sassanian Empire (therefore antedating Anūshīrvān), the poetical story running parallel in general with the earlier Pahlavi

²⁶ More literally, 'and then when he arrived at'.

²⁶ So also Hoffmann, p. 287.

²⁷ See Le Strange, p. 249, and cf. p. 280; also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, I. 40-41.

²⁸ Cf. also Hoffmann, pp. 288-289.

work cited below.³⁹ But there is nothing definite beyond the general association with Fārs to indicate the precise site of the temple. Pointing to Fārs likewise is the fact that when Ardāshīr went out to fight against Bahman, son of Ardāvān, as Firdausī has it, he repaired first to the temples of Khurrād and Rām—*sūt Ādhar Rām u Khurrād*—to pray for victory.⁴⁰

m-n. Two later Persian allusions in the *Burhān-i Kāfi* and the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*

Two later Persian works refer to the Farnbāg fire-temple as Khūrdād or Ādhar-Khūrdād (cf. above). Thus:

The *Burhān-i Kāfi*, compiled by Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabriz, in the middle of the seventeenth century (lithographed edition, India, 1305 A. H. = 1888 A. D.),⁴¹ v. 1, p. 366, col. 2, l. 7, has simply: 'Khūrdād is the name of a fire-temple, very large and high,' but records under another entry (*Burhān*, v. 1, p. 27, col. 2, l. 26): 'Ādhar Khūrdar (sic!) is the name of a fire-temple of Shīrāz; some know it as the fifth (fire-temple), and they write it also as Ādhar-Khūrdād, with long ā.' (On this reference to Shīrāz see especially what is remarked below in the next paragraph.) The *Burhān* (v. 1, p. 28, col. 2, l. 3) has furthermore an entry under the variant Khurīn, as follows: 'Ādhar Khurīn is the fifth of all the seven fire-temples of the Parsis; the details regarding it are recorded under the word Ādhar Āyīn' (where notice is taken of the presumed connection of the seven fire-temples with the planets).

More important is the seventeenth century Persian lexicon *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (lithographed edition, Lucknow, 1293 A. H.

³⁹ See Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmah*, tr. G. A. and E. Warner, 6, 212, cf. 391, London, 1912; Mohl, *Le Livre des rois*, 5, 218; and compare D. D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnāme i Artakshāhī*, p. (88) 2, extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah* (Pers. text).

⁴⁰ See Warner, 6, 226, l. 11; Mohl, 5, 238; and Sanjana, *Kārnāme*, p. (97), 11 (extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah*. Cf. also a mere mention, Mohl, 5, 416.)

⁴¹ The author of the *Burhān-i Kāfi* completed his dictionary 1062 A. H. = 1651 A. D., and dedicated it to Sultan 'Abdullah Kūṭubshāh b. Kūṭubshāh, who ruled at Golkonda, India, 1035-1083 A. H. Besides the India lithographed copy above quoted, there is also a lithographed edition of the *Burhān-i Kāfi*, published in Persia, 1247 A. H. = 1831 A. D., which has also been consulted.

= 1876 A. D.), which gives, v. 1, p. 57, ll. 1-3, a list of seven noted Ātash-Kadahs, or fire-temples, the fifth of which is Ādhar-Khurīn, called also (more accurately on p. 58) Ādhar-Khūrdād (i. e. Farnbāg Fire). Its location is placed at Shīrāz—that is in Fārs—which was probably cited as conveying to an Indian reader of the time of the Emperor Jahāngīr somewhat of an idea of the temple's location in that province. At any rate the tradition as to the Province of Fārs seems to be followed. The passage runs thus:

n. *The Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, v. 1, p. 58, l. 11 f.: 'Ādhar-Khūrdād was a very high fire-temple edifice in Shīrāz; it was the fifth of all the seven fire-temples which the Parsis had, and they call it, also Ādhar-Khurīn.' And further on, p. 58, l. 21, he records: 'Ādhar-Khurīn is the name of the fifth²² of the seven fire-temples which the Parsis have; it is called also 'Ādhar-Khūrdād.'

6. Supplementary Allusions in Pahlavi Literature

Having sufficiently established the fact that the reference in the Iranian Būndahishn seems to be fully borne out by the Arab-Persian writers in regard to locating the transferred Farnbāg Fire in the Province of Fārs, we may revert once more to the Pahlavi literature and add one or two references which may lend additional weight to this view.

o. Pahlavi Kārnamak-i Artakshīr-i Pāpakān (sixth century A. D. ?)

From the entire context of a passage in the Pahlavi work *Kārnamak-i Artakshīr-i Pāpakān*, 4. 6, it is evident that 'the Portal of the Fire Farnbāg'—*bahā (dār) ī Ātarō ī Farnbāg*—at which Ardashīr, the first Sasanian king, and thus long prior to Anūshīrvān, prayed for victory, was located in Fārs.²³ There is

²² The text here by an oversight reads 'sixth'.

²³ See ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnamā*, Bombay, 1896, text, p. 23, translation, p. 20, and cf. pp. 3, 4, 40; cf. likewise ed. R. A. D. Noshervan, Bombay, 1896, text, p. 14, transliteration, p. 8; and also ed. E. K. Antia, Bombay, 1900, p. 19; furthermore, Th. Nöldeke, *Geogr. d. Artakshīr i Pāpakān*, in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 4. 46-47, Göttingen, 1878.

no mention in the text of the place itself where the well-known fire-temple was situated, but as Ardashīr started on his march from a point on the 'sea-coast' of the Persian Gulf, where he founded a new fire-shrine called 'Bukht Artakhshīr,' proceeding by the way of 'Rāmishn-i Artakhshīr,' from which he went on to the 'Portal of the Farnbāg Fire,' and thence to Stākhar (Persepolis), it is probable that the site of the famous pyraeum may once again be identified with Kāriyān in the Province of Fārs.⁴⁴

p. Mention of the Farnbāg Fire in the *Artā Vīrāf*

In the Pahlavi book *Artā Vīrāf*, 1. 21, 28, the company of priests and people who gather to choose one of their number, destined to behold in a trance a vision of heaven and hell, assemble for this purpose 'in the Portal of the Victorious Fire Farnbāg'—*pasan (pa) babā (dār) ī pērōckar Ātarō ī Farnbāg*—but nothing definite is stated as to its location, though it should be noted that Stākhar (Persepolis) in Fārs is mentioned incidentally somewhat before (AV. 1. 7), thus pointing apparently to the Fārs province.⁴⁵

q. Mere allusions to the Fire Farnbāg in the
Phil. work *Nīrangistān*

There are several ritualistic allusions to the Fire Farnbāg in the Pahlavi work *Nīrangistān*, but as they are only ceremonial in content they add no information in regard to the location of the fire-temple itself. They are recorded here simply for the sake of fulness: *Nīr.* 2. 6, B, 14-15; 2. 19, 53, 62; 2. 19. A, 21 (transl. S. J. Bulsara, *Aērpatāstān and Nīrangastān*, pp. 227, 316, 318, 322, Bombay, 1915).

⁴⁴ See *Kārnāme*, 4. 1-10. Similarly Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 287-288, gives arguments in this connection also in favor of identifying the scene of the visit with Kāriyān. It might be possible furthermore to suggest that the port on the sea-coast was Strāf; the precise location of Rāmishn-i Artakhshīr (Rām Ardashīr) appears not to be certain—see Schwarz, *Iran*, 2. 68.

⁴⁵ See Hoshang Haug and West, *Book of the Arda Vīrāf*, 1. 21, 28, London and Bombay, 1872. It is to be observed that Haug (and West), *op. cit.* p. 146, n. 3, follows the idea (based then on the Indian *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*) that the temple was in Kābulistān; on the other hand, Adrien Barthélemy, *Artā Vīrāf-Nāmāh*, p. 146, n. 10, Paris, 1887, is in favor of Iṣṭakhar, that is, in Fārs, as the probable place. See also Justi's view, below, p. 106, n. 70.

r. A high-priest named Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt

Merely by way of supplement it may be added that the celebrated Zoroastrian high-priest Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt of Fārs, who flourished early in the ninth century A. D. and is well known through his share in the work of compiling the *Dēnkart* as well as otherwise in Pahlavi literature, evidently owed his name to his pontifical office in connection with the Farnbāg Fire-temple.⁴⁶ It was he who refuted the 'Accursed Abālīsh,' a heretical Gabar of Stākhar in Fārs, in a religious disputation held, about 825 A. D., before Ma'mūn, Caliph of Baghdād, as told in the Pahlavi treatise *Mātiḡān-i Gujastak Abālīsh*, ed. and tr. into French by A. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887. The 'accursed' heretic, who was a native of Stākhar, had once been a believer, but had received some affront in a fire-temple, in consequence of which he became a renegade to the faith, entering into ardent religious discussions alike with Zoroastrians, Arabs, Jews, and Christians of Fārs. He finally repaired to Ma'mūn's court at Baghdād, where he was utterly worsted in debate by Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt, who, with other theological scholars, had been summoned thither by the Caliph to dispute with him (cf. *GA* 15-25). Although the fire-shrine at which Abālīsh originally met with the rebuff that turned him into an apostate is not to be identified with the Farnbāg temple, there is no doubt that the great ecclesiastic, Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt, owed his own name to his ministry upon the famous Farnbāg Fire of Fārs.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Regarding this noted prelate see West, in *Grutirius d. Iran. Philol.* 2. 91, 105; id. in *SBE* 18. 289; vol. 24, introduction pp. 26, 27; vol. 37, introd. pp. 31, 32, 37. He must have been a native of Fārs if we may judge from the context of *Phl. Dāstān-i Dēnīg*, 88. 2 (cf. tr. in *SBE* 18. 252), and he is mentioned also in the Pahlavi works *Epistles of Mānābēkhr*, 1. 39; *Shg.* 4. 107; 9. 3; 10. 35; *Dk.* 4. 2; 5. 1, 2, 3.

⁴⁷ According to the text of *GA* 2-5, 'Abālīsh of Stākhar . . . went to the Fire-temple of Pūšt (?)', where he received the original affront, but there is uncertainty as to deciphering the name of the temple—*ādī-gās* i Pūšt (?), see Barthélemy, *Gujastak Abālīsh*, p. 7, Paris, 1887. Barthélemy doubtfully suggests, with a query, to read *poran pūšt* (?); but the Pāzand version has *Pūšt* and the Persian gives *Pūšt*. It is not to be confused with Pūšt near Nishāpūr, or with Bust in Sīstān, because the locality involved appears certainly to be that of Istākhr or its vicinity—see Barthélemy, *op. cit.* p. 40, n. 3 and n. 4. There is a fire-temple written as Ādhar Pūsh in the lithographed edition of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, 1. p. 57 l. 2 (see above), but that is apparently a mistake for Nūsh Ādhar in the same work 2. p. 245 l. 4

The material which has been brought together above comprises all that I have thus far been able to find.⁶⁵ We are therefore prepared to summarize it and present the main results.

7. Summary and Conclusion

The traditions regarding the Farnbāg Fire, or fire of Jamshīd, so far as available, seem to agree as to the fact that it was established by Jamshīd originally in Khvārazm (Khīva), but was removed from there later, in the time of Zoroaster, to another locality.

The tradition found in the Indian recension of the Būndahishn, that the fire was transferred to the region of Kābul, appears to have far less authority on its side (even if Vishtāspa was associated more particularly with the east), and it may rest on a mistaken reading of the difficult Pahlavi name of the mountain,—the obscure word 'Kavārvand,' of a more original copy, being wrongly interpreted as a mountain in 'Kāvulistān,' that being naturally better known to a writer in India. Scholars who are familiar with the character of the Pahlavi script will best appreciate this possibility.

The Iranian Būndahishn, on the other hand, which is the older recension,⁶⁶ definitely reads mountain of Kavārvand, and places this in the 'Kār district,' all of which appears to agree with the numerous Arab-Persian writers who locate this sacred fire-temple at Kāriyān in Fārs; it is in keeping also with the couple of other Pahlavi allusions which tend to show that its site was in Fārs. In any case the stronger testimony is to the effect that the temple was situated in the Fārs Province, and thus in south-

(where the other reading *Ādhar Pūsh* is also noted); cf. likewise *Burhān-i Kāfi*, 2. 457, col. 1. l. 2 (Indian lithographed edition) or 2. 283, l. 23 (of the Persian lithograph), and similarly *Nūsh Ādhar* in Firdausi's *Shāh-nāmā*, ed. Vullers, 3. 1500, l. 2; 1709, l. 6; 1723, l. 19.

⁶⁵ There are some stray allusions to the general subject of this and other Zoroastrian fires scattered through the well-known work of Thomas Hyde, *Hist. Relig. Vet. Persarum*, Oxford, 1700 (e. g. pp. 102, 104).

⁶⁶ I am fully convinced that the Great Iranian Būndahishn represents the older recension of this notable work even though the chief manuscript in which it is preserved happens to be about 180 years younger than the earliest codex in which the Indian Būndahishn is found, the latter being dated 1350 A. D. For dates see T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, *Būd. Introd.* pp. xxvii, xxxv.

western Iran. The whole of the old Oriental testimony is borne out by the ruins of the fire-temple still existing at Kāriyān and the modern account of the town and its legends given in the English passage quoted above.

This fact is of further interest because it connects the religious activity of Zoroaster's patron Vishtāspa with the west as well as the east,⁷⁹ which is allowed also by tradition, as shown by a part of the evidence collected by the present writer in *Zoroaster*, pp. 182-225, to which may be added references in Tha'ālibī, tr. Zotenberg, pp. 255, 262. It may likewise be stated that the tradition which makes Anūshirvān (instead of Vishtāspa) the one who removed the fire from Khvārmīr appears certainly to be of later origin.

On the whole, therefore, we may sum up by saying that, even if we were inclined to enter into a compromise by conceding that the original fire of Jamshīd might possibly have been divided, the evidence in favor of the Iranian Būndahishin would still be too strong and would lead us to decide that the Farnbāg Fire, when transferred, was located in the Province of Fārs, and in all likelihood the site was at Kāriyān as shown above.

In conclusion I may add, that while I have had to remove a good deal of old dust to discover the ashes of this most ancient and sacred Zoroastrian fire, I still cherish the hope that I may have kindled some sparks anew so as to inspire others to make further researches and throw more light on this question of interest in connection with one of the great historic religions of the East.

⁷⁹ It should especially be observed that F. Justi, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 88, pp. 255-259, Berlin, 1897, argues for associating Vishtāspa with the west of Iran, and p. 257 locates the Farnbāg Fire in Persia, i. e. the Province of Fārs, at Istakhr; see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 221-222.

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

FORMERLY WITH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

(Continued from JAOS 40. 248 ff.)

II. *On the versification of the metrical portions of the dramas.*

The following notes are the result of an attempt to study intensively certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas which seemingly distinguish the latter from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. The present investigation deals mainly with the metres and the metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages. The analysis of the metres comprises, besides a review of the metres conducted with special reference to the preponderance of the *Śloka*, a tabular conspectus of the metres (arranged in the order of frequency) showing the number of occurrences of each according to the dramas in which they are found, and secondly, a list showing specifically the distribution of the verses in each metre in the several plays. The section dealing with the solecisms has a twofold purpose: firstly, to ascertain their exact number and nature, and secondly to discuss their significance. Other aspects of versification, such as Alliteration, Rhyme, and Figures of Speech, will be considered in a separate article dealing with the *Alaṃkāras*.

ANALYSIS OF METRES.

Specifically, the verses¹ in each metre occur in the several plays as follows:

Śloka, Śvapna. I. 2, 7, 10, 15; IV. 5, 7-9; V. 6-11; VI. 3, 6, 7, 9, 11-14, 16-19; Pratiṣṭā. I. 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 15-17; II. 5²-7, 10, 11, 13; III. 3, 7-9; IV. 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20-22, 24-26; Pañca. I. 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 48-54; II. 4, 6, 8, 12-14, 16, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, 28, 34, 36-38, 41, 47-50, 52, 53, 55-59, 61-69, 71; III. 9, 10, 13, 15, 17-21, 23-26; Avi. I. 4; II. 4, 10; IV. 7, 14; V. 3; VI. 3, 6-8, 12-14, 17, 22; Bāla. I. 3, 11-13, 15-17, 20, 25-27; II. 8, 9, 11, 13-19, 25; III. 7-10, 12,

¹ Prakrit verses are marked with an asterisk (*).

² In verse 5 of the second Act of the Pratiṣṭā, b is defective.

TABLE OF METRES

	Svapna.	Pratijñā.	Padma.	Avi.	Bāla.	Madhyama.	Dūtav.	Dūtagh.	Karpa.	Ūru.	Abhi.	Cāru.	Pratimā.	Total.
1 Śloka.....	20	29	76	15	37	33	22	12	4	12	68	17	75	436
2 Vasantatilaka.....	11	8	0	27	26	6	13	8	6	16	15	12	22	179
3 Upajñit ¹	2	4	19	23	19	3	7	7	2	6	10	7	12	121
4 Śārdūlavikrīḍita.....	6	5	0	5	4	1	2	8	2	21	15	5	9	92
5 Mālini.....	5	7	3	6	4	7	2	6	7	11	4	10	72	
6 Puṣpitaṅgrā.....	2	3	4	11	2	3	2			22	2	4	55	
7 Vamśastha ²		3	12	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	35	
8 Śālini.....	3	4	6	2	1			1			1	1	3	22
9 Śikhariṇī.....	2	1	6	3						1	1		5	19
10 Praharsinī ³			3	2	2			4	1		4	1	3	17
11 Āryā.....	3	1			3							2	2	11
12 Sragdharā.....				3	1		1				2		1	8
13 Hariṇī.....	1							1		2			4	8
14 Vaiśvadevī ⁴	1	2									2			5
15 Svadana ⁵			1				1						2	4
16 Upagiti ⁶					1									1
17 Dandaka ⁷				1										1
18 ¹⁸													1	1
19 Drutavilambita.....											1			1
20 Prithvī.....				1										1
21 Bhujangaprayāta ¹¹											1			1
22 Vaitālyā ¹²		1												1
23 ¹³		1												1
Total.....	57	67	152	97	103	51	50	52	25	60	154	55	157	1092

¹ Including Indravajrā and Upendravajrā. Schema: ————

² Schema: ————

³ Schema: ————

⁴ Schema: ————

⁵ Schema: ————

⁶ Schema: a and c 12 moræ; b and d 13 moræ.

⁷ Schema: ———— + 7 amphimacers.

¹¹ 'Abbreviated Dandaka' (24 syllables); its schema: ———— + 6 amphimacers. See below.

¹² Schema: ————; or four consecutive bacchii.

¹³ See below, footnote 18.

¹⁴ Undetermined Prakrit metre. Its schema is:

—————
|
—————
(a and c 12 moræ; b and d 14 moræ).

13, 16; IV. 10, 12; V. 14, 16-20: Madhyama. 2, 7, 12-23, 28-31, 33-40, 42-45, 47, 49, 50: Dūtav. 1, 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 20, 25-27, 29-31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 55, 56: Dūtagh. 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37-40, 42, 44, 48-50: Karṇa. 2, 7, 12, 25: Ūru. 33, 37, 41-44, 46, 49, 50, 62, 64, 65: Abhi. I. 3, 8, 12, 15, 18-21, 23, 24; II. 3, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 23, 24; III. 5, 6, 8-11, 13-15, 18, 20, 22, 24-26; IV. 4, 8-11, 14, 16, 19-22; V. 2, 5, 8-10, 12, 14, 17; VI. 8-10, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25-29, 35: Cāru. I. 7, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28; III. 12, 14-17, 19; IV. 2, 3, 5, 7: Pratimā. I. 4, 6, 9-13, 15-17, 19-21, 23, 24, 26-28, 31; II. 3, 5, 6, 8-12, 15-18, 20; III. 4-6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24; IV. 3-5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26, 28; V. 6, 8, 9, 12-15, 20-22; VI. 5, 9-11, 13-15; VII. 5, 8, 13, 15.

Vasantatilaka, Svapna. I. 4, 6, 11; IV. 2; V. 1-3; VI. 2, 4, 5, 15: Pratijñā. I. 4, 6; II. 2, 9; III. 4; IV. 5, 7, 8: Pañca. I. 18, 29, 34, 37, 39; II. 27, 31, 42; III. 22: Avi. I. 2, 6, 11; II. 1, 2, 7, 13; III. 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15-17, 19; IV. 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 22; V. 2, 7; VI. 1, 11, 19: Bāla. I. 5, 8, 23; II. 1-4, 6, 7, 10, 21, 22; III. 2, 5, 14; IV. 6, 8, 11, 13; V. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15: Madhyama. 1, 3, 8, 11, 27, 48: Dūtav. 3-5, 11-14, 23, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54: Dūtagh. 1, 5, 11, 14, 23, 35, 45, 52: Karṇa. 4, 6, 9, 16, 21, 24: Ūru. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 22, 31, 32, 36, 40, 54, 59, 60, 66: Abhi. I. 1, 4, 9, 11; III. 21, 27; IV. 7, 13, 23; V. 4, 7, 13, 16; VI. 1, 7: Cāru. I. 2, 5, 8*, 9, 11, 18; III. 1, 2, 5, 10, 18; IV. 4: Pratimā. I. 7, 8, 22; II. 2, 4; IV. 1, 2, 16, 22, 24; V. 10, 11; VI. 4, 6, 7, 12; VII. 4, 6, 7, 9-11.

Upajātī (including *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*), Svapna. V. 5, 13: Pratijñā. I. 5, 12; II. 1; IV. 3: Pañca. I. 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 27, 31, 40, 43, 46, 47; II. 9, 11, 30, 60, 70; III. 3, 12, 14: Avi. I. 3, 9, 10; II. 8, 9, 12; III. 6, 18; IV. 2, 6, 15-17, 21; V. 1, 5; VI. 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 20, 21: Bāla. I. 2, 4, 7, 21^a, 22, 24, 28; II. 5, 12, 20, 23, 24; III. 4, 6; IV. 4, 5, 9; V. 2, 7: Madhyama. 9, 41, 51: Dūtav. 9, 18, 19, 22, 28, 52, 53: Dūtagh. 2, 9, 10, 16, 19, 30, 36: Karṇa. 13, 17^b: Ūru. 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 55: Abhi. I. 26; II. 14; III. 3, 19; IV. 6; V. 1, 11; VI. 14, 21, 32: Cāru.

^a Pāda a of verse 21 of the first Act of the Bāla. is a Varṇasṭha line.

^b Pāda b of verse 17 of the Karṇa. is a Varṇasṭha line.

I. 4, 10¹², 12*, 23*; III. 3, 7; IV. 1: Pratimā. I. 1, 29; III. 15; IV. 9, 13, 25; V. 3-5; VI. 16; VII. 3, 14.

Sardūlavikṛīḍita, Svapna. I. 3, 8, 12; IV. 1; V. 4, 12: Pratijñā. I. 8; III. 5, 6; IV. 13, 17: Pañca. I. 4, 5, 9, 55; II. 26, 29, 39; III. 6, 7; Avī. III. 3, 20; IV. 4, 10, 11: Bāla. I. 1; III. 3; IV. 1, 7: Madhyama. 26; Dūtav. 24, 32; Dūtagh. 3, 8, 12, 22, 27, 34, 41, 51; Karpā. 10, 15; Ūru. 1, 4, 13-18, 21, 23-25, 28, 29, 34, 35, 51-53, 58, 63; Abhi. I. 5; II. 4, 6, 10, 22; III. 1; IV. 1, 2; V. 6; VI. 3, 16, 19, 30, 31, 34; Cāru. I. 6; III. 6, 8, 11, 13; Pratimā. I. 3, 5; II. 2, 19; IV. 23, 27; V. 1, 16; VI. 3.

Mālinī, Pratijñā. I. 11, 14; II. 3; IV. 4, 14: Pañca. I. 38, 45; II. 5, 15, 45; III. 2, 4; Avī. II. 5; III. 2; IV. 9: Bāla. I. 9, 10; III. 11, 15; IV. 3; V. 12: Madhyama. 5, 6, 32, 46; Dūtav. 10, 35, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48; Dūtagh. 43, 46; Karpā. 1, 3, 14, 18-20; Ūru. 6, 20, 26, 27, 39, 50, 57; Abhi. I. 16, 25; II. 8, 9, 21, 26; IV. 15; V. 15; VI. 4, 6, 11; Cāru. I. 13, 14, 17, 29; Pratimā. I. 14, 25; III. 9, 21; IV. 10, 21; V. 7; VII. 1, 2, 12.

Puṣpilāgrā, Svapna. I. 5; VI. 1: Pratijñā. II. 12; IV. 6, 10: Pañca. I. 17, 30; II. 35, 51; Avī. II. 11; III. 4, 9, 11, 13; IV. 12, 20; V. 4; VI. 4, 9, 18: Bāla. I. 14; V. 9: Madhyama. 4, 24, 25; Dūtav. 6, 37; Abhi. I. 6, 14, 22; II. 2, 5, 11, 17, 25; III. 2, 16, 23; IV. 3, 5, 12, 18; V. 3; VI. 2, 12, 13, 17, 24, 33; Cāru. I. 16, 20; Pratimā. II. 21; IV. 18; V. 19; VI. 8.

Vamśastha, Pratijñā. III. 2; IV. 19, 23: Pañca. I. 20, 25; II. 1, 18, 32, 33, 43, 44; III. 1, 8, 11, 16; Avī. IV. 23: Bāla. I. 18; Madhyama. 10; Dūtav. 21; Dūtagh. 13, 33; Karpā. 8, 11, 22, 23; Ūru. 8; Abhi. I. 2; Cāru. I. 3, 15*, 26; III. 4: Pratimā. III. 13; IV. 20; VI. 1, 2.

Śālinī, Svapna. I. 13; IV. 6; VI. 10: Pratijñā. I. 13, 18; II. 14; IV. 12: Pañca. I. 22, 28; II. 2, 10, 40, 46; Avī. I. 7; III. 5: Bāla. I. 29; Dūtagh. 20; Abhi. I. 13; Cāru. III. 9: Pratimā. II. 13; III. 18; V. 17.

¹² Pāda a of verse 10 of the first Act of Cāru. is defective. Perhaps we have to read *subandhaantī* instead of *anubandhaantī* of the text; cf. the (Prakritic) loss of the initial of *adhi* in epic verse and that of *api* in the compound (*a*)*pūṭa* (from *api* + *dū*) even in classical Sanskrit. Or better still, in view of the position of the *camura*, delete the final syllable *hi* of *amhihi* and read *amhi* *anubandhaantī*, *amhi* being the shorter form of the Instr. Pl.; cf. Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 415.

Śikharīṇī, Svapna. I. 14, 16; Pratiṣṭhā. II. 4; Pañca. I. 3, 14, 21; II. 7, 22, 24; Avī. I. 5; II. 3; III. 14; Ūru. 61; Abhi. IV. 17; Pratimā. II. 14; III. 1, 2, 22; IV. 7.

Praharṣiṇī, Pañca. II. 3, 54; III. 5; Avī. I. 8; IV. 3; Bāla. I. 6; V. 13; Dūtagh. 4; Kārṇa. 5; Abhi. I. 7, 10, 17; III. 17; Cāru. IV. 6; Pratimā. I. 30; IV. 6; V. 18.

Āryā, Svapna. I. 1; IV. 3, 4; Pratiṣṭhā. IV. 1*; Bāla. I. 19*; III. 1*; V. 4*; Cāru. I. 1*, 21; Pratimā. I. 2; II. 7.

Sragdharā, Avī. I. 1, 12; IV. 19; Bāla. IV. 2; Dūtagh. 51; Abhi. III. 7, 12; Pratimā. IV. 17.

Hariṇī, Svapna. VI. 8; Dūtagh. 47; Ūru. 5, 10; Pratimā. I. 18; III. 17; IV. 8; V. 2.

Vaiśvadevī, Svapna. I. 9; Pratiṣṭhā. I. 3; II. 8; Abhi. II. 1; VI. 5. — *Suvadanā*, Pañca. I. 6; Dūtagh. 15; Pratimā. III. 7, 11. — *Upagīti*, Bāla. V. 5*. — *Dandaka*, Avī. V. 6. — 'Abbreviated' *Dandaka*¹⁷, Pratimā. III. 3. — *Drutavilambita*, Abhi. III. 4. — *Prthvī*, Avī. II. 6. — *Bhujangaprayāta*, Abhi. VI. 15. — *Vaitālyā*¹⁸, Pratiṣṭhā. III. 1*. — ? (Undetermined Prakrit metre), Pratiṣṭhā. IV. 2*.

The lists given above supplement incidentally the data of the metrical collections of Stenzler, edited by Kühnau, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff., with the material placed at our disposal through the discovery of this important group of dramas. A comparison of our material with that brought together by Stenzler shows that, with the exception of what I have called above the 'abbreviated *Dandaka*' of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poetry.

In the Hindu works on Sanskrit prosody we come across a group of metres which have this characteristic in common that they, on analysis, are found to consist of six light syllables followed by a series of amphimacers. The best known variety is the

¹⁷ See p. 112 below.

¹⁸ Read b as: *pāda-aphāṭṭha-antāṭṭha*(d)d. The *Vaitālyā* stanza should have 14 morae in a and c, and 16 in b and d; all the *pādas*, moreover, should end in an amphimacer followed by an iambus. The first part of c is defective, in that it measures only five morae instead of the six, which are necessary. Note that the close of all the four *pādas* answers correctly the requirements of the definition.

Dāṇḍaka with its sub-classes, consisting of six light syllables followed by seven or more amphimacers¹⁹. A well-known example is Mālatīmādhava, V. 23, which is a metre of 54 syllables consisting of six light syllables and sixteen amphimacers. Metres of the same scheme consisting of less than twenty-seven syllables are not unknown and are cited by prosodists under different names.²⁰ The shortest of these, formed of twelve syllables (six light syllables and two amphimacers²¹), is called Gaurī in Piṅgala's Chandassūtra. According to the commentator Halāyudha, there are between the Gaurī and the shortest Dāṇḍaka (of twenty-seven syllables) four other metres formed by the successive addition of one amphimacer, each having a special name. Piṅgala mentions the name of only one of them, namely, the one which contains four amphimacers.²² In the different manuscripts of the text and the commentary it is variously called Vamamālā, Mahāmālikā, Nārāca, etc.; the names of the other three have not been handed down. Now we have in our dramas an instance (Pratimā. III. 3: *palitam nā kirāṇ pituḥ*, etc.) of one of the unnamed metres referred to in Halāyudha's commentary. It has twenty-four syllables consisting of six light syllables and six amphimacers. This metre differs from the shortest Dāṇḍaka in containing only one amphimacer less than the minimum number requisite; I have accordingly called it the 'abbreviated Dāṇḍaka'. It may be noted that the verse cited above is the only instance hitherto discovered of this rare metre. Besides the 'abbreviated Dāṇḍaka', our dramas include also an example of the fuller form with twenty-seven syllables (Avi. V. 6).

Among the fixed syllabic metres the Vasantatilaka and the Upajāti (including the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā) are the favorite metres of the author. Out of a total of 1092 verses (Sanskrit and Prakrit) included in the dramas there are 179 Vasantatilakas²³ and 121 Upajātis.²⁴ Among the metres of the Sanskrit verses, the five metres Bhujāṅgaprayāta, the 24-syllable 'Dāṇḍaka', the 27-syllable Dāṇḍaka, Drutavilambita and Prthvī

¹⁹ Vide the Dāṇḍakas in Stenzler's collections, ZDMG 44. 1 ff.

²⁰ Piṅgala 7. 33 ff. (Weber, *Isl.* vol. 8, pp. 405 ff.) and Piṅgala 8. 5 (Weber, l. c. p. 419), for which references I am indebted to Prof. Franklin Edgerton.

²¹ Schema: — — — — —

²² Piṅgala 8. 17, and Halāyudha (Weber, l. c.).

²³ Including one in Prakrit.

²⁴ Of which three are in Prakrit.

occur only once each. Worth noting is perhaps the fact that there are no examples of these five metres in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas²⁵; for it shows at any rate that they did not figure very conspicuously in them.

A metre which deserves special mention is the *Suvadanā*, one of the metres which these dramas have in common with the Aśvaghōṣa fragments. Our list includes four instances of this uncommon metre: two in the *Pratimā*. (III. 7, 11) and one each in the *Pañca*. (I. 6) and the *Dūtav*. (verse 15). The *Suvadanā*²⁶ (a metre of twenty syllables) differs from the *Sragdharā* (twenty-one syllables) only in its final foot; the first fifteen syllables of both have the identical schema; yet there are far fewer instances of the *Suvadanā* in Sanskrit literature than of the *Sragdharā*. Until the discovery of the fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's plays there was only one solitary example known of its use in a drama; that was *Mudrārākṣasa* IV. 16, which, by the way, was mistaken by Stenzler²⁷ for *Sragdharā*. But now we have besides quite a number of instances in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas, to which Prof. Lüders has drawn attention in his remarks on the versification of those plays.

The *Āryā*, which must originally have been a Prakrit metre, and its varieties, are used very sparingly by our author, though they figure so prominently in the *Mṛcchakatikā* and the dramas of Kālidāsa. In our plays there are only eleven *Āryās* (of which five are Prakrit) and one (Prakrit) *Upagītī*. Compare with this Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśī* which has as many as 31 *Āryās* out of a total of 163 verses, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* with 35 *Āryās* out of a total of 96 verses.

There are in this group of plays thirteen Prakrit verses, of which five are *Āryās*, one *Upagītī*, three *Upajātis*, one *Varṇastha*, a (defective) *Vaitāliya*, and lastly an undetermined Prakrit measure; the last may be only a piece of rhythmic prose. The versification of the Prakrit verses does not call for any special comment.

We shall now turn to the consideration of a unique feature of the versification of these dramas, namely, the preponderance of the *Śloka*. The analysis of the metres shows that out of 1092 verses which these dramas contain, 436 are *Ślokas*: in other words the *Śloka* forms nearly forty per cent of the total, which, it

²⁵ Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin 1911.

²⁶ Its schema is:

²⁷ Kühnau, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff.

will be admitted, is a remarkably high proportion. Indeed in many individual dramas of this group the proportion rises still higher: in some it is as high as fifty per cent, and in a few it is higher still. In the *Svapnavāsavadattā* there are 26 Ślokas out of a total of 57 verses; in the *Dūtaghaṭṭakāca* 22 out of 52; in the *Pañcarātra* 76 out of 152; and in the one-act play *Madhyamavyāyoga* there are as many as 33 Ślokas out of a total of 51 verses. Notably the proportion of this metre is very low in the *Avimārika*,²⁸ where there are only 15 Ślokas out of a total of 97 verses.

It is well known that works of the epic, Purāṇic, devotional, and Śāstric or didactic order formed the field par excellence of the Śloka. The dramatists made use of this unpretentious metre rather sparingly; they must have found it too commonplace. The later fixed syllabic metres with their sonorous and complicated rhythms were more suited to their flamboyant style. The greater the number of these in a play the greater the *camatkāra*, the greater the skill of the playwright. For this reason, it seems to me, the simple Śloka epicus lost ground in the drama, where it must once have figured prominently, in favor of the fancy metres. The old *Triṣṭubh* of the vedic and epic literature, however, maintained its popularity even in the classical period. A few figures are quoted to show the actual proportion, in different dramas, of the Ślokas to the total number of verses²⁹. Bhavabhūti is the only dramatist of the classical period who employs the Śloka on a large scale in two out of the three plays attributed to him. Out of a total of 385 verses in the *Mahāvīracarita*, 129 are Ślokas; while in the *Uttararāmacarita* the ratio is 89 : 253; the Śloka thus forms about a third of the total number of verses in these dramas. This is the highest proportion reached in any one drama or a group of dramas by the same author, except the dramas which are the subject of these Studies. In the *Mālatīmādhava* the ratio drops to 14 : 224. In the plays of Kālidāsa the Ślokas are few and far between. For the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the figures are 17 : 96; for *Śakuntalā* 36 : 230; for the *Vikramorvaśī* 30 : 163. We may further compare the figures for other dramas. In the *Ratnāvalī*

²⁸ In the other non-epic dramas of this group the proportion is not so low; in *Svapna*, it is 26 : 57; *Pratijñā*, 29 : 67; *Cāra*, 17 : 55.

²⁹ The figures have been computed from the data of Stenzler's collections, *loc. cit.* They will be of course different for the different recensions and editions.

the ratio is 9:85; in the Nāgānanda 24:114; in the Mudrārākṣasa 22:163; in the Veniśatbhāra 53:204; in the Prabodhaścandrodāya 36:190; in the Mṛcchakatikā 85:336: in these dramas the Śloka thus forms on an average about 20-25 per cent of the whole. These figures make abundantly clear that the preference for the Śloka is a feature of metrical technique in which our plays differ from all dramas of the classical age.

As to the structure of the Śloka it may be remarked that the posterior pāda has invariably the diambic close; sometimes even at the sacrifice of grammar as in *Pratimā*. III 8: *pratimāṃ kin na prechase*, where the final is, as a matter of fact, a syllaba anceps. The prior pāda ends as a rule with the pathyā foot — — — —; occasionally however it ends with one of the vipulā forms. Concerning the vipulās the following particulars will be found to be of interest. There is a complete absence of the fourth vipulā, and comparative rarity of the second; noticeable is also a partiality for the first vipulā which is used about twice as frequently as the third variety. In the third vipulā the caesura is without exception after the fifth syllable, which usually follows — — — —. The precedent foot of the first vipulā is commonly — — — — or — — — — and only occasionally — — — —, of which latter, as is well known, the post-epic style has increasingly fewer cases²⁴.

The analysis given above shows that the Śloka of our dramas is of the refined type, not different at all from the classical model. The percentage of vipulā forms in these Ślokas is somewhat lower than in the classical epics like the Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Kirātārjunīya and Śiśupālavadha. One reason for the low proportion may be the following. In epic and lyric poetry, where the Ślokas (whenever they form the running metre of a whole adhyāya or chapter) follow each other in scores and hundreds, the vipulā forms crept in inevitably and may even have been introduced as an agreeable change from the monotonous rhythm of an immutable octosyllabic schema. With the limited number of the Ślokas occurring in a drama it was comparatively easier to produce a larger proportion of 'good' Ślokas; moreover owing to the intervening prose and the sprinkling of fancy metres the need for variation was not as keenly felt.

In connection with this predilection for the Śloka epicus I

²⁴ Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 80 ff.; *ISL* vol. 17, 443 f.

may draw attention briefly here to certain passages individualised by containing shorter or longer runs of Ślokas. Here the prose is unimportant, while the verses with fancy metres are mostly lyrical; the Śloka is in these passages the dynamic element. A typical instance is the section of the *Madhyamavyāyoga* from verse 12 to verse 45. This passage, containing 34 verses, includes as many as 28 Ślokas, and only 6 fancy metres. Moreover, it will be noticed, the dialogue is carried on in simple unadorned Ślokas, the contents of which are not at all lyrical but include just what is necessary for the progress of the action of the drama. The prose cannot be entirely dispensed with, but it makes the distinct impression of being secondary in importance. Another such passage is *Pañca. Act II* from verse 47 to the end. It includes 25 verses of which as many as 21 are Ślokas and only four fixed syllabic metres. A piece shorter still is *Pratimā. Act I* from verse 9 to verse 28, which includes a group of 16 Ślokas punctuated with 4 fancy metres. These passages rather suggest to my mind rudimentary attempts at dramatisation which are not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.

The following list of set phrases and conventional comparisons (the number of which can easily be increased¹⁰) borrowed by our author directly from the epics illustrates in a striking manner how deeply he is indebted to the epic sources for his inspiration.

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| (i) <i>acireṇaiva kālena, Pratimā. IV. 26 c; with the variation acireṇāpi kālena, ibid. 26 a</i> | ¹⁰ <i>acireṇaiva kālena, MBh. 9. 2. 58; Rām. 5. 25. 23; 6. 61. 20, etc.</i> |
| (ii) <i>kampayann iva medinīm, Pañca. II. 21</i> | <i>kampayann iva medinīm, MBh. 2. 29. 7; 8. 34. 58; 9. 18. 26, etc.; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 101; Rām. 6. 56. 13; 67. 115; and variations, MBh. 3. 78. 3; 9. 30. 60; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 62. 31; Rām. 3. 67. 13. Also compare such expressions as nādayann iva medinīm, pūrayann iva medinīm, and dārayann iva medinīm occurring in the epics.</i> |

¹⁰ Only such passages have been enlisted below as occur in both the epics, and occur there very frequently.

¹¹ In this list MBh. refers to the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata*; Rām. to the Bombay edition of the *Rāmāyana*; Gorresio's edition is distinguished from the latter by the addition of Gorr. in parentheses.

- (iii) śaktiḥ kālāntakopamaḥ, Abhi. VI. 8 śākṣāt kālāntakopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 157. 50; Rām. 6. 88. 2; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 45. 19. Cf. also kālāntakayamopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 22. 31; 27. 25; 4. 33. 25; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 32. 5; 6. 49. 36, etc.
- (iv) nayāmi Yamasādanam, Pratimā. V. 22 anayad Yamasādanam, MBh. 6. 54. 81; 7. 19. 15; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 34. 31; 75. 28. Compare also yiyāsur Yamasādanam, MBh. 1. 163. 10; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 57. 23.
- (v) prasādanī kartum arhasi, Pañca. II. 68 prasādanī kartum arhasi, MBh. 9. 35. 72; Rām. 4. 8. 19; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 110. 7, etc.
- (vi) madasalatagāmi mattamātāṅgalīḥ, Abhi. II. 9; and, mattamātāṅgalīḥ, Abhi. IV. 15 mattamātāṅgalāminam, MBh. 3. 80. 14; 277. 9; Rām. 2. 3. 28; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 61, etc.
- (vii) suhhrāmetpṛhullalocanā, Dūtav. verse 7; Cāru. IV. 3 viṣmayotpṛhullalocanā, MBh. 1. 136. 1; 13. 14. 386; Rām. 7. 37. 3. 29; Rām. (Gorr.) 4. 63. 10, etc.
- (viii) sucireṇāpi kālena, Pratimā. IV. 26 a (See above the references under no. i.).

And lastly (ix) with the following phrases from the *bhāṣya* *śloka*:
 imām api mahān kṛtām, in Pratijñā, Pañca., Avi., and Abhi.;
 mahim ekātaputrāṅkām, in Svapna., Bāla., and Dūtav.;
 rājā bhūmih praśastu naḥ, Pratimā;

compare the hemistich from the Mahābhārata:

ya imām pṛthivīm kṛtām ekacchatrām praśasti ha.—MBh. 12. 321, 134.

In conclusion I shall add a few words on the structure of the verses. The style of the author is notably simple and vigorous. The lucidity of the verses is due as much to the absence of long and complicated compounds as to the arrangement of words and phrases chosen with due regard to the position of the caesura; almost invariably the caesura falls at the end of a complete word. The half-verse is in general independent of the rest of the verse in sense; but often it is connected with it syntactically. Inside the half-verse the pādas are sometimes even euphonically independent; for instance, Bāla. II. 4 there is hiatus between a and b *viśāḥya ulkān*, a phenomenon common in the epics²² but rare in the

²² See Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 197 f.

works of the classical period. On the other hand metre requires the sandhi²⁴ in Pañca. I. 19 (a and b): *mītrāṅg ācāryam*²⁵. Without the sandhi we should have a superfluous syllable in a, and a metrically faulty line; with the sandhi we have a perfect Upajāti line. Pratiṃā. IV. 24d, which commences with the enclitic *me*, shows again that c and d are to be treated as a single sentence; for, an accentless word cannot stand at the beginning of a pāda any more than at the beginning of a sentence. Instances of the sacrifice of grammar are discussed in a separate section. Here it will suffice to draw attention to the rhythmic lengthening in *anākara* (Pañca. II. 7) and the use of the uncommon *pārṣṇī* (with the long final) in Svapna. V. 12 and *mauli* in Ūru. verse 59 (see PW, s. v.); the form *pārṣṇī*, it should be added, is not metrically conditioned. Similar lengthening of the stem-vowel is to be observed in *niyati* (Pratiṃā. I. 21), in the sense 'destiny', of which only the form with the short *i* is cited in the dictionaries.²⁶

METRICAL SOLECISMS (SANSKRIT)

The list of solecisms in the language of these dramas appended by Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri to his edition of the Pratiṃānāṭaka (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XLII) is a contribution to literary history of which the full import appears not to have been generally realised. The significant thing is not the fact that some solecisms have been found in these dramas. Every Sanskrit work, I suppose, if submitted to a rigorous examination by a competent critic, will yield at least a few grammatical errors, which is not to be wondered at in view of the history of the language and the intricacies of its grammar. The interest about the solecisms in our dramas lies principally in their character and their number. I am persuaded that it will not be possible to name a reputable author of the classical period whose work or works could be shown to contain a proportionate number of grammatical 'mistakes' of the same order as those about to be discussed.

²⁴ Seldom in the Itāmāyana.

²⁵ Compare a very similar instance in Mālatīmādhava X. 1 (a and b): *riśa-parāṅgāṅg ācāryam*.

²⁶ To the word with the long final, a different meaning is assigned by lexicographers.

The first requisite in this connection was to ascertain exactly the points in which the language of these dramas differs from the literary Sanskrit of the classical period. Admirable as the list prepared by the learned Pandit is, it seemed to me that it needed, for the purpose in view, revision and rearrangement in certain respects. The list of Gaṇapati Śāstrī includes, on the one hand, certain items which do not strictly belong there; on the other hand, it omits certain others which have an important bearing on the subject. For instance, the Prakrit examples, to which the rules of Pāṇini's grammar cannot be expected to apply, have been palpably misplaced. It seemed to me also best to separate the solecisms occurring in the verses, of which the form is fixed by the metre, from those occurring only in the prose passages, which are more liable to be mutilated in the course of transmission. Again, certain details in the Pandit's list refer only to metrical²⁷ irregularities and have no connection with grammatical solecisms as such. Lastly, certain positive solecisms, which were explained away by the editor in the footnotes of the text editions of the various dramas²⁸ and therefore not considered at all subsequently, had to be added to the list. Through these additions and omissions a new list resulted. This list, appended below, includes only such metrical forms as offend against the literary Sanskrit as represented in the works of the classical age. It may be added that the dramas contain a few more irregularities in the non-metrical portions, which by their nature are not as certain and in their character not as important; they will be dealt with later in another connection.

Few scholars, if any, will be prepared to accept Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrī's chronological scheme in which a date is assigned to the author of these dramas prior to the period of Pāṇini, for whom the now commonly accepted date is ca. 500 B. C. The posteriority of these dramas with reference to the Aṣṭādhyāyī is, I may say, axiomatic. Taking our stand on this assumption we have to understand and explain the solecisms as best as we can. It has been surmised that when grammar has been sacrificed we have in the vast majority of cases to do with metrical necessity; obviously the corresponding correct forms would not otherwise have been found in other passages where metrical considerations

²⁷ See *Pratimā*. IV, 24; *Bāla*. II, 4; *Abhi*. VI, 30.

²⁸ See *Bāla*. II, 11, and *Svapna*. V, 5.

do not interfere. What has perhaps been lost sight of is that these solecisms are not arbitrary, but that they belong to a well-defined class of irregularities, irregularities which are common enough in certain branches of Sanskrit literature, but which now, for the first time, have been shown to exist in the drama also.

The category of works in which similar deviations have hitherto been met with are of the epic, Purāṇic and Śāstric order. These works are known to contain abundant instances of ungrammatical and almost promiscuous use of the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada forms; examples of irregular feminine participles, absolutes and a variety of other abnormalities like those met with in our dramas. Such violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are particularly common in the epics; they have accordingly been regarded as forming 'epic Sanskrit'. The free use of the 'epic' solecisms in a drama is, as already observed, a new factor in our knowledge of the Hindu drama, and is particularly worthy of our attention in connection with the theory concerning the part that epic recitations have apparently played in the evolution of the Hindu drama, at least of its epic variety.²²

It is plain that our dramatist derives his authority for the use of the irregular forms from epic usage. Such being the case, the question naturally arises whether the author, in exercising this licence, went so far as to invent new and spurious forms as occasion demanded them, or whether he had availed himself merely of such solecisms as were sanctioned by epic usage. The correspondence, if proved, would bring to a sharper focus the dependence of our author upon the epic source. As the following analysis will show, the solecisms of our dramas can indeed, with but insignificant exceptions, be *specifically* traced back to the epics. Quotations from the epic sources have been added in order to facilitate reference and comparison.

The solecisms have been arranged under the following heads: (i) Irregular sandhi; (ii) use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada, and (iii) vice versa; (iv) change of conjugation; (v) irregular feminine participle; (vi) irregular absolute; (vii) simplex for the causative; (viii) irregular compounds; (ix) irregular syntactical combination; and (x) anomalous formations.

²² Lüders, *Die Śaṅkhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas. Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1916.

LIST OF SOLECISMS

Irregular Sandhi

1. *putrah + iti = putreti*

jñāyatām kasya putreti.—Bāla. Act II. Verse 11.

Here metri causa the hiatus (between *a* and *i*) required by Skt. grammar has been effaced. The emendation suggested by the editor, *putro 'bhūt* for *putreti*, is uncalled for. This is a clear case of 'epic' sandhi. Instances of the effacement of the hiatus effected by the combination of the remaining final *a* with the following vowels are exceedingly common in epic Skt.; a common example is *tatovāca* (= *tatah + vāca*), quoted by Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 176b; for examples from the Rāmāyaṇa, see Böhtlingk, 'Bemerkenswerthes aus Rāmāyaṇa'.⁴⁹ Cf. also no. 2 below. It should be noted that this solecism could not be an accidental slip; it must be the result of a conscious effort. It is needless to add that there are no examples of such a sandhi in the prose of the dramas.

2. *Avantyaḥ + adhipateḥ = Avantyādhipateḥ*

amarāṇy Avantyādhipateḥ sūtāyāḥ.—Svapna. V. 5.

Here again we have a conscious effacement of the hiatus between *ā* and *a*. The editor tries to circumvent the assumption of a 'mistake' by explaining *Avantyaḥ* as a compound of *Avanti + ā + adhipati*, evidently an unsatisfactory explanation. Instances of such effacement are exceedingly common in the epics and the earlier texts. See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 177b: Holtzmann⁵⁰ cites the instances from the Mahābhārata and Böhtlingk from the Rāmāyaṇa⁵¹, which need not be reproduced here. This is the only instance in these dramas of the effacement of similar hiatus.

⁴⁹ For four books of the Rāmāyaṇa: *Berichte d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. Königl. Sachs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 213.

⁵⁰ See Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, p. 4.

⁵¹ Böhtlingk, *op. cit.*

Use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada

3. *gamisye*

gamisye vibudhāvāsam.—Bāla. V. 19.

Metri causa the Ātm. form is used in order to save a syllable, though, as is well known, in classical Skt. the root *gam* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; of course in prose passages where metrical considerations do not interfere, the Parasm. is regularly used by our author. The Parasm. form (*gamisyasi*) occurs also in Madhyama. verse 47. In his list of Skt. roots Whitney marks *gamisyate* with E. An epic example is

Rām. 5. 56. 29: *gamisye yatra Vaidehī.*

4. *garjase*

kiṃ garjase bhujagato mama govṛcendra.—Bāla. III. 14.

As in the preceding instance the Ātm. form is used metri causa; here in order to secure a long final. In classical Skt. the root *garj*, when used as root of the first class, takes exclusively Parasm. terminations. PW. quotes a number of instances of the use of the middle pres. part. from the epics, but not any of the middle pres. ind. Where the pres. part. is used, the middle pres. ind. could be used with equal justification, if the necessity arose. I therefore explain the solecism on the ground of epic usage.

5. *drakṣyate* (Active)

katham aganītapūrvam drakṣyate taṃ narendrah.—Pratiññā. I. 11.

As in the foregoing instance the Ātm. is used in order to secure a long final; in classical Skt. the future is formed exclusively with Parasm. terminations. Epic examples of the Ātm. future are

Rām. 1. 46. 13: *bhṛātārati drakṣyase tataḥ,*

Ibid. 2. 6. 23: *Rāmaṃ drakṣyāmahe vayam,*

Nala. 12. 93: *drakṣyase vigatajvaram.*

Other examples (cited in PW.) are: MBh. 3. 14728; 13. 964; Hariv. 10735; and Rām. 2. 83. 8; 3. 42. 49.

6. *prechase*

strigatām prechase kathām.—Pañca. II. 48.

pratimāṃ kiṃ na prechase.—Pratimā. III. 8.

In classical Skt. the root *pracch* is exclusively Parasm.; the Ātm. termination is used here in order to have a long final. In

the first example the length is almost imperative for the sake of the compulsory diambic close of the posterior pāda of the śloka; in the second it is preferred, notwithstanding the fact that the final syllable of the pāda is a syllaba anceps. The medium is used only for metrical reasons, as seen from Pañca. II. 6, which offers an example of the Parasm. *prechati*. PW. quotes numerous instances of the use of the Ātm. from the epics, the Bhāgavata Pur., and Manu. The epic examples are

MBh. 1. 1451: karmasiddhim *aprechata*,

Ibid. 3. 2583: Damayantīm *aprechata*;

also MBh. 3. 12070; 13. 297.

7. *bhraṣyate*

daivaprāmāṇyād *bhraṣyate* vardhate vā.—Pratijñā. I. 3.

This is either the third pers. sing. of a root of the fourth class, or a passive form of the root. The classical usage knows only *bhraṣyati* and *bhrāṣate* in the active sense. *bhrāṣate* could have been used without prejudice to the metre. As the form is not metrically fixed, it is difficult to say whether the author should be held responsible for it; apparently all three mss. of the drama agree in containing the same reading *bhraṣyate*. There is abundant authority in the epics for the form *bhraṣyate*, whether regarded as active or passive. The epic examples are

MBh. 3. 603: yair naro *bhraṣyate* śriyaḥ,

Ibid. 3. 1048: *bhraṣyate* śighram aiśvaryāt;

Rām. 3. 45. 12: ye tīkṣṇam anuvartante *bhraṣyante* saha tena te,

Ibid. 6. 75. 36: kiṁ cie cā**bhraṣyata** svarah.

8. *ruhyate*

kāle kāle *chidyate* *ruhyate* ca.—Svapna. VI. 10.

Here *chidyate* is passive; but *ruhyate* ('thrives') should be active. The classical Skt. admits only *rohati*. Now the whole phrase *chidyate ruhyate ca* is parallel to *bhraṣyate vardhate vā*, Pratijñā. I. 3. It seems to me therefore better to emend the text reading to *rohate*, for which PW. cites Bṛhatsamhitā 54. 95: *rohate* sasyam. But the pass. *ruhyate* is quoted with the mark E. against it in Whitney's list of Skt. roots and is therefore not absolutely inadmissible. Either form (*ruhyate* or *rohate*) is repugnant to classical usage; and *rohati* is unsuitable here for metrical reasons.

9. *śroṣyate*

katham apuruṣavākyaṃ śroṣyate siddhavākyaḥ.—Pratijñā. I. 11.

Metri causa for *śroṣyati*. In classical Skt. the root *śru* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; but in the epics the Ātm. forms are remarkably common. The Parasm. form (*śroṣyasi*) occurs in Avi. II. 5. Epic examples of Ātm. are

Rām. (Gorr.) 5. 23, 18: Rāmasya dhanuṣaḥ śabdaṃ śroṣyase ghoranivṣanam,

Ibid. 5. 69, 26: na cirāc chroṣyase dhvanim. (Note that the final of *śroṣyase* is prosodically long here.)

Other examples are: MBh. 9. 105, 107; 7. 2725; 13. 1119; 14. 424; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 120, 22; 5. 23, 18.

Use of Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada

10. *āprecha* (Imp. 2nd pers. sing.)

• āprecha putrakṛtakān hariṇān drumāṃś ca.—Pratimā. V. 11.

Metri causa for *āprechaseva*, the only form possible in classical Skt. Even in the epics the only Parasm. form used is apparently the Imp. 2nd pers. sing. The epic example quoted in PW. is

MBh. 14. 403: āprecha Kuruśārdūla gamanaṃ Dvārakāṃ prati. Svapna. 16 *āprechāmi* occurs in a prose passage. It is to be noted that the sentence containing this word rests on the authority of one ms. only, and is not essential to the context; it may therefore be corrected or deleted, as deemed advisable.

11. *upalapsyati*

taṃ hatvā ka ihopalapsyati ciraṃ svair duṣkṛtair jīvitam.—Dūtagh. verse 8.

In classical Skt. the root *upa+labh* is never used with any but Ātm. terminations. The epics contain examples of Parasm. The Mahābhārata examples are

MBh. 7. 3070: na te buddhivayabbhicāram upalapsyanti Pāṇḍavāḥ,

Ibid. 1. 1046: tathā yad upalapsyāmi.

12-14. *pariṣvajā, pariṣvajati, pariṣvajāmi*

(a) gādhaṃ pariṣvaja sakhe.—Avi. VI. 1.

(b) dr̥ṣṭiṃ na tṛpyati pariṣvajatīva sāṅgam.—Avi. III. 17.

(c) putraṃ piteva ca pariṣvajati prahr̥ṣṭaḥ.—Avi. IV. 8.

(d) pariṣvajāmi gādhaṃ tvām.—Bāla. II. 9.

Examples a, b and d are metrically conditioned; in example c the Parasm. appears to have been used on the analogy of the other forms. The present reading in example c is based on the authority of two mss. Compare example d with Madhyama. verse 22: *pariṣvajasva gādham mām*, where metre does not stand in the way of the Ātm. form. Only epic examples are available for the use of Parasm.

MBh. 4. 513: *pariṣvajati Pāñcālī madhyamaṁ Pāṇḍunandanam*,
Rām. 3. 38. 16: *Sitā yam ca hr̥ṣṭā pariṣvajet*.

Change of Conjugation⁶²

15-16. *vījanti*; *vījantaḥ* (pres. part.)

snehāl lumpatī pallavān na ca punar vījanti yasyām bhayāt vījanto malayānilā api karair aspr̥ṣṭabāladrumā.—Abhi. III. 1. Metri causa for classical *vījayanti* and *vījayantaḥ*, from *vīj* to fan or to cool by fanning. Epic examples of the use of *vīj* as a root of the first or sixth class are

Hariv. 13092: *vījanti bālavayajanaib*,

MBh. 7. 307: *jalenātyarthaśītena vījantaḥ puṇyagandhinā*.

Irregular Feminine Participle

17. *rudantī*-

svairāsano Drupadarājasutām rudantīm.—Dūtav. verse 12.

The classical form is *rudatī*. But in the epics the form *rudantī* is particularly common, whenever metrical conditions call for it.

MBh. 2. 2249: *tathā bruvantīm karuṇam rudantīm*;

Rām. 2. 40. 29: *śuśruve cāgrataḥ strīṇāṁ rudantīṇāṁ mahāsvanāḥ*,

Ibid. 2. 40. 44: *tathā rudantīm Kausalyām*.

Other examples are: MBh. 3. 2686; Rām. 2. 40. 29; 3. 51. 42; 5. 26. 42.

Irregular Absolute

18. *gr̥hya*

vyādhāmoṣmaṁ gr̥hya cāpaṁ karaṇa.—Dūtagh. verse 20.

It is unthinkable that this form could be used by any poet of the classical period. In the epics, however, it is regularly substi-

⁶² This may be regarded as the use of the simplex for the causative.

tuted for *grhīta* whenever metre requires it. See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 990a. Other irregular absolutes like this used in the epics are: *areya*, *ikṣya*, *uṣya*, *tyajya*, *plāya*, etc. Of these *grhya* is the commonest. Holtzmann cites thirteen examples from the Mahābhārata, adding that there are many more; Böhtlingk (op. cit.) mentions nearly twenty examples from the Rāmāyaṇa.

Simplex for the Causative

19. *śravati*

śaraiś channā mārgāḥ śravati dhanur ugrām śaranadīm.—*Pañca*. II. 22.

In epic Skt. the simplex is frequently used for the causative stem: Holtzmann (to Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1041) mentions *vetṣyāmi* (for *vedayisyāmi*), *veda* (for *vedaya*), *ramanti* (for *ramayanti*), *abhivādata* (for *abhivādayata*), *codita* (for *codita*), etc. I have not been able to trace a specific use of *śravati* for *śārayati*.

20. *vimoktukāma-*

bhūyaḥ paravyasanam etya vimoktukāmā.—*Avi*. I. 6.

Metri causa for *vimocayitukāmā*. See the preceding. Specific use is not traceable elsewhere.

Irregular Compounds

21. *sarvarājñah* (Acc. plu.)

utsādayisyann iva sarvarājñah.—*Dūtav.* verse 9.

Used irregularly for *sarvarājān*, though not conditioned metrically. The reading is based apparently on the authority of three mss. The epics contain quite a considerable number of similar formations. Thus, MBh. 4. 527 *Matsyarājñah*; ibid. 1. 169 *Matsyarājñā*; ibid. 9. 2756 *Vakṣarājñā*; ibid. 14. 1997 *Dharmarājñā*.—*Avi*. p. 110 we have *Kāśirājñe* instead of the grammatically correct *Kāśirājāya*. This must be set down as the error of a copyist, for we have in the very same play the correct compounds *Sauvīrarājena*, and *Sauvīrarāja-Kāśirājau* (*Avi*. p. 11); and there is nothing, as far as I can see, that can be added in justification of the use of an incorrect form in a prose passage⁴²⁵.

⁴²⁵ [Except that the language was, to this author, too much a living thing to be compressed in a grammarian's straight-jacket. F. E.]

22. *vyūḍhoras-*

vyūḍhorā vajramadhyo gajavṛṣabhagatir lambapīnāmsabāhuḥ.
—Madhyama. verse 26.

Metri causa for *vyūḍhoraska-*, which is required according to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 151, and found used in Raghu. 1. 13 and Kumāra. 6. 51, as also in the MBh. and Rām. But the MBh. supplies itself a precedent for the use of the unaugmented stem *vyūḍhoras*, cf. MBh. 1. 2740, 4553.

23. *tulyadharmā-*

evaṃ lokas tulyadharmo vanānām.—Svapna. VI. 10.

All three mss. of the drama read *tulyadharmo*. According to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 124 *dharma* at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound becomes *dharman*, a rule which is strictly observed in classical Skt. But in epics *dharman* is used freely also in Tatpuruṣa compounds and, vice versa, *dharma* in Bahuvrīhi compounds. Holtzmann cites

MBh. 12. 483: rājan viditadharmo 'si.

The emendation *tulyadharmā* suggested by the editor is uncalled for.

Irregular Syntactical Combination

24. Use of *yadi* with *ced*

iṣṭaṃ ced ekacittānāṃ yady agnīḥ sādhaṃ viṣyati.—Avi. IV. 7.

This pleonasm (of which I have not seen any instances in classical Skt.) is, I think, to be traced also to the epics, from which here are two instances:

Rām. 2. 48. 19: Kaikeyā yadi ced rājyam;

MBh. 1. 4203: yady asti ced dhanam sarvam.

This combination of *yadi* and *ced* recurs in a prose passage of another drama of this group (Pratijñā. p. 70). And though the reading of the text is based on the concordant readings of three mss., the combination seems harsh, and hardly appropriate in prose.

Anomalous Formations

We shall now proceed to consider certain anomalous formations for which there seems to be neither grammatical justification nor literary authority.

25. *pratyāyati*

na pratyāyati śokārtā.—Abhi. II. 24.

Gaṇapati Śāstri explains it as *prati + ā + ayati* (from Rt. *ay* to go). To me it seems to be merely a confusion between the simplex *pratyeti* and the causative *pratyāyayati*; or rather a haplological contraction of *pratyāyayati* with the meaning of the simplex. A similar ungrammatical contraction appears to be the one to be discussed next.

26. *saṁśvāsītum*

Laṅkāṁ abhyupayāmi bandhusāhitaḥ Sītām saṁśvāsītum.—Abhi. VI. 19.

This is a clear case of a poet's compromise between *saṁśvasītum* and *saṁśvāsayītum*.

The irregularity to be discussed next appears to be as arbitrary as the last two.

27. Stem *yudh* as masc.

mahārṇavābhe yudhī nāśayāmi.—Svapna. V. 13.

As the adjective *mahārṇavābhe* in this pāda shows, the author treats the word *yudh* as a masculine noun. But it always appears as a feminine word in literature, and is quoted as such by lexicographers.

In addition to the above, Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri mentions three other metrical forms as irregular. They are indeed irregular in so far that the formations are ungrammatical. But they appear to have been accepted in the literary dialect as good Sanskrit. The Pandit objects to the Ātm. use of *ruṣyate* (Pañca. II. 45). The Parasm. occurs, as a matter of fact, in Pañca. I. 38 and II. 58, 67 in verse and in Madhyama. p. 18 in prose; moreover in Pañca. I. 38 the Parasm. form is not metrically necessary. In spite of all this the Ātm. form is not wrong. Whitney cites it with E+ in his list of Sanskrit roots, and according to Apte's dictionary (s. v. *ruṣ*) the form *ruṣyate* does occur, though 'rarely'. It is thus plain that it was a current form. The Ātm. of *abhikāṅkṣe* (Pratijñā. II. 4) is common in the epics; but even for the classical dialect, the dictionaries cite the root as Ubhayapadin. The imp. 2nd sing. *unnāmaye* (Pratimā. IV. 16 = VII. 7) is also included by the editor in his list of solecisms. But *nāmayati* is cited by Whitney with the mark U. S.+; while PW. quotes both *nāmayati* and *nāmāyati*, adding 'mit präpp. angeblich nur *nāmāyati*'.

Index of verses that have been shown to contain solecisms.⁴⁴

- Svapna. V. 5, 13; VI. 10
 Pratijñā. I. 3, 11
 Pañca. II. 22, 48
 Avī. I. 6; III. 17; IV. 7, 8; VI. 1
 Bāla. II. 9, 11; III. 14; V. 19
 Madhyama. v. 26
 Dūtav. vv. 9, 12
 Dūtagh. vv. 8, 20
 Abhū. II. 24; III. 1; VI. 19
 Pratimā. III. 8; V. 11

Of the twenty-seven solecisms dealt with above, three (nos. 25, 26 and 27) are anomalous and peculiar to these dramas; two (nos. 19 and 20) belong to a class not unrepresented in the epics; but the remaining twenty-two were shown to be specifically traceable to the epics themselves. Now of these twenty-two some may again be nothing more than instances of individual caprice; others may be the results of lapsus memoriae, in other words, pure and simple blunders. But it would be, in my opinion, quite wrong to hold that they are all of a form purely arbitrary. And what is of moment is that for the majority of them it would be impossible to find authority in classical works. It seems to me beyond all doubt certain that the author derives his sanction for their use from a class of works different from the dramas of the classical epoch; they involve the deliberate exercise of a liberty which may justly be regarded as the prerogative of the rhapsodists.

Here follows a list of solecisms selected from the above and arranged in the order corresponding to the degree of certainty with which it can be said of them that they lie outside the range of the license enjoyed by classical dramatists: the effacement of hiatus in *putreti* and *Arantādhipateh*; the absolute *grhya*; the *Ātmanepada* of *gamiṣye*; the compound *sarvarājñah*; the *Ātmanepada* of *prechase*; the *Parasmaipada* of *aprecha*, *pariṣva*(tā), and *pariṣvajāmi*; and the fem. part. *rudantīm*.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that the solecisms occur not only in the dramas which derive their plot from the epics and the Purāṇas, but also in the dramas of which the plot is drawn from other sources. No solecisms have been found in *Karṇa*, *Ūru*, and *Caru*.

I am not oblivious of the fact that the classical rule allowed the use of *maṣa* for *māṣa*, provided the metrical norm was observed; but I am fully persuaded that no playwright of the classical age, who aspired not to pass for an ignoramus, would, to such a degree, indulge in a license which was little more than an unequivocal confession of incompetence. If, therefore, we attempted to find for our group of plays a place within the framework of the classical drama, we should first have to account for this apparent reaction from the tradition of the classical drama implied by the occurrence of the solecisms pointed out above.

SUMMARY

The foregoing investigation leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Sanskrit of the verses included in these dramas, which differs in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama, which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. But our conclusions regarding the Prakrit of these dramas, which formed the subject of the first Study, converged to the same point. They revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of the Middle Indian dialects older than that preserved in the classical drama. While the Prakrit betrays its affinities with the Prakrit of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics.

I will not venture to draw any definite chronological conclusions regarding the dramas from these divergences and affinities, nor attempt to account for them here. I shall content myself for the present with having stated the facts of the case.

Post-scriptum. It should have been made clear that the references to the Svapnavāsavadattā follow the pagination and the text of the *second* edition of the play, Trivandrum 1915.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ON THE EARLY SUMERIAN RELIGION AND ITS EXPRESSION

Especially in the Nippurian Liturgies published by Prof. George A. Barton in
his *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, Vol. 1.

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1. IN THEIR GENERAL NATURE the tablets published in Barton's volume are liturgies, not historical documents, or foundation cylinders containing merely inscriptions of record. They are intended for liturgical use in some form. They contain historical elements, but these are incidental. Neither political history nor natural history, such as the account of creation and the like, are the primary purpose and intention of these documents. They may be intended for one single event, or for stated and regular use, but they are, all alike, liturgies.

2. In studying and interpreting these primitive rituals there are certain special features of Babylonian life which must be taken into account: (a) inundations of the rivers as the great source of fertility on which the land depends; but (b) these inundations may also produce great disaster, drowning people, flocks and herds, unless these have some place of refuge from the inundations or some protection against them. Hence the necessity of the raised mound or terrace for the town or village, dominated by the mountain house of the god, who thru these becomes their protector against the injury of the inundation, and at the same time partaker with the inundating stream to secure to the inhabitants and their possessions safety, and to the land fertility. Hence the deity to whom they look for prosperity and safety is double, expressed on the one side in the rivers and that for which the rivers stand, the inundation and fertilization of the land, and on the other in the mountain house and that for which it stands, a protection of the people and their possessions against destruction by these floods. As civilization advanced both of these elements were extended, the rivers and their inundations being magnified in their extent and their benefit by a system of canalization, and the mountain house by the dykes and dams thru which canals, rivers and inundations were regulated and controlled.

(c) The mystery of sex and the propagation of life by procreation profoundly affected early thought in Babylonia. Procreation was in fact creation, and creation was thought of and expressed in terms of procreation. It was the physical act of sex intercourse between gods and goddesses by which all things were brought into being, or were annually or at stated intervals reproduced. Hence these ancient liturgies are full of sex, descriptions of and reference to the act of sex relationship between gods and goddesses or their representatives. Hence also the immense quantities of sexual emblems found at Nippur and elsewhere, connected with the ritual or worship of gods and goddesses. The mounds at Nippur were fairly strewn with phallic emblems, and these were discovered in large numbers in all strata of the excavation.¹

Generally speaking the god element was represented in the mountain-house; the goddess in the rivers and inundations. It was the proper union of these two as man and wife which produced prosperity and security, and toward the consummation of which early Sumerian ritual and liturgy were directed.

(d) Rain was of little relative value in Babylonia, because of the inundations; and in fact the rain, because of its torrential character, injuring the mud buildings and incommoding and distressing the occupants of those and of the still more primitive abodes of reeds and mats, was regarded rather as detrimental than helpful, the more particularly as the rainy season was the period of violent storms of wind, with terrifying thunder and lightning, and hail mixed with the rain. Hence the wind and rain

¹ Prof. Hilprecht, to whom was assigned this work, made a large collection of these emblems, exhibiting a regular series, commencing with the crudest representation of the male member, generally in clay, sometimes in stone, and developing into conventionalized spikes or cones, such as are found inscribed in such large numbers at Tello, but which were more rare and uninscribed at Nippur. Unfortunately, this large and valuable collection of phallic emblems, exhibiting their development from a crude realism to a highly conventionalized form, was destroyed thru the ignorance of the Turkish officials. Our Turkish Commissioner absolutely refused to list with the antiquities discovered this collection, and the similar collection of pottery sherds. We transported them, however, to Baghdad, and they were deposited in the Serai with our other collections, but when those collections reached Constantinople the boxes containing the phallic emblems and the potsherds were missing. As far as we could discover the boxes were opened in the Serai at Baghdad, the contents thrown away or destroyed, and the boxes appropriated by some official of that woodless country as valuable graft.

storms, with thunder and lightning accompanying them, appear in the earliest inscriptions as evils to be averted. They express the ill will of god or goddess, or of demons which are wreaking their spite on men. I attempted to bring this out in an article entitled, 'The Worship of Tammuz,' printed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36 (1917).²

(e) Besides the injuries to flocks and herds and human beings wrought by the floods when uncontrolled, there is also a further injury in the shape of sickness. As the floods recede, malaria and fever develop. The autumn, after the fall of the water, is the time of fever and sickness thruout Babylonia. Hence some of the references to sickness which occur in these liturgies, and the petitions addressed to both god and goddess to avert it. These sicknesses are of course attributed to evil spirits, but those evil spirits are connected with the floods, hence part of the object of the rituals is to induce the gods and goddesses who bring and control floods to control their consequences, i. e. the evil spirits who produce disease.

(f) In the paper above referred to on the Tammuz cult I discussed somewhat also the relation of these floods and their retrogression before agriculture, and the nature and origin of the Tammuz cult. I endeavored to point out that a number of the liturgies which Langdon has brought together in his *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* are really liturgies connected with the vernal

² During the six months November-April rain is liable to fall, often in torrential abundance, and accompanied at times with violent gales, and with thunder and lightning. It is especially, however, the months of January and February in which the storms are most frequent, violent and destructive, constituting at times very calamities, the rain washing down sections of the adobe buildings, and beating thru the flimsy huts of reeds and mats, which latter are sometimes completely torn to pieces by the violent gales.

'They are really more afraid of the fury of the elements than of the dangers of war, and are absolutely helpless and useless in the face of such a storm.'

'The cold storms of December, January and February are especially trying. For days the people are continually drenched, their huts are wet and dripping, even if they resist the storm; they can light no fires to cook by, and the whole aspect of human life of the region is one of utter misery.'

'It is these winter storms, with their attendant suffering, fear and destruction, which are the ground and motive of a number of old Sumerian penitential psalms and hymns to En-lil, the great god of the storm spirits, at Nippur; and some of these Nippurian psalms are, I fancy, liturgies of what we might call the vernal house cleaning, the repairing and setting in order of the mud built temples year by year after the winter storms were past.'

restoration of the temples and other buildings injured and destroyed by the winter rains and storms.⁴

2. In these early Sumerian liturgies sun, moon and heavenly bodies play practically no part. As I tried to point out in the above mentioned paper the Tammuz cult was originally associated with the rise and fall of the rivers. It was that which determined the month of Tammuz, which was coincident with the turn of the sun downward at the summer solstice. As the Sumerians began to observe and better understand the heavens, this knowledge was incorporated in the Tammuz myth, and affected the Tammuz cult. He became the child of Shamash. Similarly other cults were affected, until ultimately we have a highly developed moon and astral worship, the beginnings of which we find in the Sumerian period. The question arises whether this cult originated in Sumer, or whether it was brought in by the Semites of the west and north, whose religion had developed in a different milieu. I am inclined to think that the latter was the fact, namely that, having its origin among the Semites, it found the occasion of its adoption in Babylonia in the increased knowledge and observation, among the Sumerians, of the heavens, and their relation to the life of man. It belongs, therefore, to the secondary, not the primary stage of the Sumerian religion, beginning but not yet developed in these liturgies.

3. Originally, apparently, the Sumerians recognized two great deities, male and female, whose union procured prosperity and

⁴ "Temples and houses are damaged or destroyed, not by some outside foe, as Langdon supposes, but, as his own translations show, by the rain, the thunder, the lightning and the hail, which work the havoc. It is En-il, the lord of the storm demons, whose word and whose spirit (better wind) cause devastation thru the celestial torrents of the rainy season, washing down mud walls and bringing disaster on the temples and towns, or who releases the Anunnaki and other similar powers to work havoc in the storms, the hostile agencies mistaken by Langdon and others in some cases, I think, for the Elamites or other fleshly foes. So in Tablet I of the liturgy whose name, according to Langdon's translation, is "Like the spirit itself immutable," we find this vivid picture of the destruction wrought by En-il's word—wind and thunder:—

The word which stilleth the heavens on high.
 The word which causeth the earth beneath to shudder.
 The word which bringeth woe to the Anunnaki.
 His word is an onrushing storm, which none can oppose.
 His word stills the heavens and causes the earth to retire.
 Mother and daughter like a cane mat it rends asunder.⁵

security, as described above. These were in essence the same in each place, but assumed various names in different localities. Thus differentiated they came to be regarded as separate deities, and were adopted by one place from another, with a tendency to a specialization of function, making them in the end separate gods. This was true especially of the male element of deity, which seemed, somehow, to lend itself more readily to polytheism than the female, which latter presented itself much more as a unity, merely called by different names.

4. With the development of the city element and the necessity of the enlargement of mound and temple and other human works for the control and utilization of the inundations came the exaltation of the city ruler, the king, thru whom these works were executed and made to function, and hence his deification and his partial or complete assimilation with the male deity as the author and creator of those works.

5. There were also various spirits, largely if not altogether harmful, expressions of animism, which wrought evil in storms, sickness, etc., but which might be and were subjected or propitiated thru the great gods and goddesses and their power. Some of these were ultimately brought into connection or assimilated with the Semitic elemental or heavenly deities.

6. These are the conditions and the concepts of the older Sumerian religion, out of which was developed the Sumerian pantheon and later, thru the intermixture of Semitic gods and religious concepts, that more intricate and elaborate Babylonian religion which connects itself especially with Babylon. The liturgies from Nippur published by Barton, the so-called *Paradise Epic* of Langdon, and the Tammuz and other liturgies commented on by me in the paper in *JBL* above referred to, but more especially some of the first named Nippurian liturgies of Barton, represent the earliest stages of this religious development, which I have felt it necessary to summarize thus briefly as an introduction to, and the basis of my comments on the tablets themselves.

NOTES ON THE LITURGIES

NUMBER 1 is designated by Barton as a foundation cylinder of the nature of an incantation, written at a time when the temple at Nippur was repaired, probably because of a plague which had visited the city, apparently from Kesh. It is perhaps the oldest religious text in the world 'of equal if not greater antiquity than

the Pyramid Texts of Egypt.' In spite of its fragmentary condition it is possible to trace liturgical divisions in this tablet by such cries as that in (i) 5, (v) 14, (vii) 5: 'Unto Šir there is a cry,' which introduces or closes a motive. There are notes here and there of oblations, of water, as in (v) 10, of food as in (v) 12. There are references to the fires for sacrifice, as in (xi) 8, (xiii) 3, which latter, the 'fiery offering' to Enlil, is immediately preceded by the libation to Šir; there are also indications of a progress, that is that this liturgy was in the nature of a processional, somewhat in that regard like Psalm 118 of the Hebrew Psalter; and there is something of a dramatic or semi-dramatic nature in the way the incantation or enchantment which must be used to abate ill is put into the mouth of the deity, as in the first few lines of (v).

This particular liturgical tablet connects itself, as Barton has pointed out, with repairs and restorations of the temple. These were done by the king of Kesh, for which he proclaims, or it is proclaimed for him by the priest, that he receives the food of life from Enlil. So it begins (i) 1-4: 'He came forth, from Kesh he came, the food of life Enlil gives him.' This is followed by the cry to Šir, who is also, as Barton points out, the serpent and Ninkharsag, and indeed the mother goddess in all her different forms, to grant favor and to give life, or because she grants favor and gives life, whichever is the correct translation.

In column (ii) goddess and god are brought together. He is the protector, the man, the husband, the hero, Enlil; she is the Tigris and Euphrates. His praise is continued thru the greater part of column (iii). He is the lord of the sanctuary, whose province it is to make strong the new temple platform, to protect the habitation; but with him in verse 10 is combined the goddess, as the 'well of the mighty abyss.' This was, I should suppose, the ritual well which existed in Nippur, close to the great Ziggurat, in character and meaning similar to the huge bowl in the Hebrew temple, a symbol or expression of the life-giving power of the water from the abyss of waters beneath the earth, the representative of the female or life-producing element in the deity. Then (11 and 12) the garment⁴ and the goat for an offering are made ready, and in column (iv), verse 3, the musicians are directed to

⁴ Does this refer to the donning of other garments for the religious ceremony, or to a gift of garments for temple use?

break into music and singing, the verses following containing their song,* which tells of Enlil as a 'bird' who protects city and temple, who gives the increase of crops, who controls the inundations, against whom the cloud demon is impotent. The complement of this is column (v), the song of Ninkharsag, sung or chanted in her name by the priest *Bada*, a sort of praise of the holy house, bright and pure with the fires of cedar wood. Following this come oblations and libations to Šir, the whole ending with the words: 'Unto Šir there is a cry,' closing perhaps a section in this processional ritual or liturgy. Column (vi) is an address to the king of Kesh, who is directed to raise his eye 'to the source of life,' if that be a correct translation, and then in verses 13 and 14 the kingly virtues are set forth in connection with him, very much as they are set forth in connection with the Messianic king in Psalm 72 of the Hebrew Psalter. It is the king's part to hold up and strengthen the weak; the king must give protection to the lowly, etc. This motive ends with a reference to the platform, which seems to have been a contribution from the king of Kesh to the temple, of which there is continual praise thruout the poem; following which comes one of the refrains: 'Unto Šir there is a cry.'

The fragmentary remainder of columns (vii) and (viii), with the beginning of col. (ix), seems to consist of praises connected with the king of Kesh's work in the restoration of the temple, the glorification of that work, and the setting it before the divinity as a means of procuring favor; or possibly some parts of this are Enlil's answering recognition of the virtue of that work. With verse 9 of column (ix) we are definitely and certainly dealing with the god and with his creation by 'cohabitation with Šir, the brilliant wife' of 'a strong one,' 'a full grown ibex, whom he commanded to guard life,' i. e. who is placed as the guardian or representative of life in the temple. This seems to indicate the use in Babylonian temples of something familiar in the Assyrian and Hittite temples, as also in the temple at Jerusalem, those colossal animals which were representatives of the divinity or guardians of the approach to the god.⁸ In column

* Much as in Psalm 68, v. 11 in the Hebrew, where we have a rubric directing that the singers shall sing at that point in the Psalm.

⁸ So in the Hebrew story of Eden Cherubim 'keep the way of the tree of life.' No such figures have been found in Babylonian temples; but we have very old tablets from Nippur representing the ibex in connection with deity.

(x) we pass over from the male to the female deity: 'its lady is strong, its god is just,' in verses 8, 11 and 12, and her praise and her functions are continued in column (xi).

At the close of this column we have a very strong statement of just that relation of the mountain house and the river to one another of which I have spoken, the combination of which brings fortune: 'the great divine river to thy vegetation comes. For the overflow of the divine river the wall thou makest,' i. e. to prevent excessive overflow of that river. It is the combination of these two that produces the fertility which is celebrated in the well-preserved column (xii), which is a description or enumeration of the products of the fields. In (xiii) we come again to the combined offering, once the libation bowl to Šir, the water deity, twice the fiery offerings to Enlil at Nippur, and, inserted between these latter, 'to Ishtar from the land of Aleppo,' and 'to Enki in the deep,' for protection against sickness. It is on account of this that Barton has suggested that the tablet was written because of a plague. I think it is rather a reference to the customary sicknesses which follow the recession of the inundations, which the god is asked to avert (see introductory remarks).

If line 6 of column (xiii) is correctly translated ('Ishtar from the land of Khalab') we have the invocation of a goddess from another region, and in this case a Semitic goddess, representing just that sort of combination and relationship, the existence of which I have suggested in my preliminary remarks, which ultimately brought about a fusion of Semitic and Sumerian cults, and the development of the great Babylonian religion. I suspect that here and elsewhere in this liturgy where we find mention of Enki and Enzu, the gods of Ur and Eridu, these are used interchangeably with Enlil, the interchange evincing that they are one and the same god, under the different names of the chief gods of Nippur, Ur and Eridu. The consciousness of their identity was not yet lost, so that, when the god of one place is named, it is only a difference in name not a real difference in deity. Thus Enlil is called Enki, as god of the deep. But with the foreign goddess I fancy that the case is different.

Column (xiv) begins with Enlil's declaration that 'Removed is the sickness from the land,' and we have that assurance of the favor of the gods, and that the prayers of the suppliants are granted, which is common at the close of Sumerian psalms, and which meets us also over and over again in the Hebrew Psalter.

This is followed by an outburst of praise to the great god by whom it is wrought (xv), which is repeated again in the first part of (xvi). To say over again the same thing which has already been said before is a very common ritual practice the world over. So here we have over again the prayer that sickness may be banished, the assurance of blessing and protection, of the increase of cattle, etc.; then again the prayer against the sickness, promise of good beer, of abundant wool, of flour and garden produce, of the expulsion of sickness, of the driving away of demons from the fold. Back and forth this goes on to the end, with reference to 'the well of the abyss,' the inundations, the libations, offerings, etc. In column (xix) 12 comes the rubric, 'Let the meal offering be abundant,' etc. Apparently the liturgy ends, as do some of the Hebrew psalms, with the declaration of satisfaction and exultation on the part of the 'men,' the worshippers, sure that the prayer of the liturgy is answered.

I think it is plain that this is a liturgy for a processional march thru or about the temple to the altar and the well, with sacrifices, music and singing, in connection with the erection or repair of the great temple platform by a king of Kesh, as a result of which Enlil and Šir are expected to give blessings of fertility and avert the evils caused by the storm demons and the demons of sickness. But such liturgies, composed perhaps on some earlier model or out of some former occasional liturgy for a special occasion and a special temple, were likely to be used again. A stated feast grew out of a special celebration, or the form used for one special occasion was later adapted for other occasions. We have abundant evidence of this in liturgies which have come down to us, where alternatives are given for use at Nippur, Ur, Babylon and the like, and places left for insertion of the names of different gods. It was the possibility or the actuality of re-use or adaptation which led to such careful storing of liturgies like this in the temple archives, and their recopying thru at least three millennia, down almost to the commencement of our era.

NUMEN 2 is difficult and enigmatical, as Barton says. He suggests that it is a liturgy for the inspection of the victim from which the oracle is given for a certain 'Allu-Kal, who wished to rebuild the temple.' So it commences 'The great . . . is cut open, the oracle comes forth'; and later we read: 'May there stand the dwellings of cedar'; and again: 'His god shall fasten the foundation firmly; with cedar he shall build. Strong

are the houses; the dwelling is of aromatic wood, the great dwelling of Enlil.' It is so fragmentary that one can scarcely restore the ritual acts from what remains, but it seems apparent from the above that it was a formula or a liturgy in connection with the erection of a temple.

NUMBER 3. A colophon says that this is the first tablet of a series 'of my great warrior,' and Barton points out that the great warrior thus deified was, from the context, Dungi, king of Ur. The object of this liturgy is indicated, I think, in the very last verses, (vi) lines 36 and 37. Line 36 is of the nature of a rubric directing the pouring of the libation, accompanying which is the cry for blessing for the city: 'Bless it, for the city a blessing.' It is apparently a liturgy to be used at stated sacrificial festivals for or to the divine king, as on his birthday or the anniversary of his accession. He was worshipped, as would appear from (ii) lines 7-14, as the representative of the immediate relation to the city of both the male and female elements in the deity. He is Enlil on earth, line 8, but also he is Ninlil (14); he is the great bull, Enlil's representative (9), and he is the holy *dun*-animal, Ninlil's representative (13); he is the bull of life (ii. 4) and he is the great serpent. In general this liturgy is the glorification of the divine king, Dungi, but it chants his praises more particularly as the warrior and the huntsman. He is also, however, the guardian of the city, it is he who brings justice (ii) 19, (v) 19, and favors the working man (ii) 18, which is somewhat similar to (vi) 13, 14 of Tablet 1. The description of the qualities of the king in this tablet as in that reminds one somewhat of the Hebrew Psalm 72, while the tendency to deification suggests Psalms 2 and 110 of the Hebrew collection.⁷ The titles 'Great bull of the dwelling' (ii. 9), and 'great holy *dun*-animal' (13) suggest colossal guardian animals before the temple, representing the presence of the divinity. It is interesting to observe that the king is not only a bull, a *dun*-animal, a lion, an ox, a shepherd and a steward,

⁷ In answer to my question, is the translation *chariot* correct (ii 6)? What sort of a chariot? This is several hundred years before the supposed introduction of the horse, and the war chariot with the horse. Is this simply a wagon for driving or carrying burdens? By what was it drawn? By bulls or oxen? Dr. Barton says: 'that chariots or wagons (the ideogram is that later used for chariot) are older than Dungi is shown by Gudea. Cyl. A. VI 17 describes a chariot drawn by an ass; cf. col. vii, 19 ff. The temple Enimu has a chariot-house attached (Col. XXVIII, 16).'

etc., but also 'a growing wall,' and 'a grateful shade,' figures used likewise in Hebrew poetry. He is also represented in his relation to Ninlil as the flood, a refreshing, life-giving stream (iv) 25. In (ii) 26 he is the child of the goddess, the most natural sort of identification with the divinity. In (vi) 7, 8, he stands and prays by 'the beam.' Is this a wooden pole like the Asherah, which represented the female attribute of deity in Israelite temples?

In verse 9 and 10 he prays by 'the wall,' and on this I think I can throw some light from personal experience. At the northern corner, or more accurately at the northwest side of the northern corner of the temple enclosure at Nippur was a very striking wall built of baked brick with cement. In front of this all along we found quantities of phallic emblems. It seemed to be a prayer wall. The ritual seems to have been to touch the phallic emblem to the wall in supplication or petition, letting it fall at the foot of the wall, if it did not stick in.

It will be remembered that Loftus found at Erech a wall built entirely of inscribed cones laid one upon another. Now these cones, as our collections of phallic emblems showed, were conventionalized forms of the phallus. That wall built of these emblems was, I think, in its nature or its use similar to the wall of the temple at Nippur just described, the praying wall for this particular ritual. I found a similar wall, a little different in construction, but which suggests a combination of the two, at Tello. When I first visited Tello, in 1889, de Sarzec, who was extremely jealous and suspicious of visitors to his excavations, affected to be ill, and the excavations were discontinued during the day or two of my stay. He did not wish me to see his work, and would not even show me the objects excavated. He was very courteous in other ways. He gave me a very good lunch, and housed me very nicely, but his jealousy prevented me from really seeing his work and his methods. It chanced, however, that my commissioner, who was with me, had formerly been with de Sarzec, and under his escort I went around a small portion of the work. At that time I noted a wall which seemed to have no rhyme or reason, connecting with nothing, in which were embedded some of the inscribed cones. The following year I again visited Tello. The excavations had ceased. De Sarzec had returned to France, and I understood that the excavations had been definitely given up. Accordingly, I felt myself at liberty to make such researches as I wished. I went to the wall which I

had seen the year before, and which I suspected was in nature akin to the wall of cones found by Loftus in Erech, and removed two or three of the large mud bricks. I took out from that very small section of the wall about a bushel of inscribed cones, which had been built into or thrust into the wall. That I suppose was a prayer wall.

Now note that praying by 'the beam' and praying by 'the wall' are placed together. If 'the beam' is, as I have suggested, the pole or the *asherah*, which represents the female element; then praying by the wall would seem to represent the male side. In one case the female and in the other case the male emblem of sex is used.

In (vi) 12 and following lines the reference to the roaring lion, and the lion hunt:

Let the roaring lion come,
He shall not depart:
Let his plan be frustrated!
On the mountain his whelps I verily will seize;
His grown ones with a snare I will verily catch;
As lord I will catch them;
As lord I will hold them!

reminds me of a tablet found at Nippur, of late date, but interesting as showing the important part which the lion played in Babylonian life, namely an *ex voto* for deliverance or success in a lion hunt, representing a man killing or attacking a rampant lion with a dagger or short sword.

NUMBER 4, which Dr. Barton calls 'A myth of Enlil and Ninlil,' was, I think, a liturgy to be used to invoke the flood, particularly to be used, therefore, at the time when the flood ought to come, in order to secure its coming. Sometimes the flood comes a little earlier, sometimes a little later. Whenever there is delay in the coming of the flood, there is naturally very great anxiety. Religiously that is the time for special supplication to the deity to bring the flood. The method of doing this is of the nature of sympathetic magic, telling the story of the coming of the flood, etc. This is one of the most vivid and picturesque of all the tablets, perhaps the most so. It brings out in the strongest way the religious ideas which I have suggested, what the relation is between mountain and dyke, the male divinity on the one hand, and the winding, twisting, serpent-like river, the great inundation, the female deity on the other. Watching from the mountain

house* for the coming of the river is the watching of the god himself, i. e. of the mountain house which represents the god, and the delight and joy of the watcher is the joy of the god himself. There is in this liturgy so vivid a picture of this watching that it made me feel as though I were back on top of the old mountain house, looking out over the plain, watching for the coming of the inundations, seeing the serpent-like, beautiful stream approaching and the glimmering light reflected from its surface, falling in love with it, as it were filled with a passion for it. It was so vivid that I can realize and act it out and feel it in myself; how she entices him, how he takes her as his wife and she yields to him.

- (i) 15. The holy river, the woman Idazagga, did not flow.
 Ninlil stood on the bank of the canal Nunbūr;
 With holy eyes the lord of . . . eyes looked upon her;
 The great mountain, father Mulil, of holy eyes, with
 his eyes looked upon her;
 Her shepherd, he who determines fate of the holy
 eyes, with his eyes looked upon her;
 The exalted father rising, ran; he seized her; he
 kissed her;
 The heart of the lady exulted; her heart was cap-
 tivated, she wished it; she gave herself to him;
 He received her; he cohabited with her;
 He caused it to rain.

Then, the same attitude which is depicted in the Hebrew story, historically in the case of Amnon and Tamar, allegorically in the third chapter of Genesis; to the man the relation is one that somehow has in it a sense of sin, of something wrong, of something that weakens or injures; and now that it is accomplished, that she is his, that 'the holy river . . . flowed' (i. 23) he repulses and upbraids her:

- To his wife in anger he said: 'Did I not yield to thee?'
 To Ninlil in anger he said: 'Did I not yield to thee?'
 'did I not embrace thee? Did I not know thee?'
 . . . I kissed thee; I knew thee;
 . . . thou didst seize me; I submitted;
 . . . thou didst lie down; thou didst gain the mastery;
 . . . thou wast enticing; thou wast mighty.'

*This term 'mountain house', applied to the old Sumerian temple, is very familiar to the Hebrew student from its similar application in the Hebrew scriptures. Cf. for example, *Jer.* 26, 18.

To the woman, as represented in (ii), however, it is entirely different. To her it is the completion of her being, joy and the production of offspring. She speaks to Enlil in his wrath, she grasps his hand:

In a dwelling with offspring thou shalt lie down.

To her husband she spoke; to his anger she gave a kiss;

Resting her head on her husband she kissed him.

Standing brilliant by Enlil, her husband, her heart rejoiced.

The liturgies in (ii) 11 and following seem to represent some procession, and some acts of some description, the opening of the gates, as in Psalm 24 of the Hebrew Psalter, and an answering back and forth. So:

Enlil, the hero came;

Enlil, the hero entered;

and with Enlil marched the 50 great gods, and the seven gods of fate. They cast out the evil things from the city; Ninlil came and they stood before the temple and Enlil called:

O man of the great gate! man of the lock!

Man of the strong word; man of the lock!

Thy lady, Ninlil is here, etc.

There is at different points the cry of rejoicing, indicating for what purpose the liturgy is used, as in (ii) 23 'Thy lady, Ninlil,' the coming of the river. Enlil comes into his temple with great power and might and high praise, and Ninlil comes with him (as (iii) 36, 37, and again (iv) 24), giving grass to the flock and clothing the weak, while Enlil, the mighty hero, flashes his weapon and overthrows all foes. The object of the whole is to bring about the union of Enlil and Ninlil, to bring the fertilizing flood to be the wife of the great god Enlil, that so flocks and herds, fields and grain may have blessing. All ends with a burst of praise, as in some of the Hebrew psalms: 'Enlil is lord, Enlil is king'; and the last two verses are 'high praise to mother Ninlil, to father Enlil, praise.'

NUMBER 5. This fragment Barton suggests belongs to an incantation ritual, to avert destructive storms; to which I have nothing to add.

NUMBER 6. With regard to No. 6, however, which Barton calls 'A Prayer for the City of Ur,' I would ask whether it is not in nature precisely the same as 5, and would refer here to my article on the Tammuz liturgies above referred to, where I tried to point out that some of the liturgies published by Langdon, which he

supposed referred to Elamite destructions of Nippur and the like, plainly referred to injury done by storm, and were liturgies for what I called the vernal house cleaning, the vernal restoration of the temples after the destructive winter storms. Naturally in rituals the destruction done is exaggerated, and so it must not be taken literally here as to actual amount. If this suggestion is correct, then Nos. 5 and 6 are twins, and their purpose is practically the same; or perhaps the first is an incantation to avert the storms, the second a litany or liturgy of restoration after the damage done. A few verses will illustrate this, I think:

Joy from the fold is snatched; the storm the cow cuts off.

The thicket of reeds he overthrows.

Joy is borne away by the whirlwind, by the wind no tall grass is left.

Ekharra utters a curse, and

Its land . . . the whirlwind extends over it.

So they cry to 'my lady,' acknowledge her might, beg forgiveness for the sins of the city, offer Ishtar cakes to Enlil, tell him of the disaster and beg him to intervene, for his 'temples are destroyed like a jar that is smashed, thy city, the second which thou foundedst, is struck down; it cries out. Thy house weeps; O speak, lift it up.'

Then Ninlil becomes the intercessor; as protectress of the city her tears flow; she cries before him, begging respite for the city whose temple has been shattered, whose beloved priests can no longer approach him. Unfortunately the close of this liturgy is wanting. The Ishtar cakes in (ii) 31, which appear again in the following tablet, line 14, naturally remind one of the women who made the cakes for the queen of the heavens in Jeremiah 44. 19, but here they appear, altho called Ishtar cakes, to be offered to Enlil, not to his spouse.

NUMBER 7, entitled by Barton 'A Hymn to Ibisin,' is in its nature and use similar to No. 3, to be used on the birthday or accession to the throne, or at some such stated time, of the king of Ur, in this case Ibisin, who is regarded as divine. It celebrates the good work that he has done, his power, etc. He has built the house of Enlil; he has caused proper sacrifices to be offered; he celebrates the feasts of the gods; he has done everything to make them comfortable and happy, and hence to win their favor for the people; he protects the temple and so thru his benevolent power joy comes to his land. And the pity of it is, as Barton

points out, that he was an inglorious king, who did nothing worth while.

NUMBER 8 is designated by Barton as 'A New Creation Myth,' and I think correctly; but this creation myth is liturgical also, in the same sense as 104 in the Hebrew Psalter, or the psalms preceding and succeeding that. Such psalms sing of the glory of God in the universe, in creation and the like, or in the history of His people, thus magnifying God that so His favor may be won for the suppliants, who make their oblations and offer their sacrifices unto Him. Such compositions are extremely interesting as setting forth the ideas of the people using them with regard to creation and cosmogony, or with regard to the administration by God of the world. Here we have a creation myth which is characteristically Babylonian. That is, I mean to say, to appreciate it, one must see things from the standpoint of the Babylonian conditions of life, climate, rivers and all. First we have the 'mountain of heaven and earth,' and the assembly of the great gods looking down from heaven and observing what happens. There is nothing on earth, just as in the second chapter of Genesis there was at first nothing on the earth, no tree had been born, no grass had sprung up, land and water were not separated. There were no temple terraces, no sheep, no cattle, no crops, no wells, no canals, the very names of the gods and the demi-gods and the demons thru whom these things exist and who exist in connection with them were not known. There was no grain of any sort, no possessions, no dwellings. Then comes procreation, with frank mention of the sexual organs. Thru the act of union of god and goddess mankind comes into the world, but naked and homeless, without houses, without clothing. Then they begin with rushes and reed ropes to make dwellings and form families or tribes; then to water the ground, to get gardens and grow greens. On the reverse we are told of further developments, in no very evident systematic order, to be sure; flocks enclosed in folds, for protection against the storms, a more developed agriculture, civic development, with law given from the gods, increase of wealth, bringing danger of attack, and hence houses and cities of brick; and at the end, what we should expect earlier, man and his helpmeet, as in the Hebrew story. While I have called this a liturgy, and presume that it was sung as such in temple services, there are in it no liturgical and ritual notes such as exist in all the other tablets considered. It is purely a hymn.

NUMBER 9 tells somewhat dramatically the tale of the rise to power as king of Isin of Ishbiurra of Mair, the Sumerian patriot, summoned by Father Enlil to break the bonds of the oppressed, like Moses. Barton calls it 'An Oracle for Ishbiurra, founder of the dynasty of Isin.' I think it is a *Te Deum* or hymn of triumph for Ishbiurra's victories, something like Exodus 15, or 2 Sam. 22, if I may again compare with Hebrew Psalms and liturgies.

NUMBER 10 Dr. Barton calls 'An excerpt from an exorcism.' What is here published, and which Dr. Barton notes is part of a larger text, consists of two fairly equal stanzas, the first closing with a statement that Enlil's priests are making Ishtar cakes, or a direction to them to make Ishtar cakes for his sanctuary; and the second with the bidding to make Ishtar cakes for his temple, Einnakh. The first stanza, preceding the clause about the Ishtar cakes, is a glorification of Enlil, as prince who terrifies the land with darkness, and rejoices it with light, who give abundance, who inhabits the mountain, a protector and creator. The second stanza is an appeal to him dwelling in the mountain, the just shepherd, to speak the word of command which brings blessing. I fancy that this is the liturgy for the ritual act of making the Ishtar cakes (lines 12 and 22), the incantation to be sung during the process. If that be so, then we have here also some intimation of the use and purpose of Ishtar cakes, to please, propitiate and strengthen Enlil, that he may speak the word of life.

NUMBER 11 is a fragment of the text misnamed by Dr. Langdon 'Liturgy to Nintud on the Creation of Man and Woman,' which needs for its understanding the remaining portions.

In these notes I have followed Dr. Barton's translations which, considering the difficulties of the language and the fragmentary character of the texts, he would be the first, I fancy, to designate as tentative. I have ventured to comment on them at all only because as I read and studied his translations and his notes I have felt that out of my personal experience in the country of these Liturgies I was able to understand and appreciate some points which the text scholar might overlook.

As elucidating further the liturgical use of these texts I desire to call attention also to the text published by Langdon under the title *The Sumerian Paradise of the Gods*, and recently republished by Mercer in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*. This was a liturgy to be used in connection with a feast either of fertilization, of the coming of the fertilizing floods, or possibly of

harvest or sowing. I am inclined to think the former. As this liturgy itself indicates, bearing out the account which has come down thru Herodotus, and our discoveries of abundant use of sexual emblems at Nippur and elsewhere, and especially of the thrusting of a phallus into a wall, the ritual for procuring the fertilization of the crops was connected with sexual license on the part of the worshippers. This is a 'sympathetic' ritual act, participating in and thus promoting the union of god and goddess by which fertilization is produced. Generation plays a mighty part in such early religious documents, as in early ritual, the perpetual miracle and mystery of the origin of life. Enlil, the great god of Nippur, looks down from his mountain house on the beautiful serpent, the winding river, lying before him, and is enticed, and she becomes his mate. This beautiful goddess, whose floods give birth to trees and grain and flocks and all that man needs, brings also destruction with her storms and floods, and sickness, as the aftermath of her inundations. It is the rule and dominance of the river by the Lord of the mountain house, with his temples and cities and terraces and dikes, which brings to men the blessing of wealth, and worship and ritual must be developed for maintaining and controlling the one and the other. In these texts one gets glimpses of the very foundation conceptions of the religion of Babylonia, speculations on the development of its civilization, and occasional allusions to events of its history.

OVERSE

1-2. The salutation to the god and goddess in their holy shrine, the mountain of Dilmun; a sort of 'oyez, oyez.'

3-12. The glorification of the holy sanctuary in which Enki cohabits with his mate. Does this use of 'mountain of Dilmun' imply a legend which goes back of Nippur, ascribing the origin of its shrine and its cult to an older derivation from Dilmun?

13-30. The recital of conditions before the love and copulation of god and goddess; before the god of the mountain house, of cities and terraces and dikes, and the goddess of the river, and its floods made benevolent by canals, were brought together. Nature could not function aright, all was perverted.

31-II. 6. As in the Bible story of the garden of Eden it is the woman who with the serpent entices man to the sexual act which shall make him the producer of life, like to the gods, living on forever, so in this recital it is the female part, the goddess, who

entices the god. A canal there must be, the river must be brought, by the taming of which under him the water of life may be given to the land.

7-19. The recital ends in a burst of prayer and praise for the coming of the water, closing with the assurance of fulfilment of the petition in the usual ritual manner.

20-45. Then comes the impregnation of the goddess and the birth of *Tagtug*. This is not three impregnations and three births, but one, sung three times over in liturgical fashion with variations, to give emphasis and solemnity. Thru it one sees also the kind of ritual acts, symbolical and actual, which were part of the service of this festival.

REVERSE

13-48. This brings the life-giving power of the water, or the product of the water, Ninkur's sons, *Tagtug*, who in some symbolic fashion seems to be brought into the temple and enthroned there, displacing Enki in a sort of feast of misrule. Then Enki comes as a husbandman, a gardener, with similar symbolism, and is admitted thus into his own temple, where he proceeds to honor *Tagtug* and place him on the great throne in the chief sanctuary.

Then follows a recitative, telling of:

II. 7-15, the planting of the fruits, born of the mating of god and goddess, and, 16-36, the blessing, naming and designation of all the fruits sprung from their union.

37-III. 23. Then comes the purposeful and dramatic clash of disharmony, as a foil the better by contrast to bring out the desired effect. *Ninharsag*, wrathful, demands her place and reward and honor in the sanctuary, that she who has born *Tagtug* be received into the shrine and honored there, which is done and she 'sat down in majesty.'

24-42. Then follows a recitative describing the many children born of the happy union of god and goddess, who have power to heal all ills of man; closing with a hymn of praise, 43-50, to all these divine generations, to which is added 51, in behalf of the scribes who write the sacred texts, the god of scribes, *Nidaba*.

NOTE ON DR. PETERS' NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS
ON THE EARLY SUMERIAN RELIGION AND ITS EXPRESSION

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THE TEXTS PUBLISHED in my *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* are most of them extremely difficult, especially in their present fragmentary condition. I have read Dr. Peters' comments on them with much interest and am grateful to him for his attempt to elucidate their meaning from the knowledge gained by his experience in Babylonia. His observations in most instances commend themselves. It is a question whether he has not at times over-worked the liturgical idea. While I have that feeling in reading his notes, I am not prepared to say that he has.

The object of the present note is to discuss Dr. Peters' suggestion that text No. 1 is a hymn or liturgy in part in praise of a king of Kesh, who had rebuilt the temple at Nippur. This possibility, though it occurred to me when editing the text, was not seriously entertained, because so little is known historically of Kesh, that such a consideration seemed to land us in an historical mist. The suggestion is, however, worthy of more serious consideration than was then given it. If it should turn out to point to an historical fact, it might open a new vista in Babylonian history.

The ideogram employed in our text for Kesh is Brünnow, No. 10859 (= CT 11.49.32 ab). The question is, does this ideogram designate a city that was later designated by another ideogram, or does it refer to a city never designated by another ideogram? If the latter alternative is true, then Kesh disappeared at the dawn of written history and we know practically nothing about it. If the former is true, then it is possible that something of its later history is known, or at least ascertainable. Clay (*Empire of the Amorites*, p. 104) identifies Kesh with Opis. He does this on the authority of Thureau-Dangin, who in *SAK*, pp. 20, 21, read the ideogram U^HU-Kesh. Later in his work, however, (p. 225 note d) Thureau-Dangin recognized U^HU as referring to Opis. Clay's identification is accordingly erroneous. Kesh is designated by quite a different ideogram. If Kesh were the same as Opis,

and this foundation cylinder celebrated the repair of the temple of Enlil by a king of Opis, it might record an historical incident in the work of one of those kings of Opis whose names are recorded on the dynastic tablet discovered some years ago by Scheil. In that case the cylinder would be older by one or two hundred years than the date assigned it in my book. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence known to me for the identification of Kesh with Opis.

A stronger argument for the identification of Kesh with Kish could be made. The ideogram for Kesh (*Ki-e-iš*, Brünnow, 10859) is also transliterated Kish (*Ki-iš*, Brünnow, 10860).¹ The dynasty to which Naram-Sin and Shargalisharri belonged was a dynasty of Kish and Agade, and if Kesh were an archaic designation of Kish, the city might so be referred to in a poetical composition such as our cylinder contains. The identification of Kesh with Kish seems to be accepted by Thureau-Dangin (*SAK* 225 note d), and by Harper, who translated the ideogram by the name Kish (*Code of Hammurabi*, p. 5). In the code, however, the god of Kish is *Za-má-má* (read by Clay, *Za-bá-bá*), while the god of Kesh is *Ma-ma*. As the syllables *má* and *ma* are represented in the two names by different cuneiform signs, and Kesh and Kish are designated by different ideograms, it seems precarious to assume that the two cities were the same.

Kesh was apparently situated somewhere near Kish and Opis (Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*). There is no evidence known to me of a king or dynasty of Kesh that conquered Babylonia. Nevertheless Dr. Peters' idea that the cylinder celebrates the work of a king who rebuilt the temple commends itself as probable. It is not necessary to assume that this monarch was a king of Kesh; if he proceeded to Nippur from Kesh, where he had made some conquest, or repaired some temple, the conditions of our text would be fulfilled.

While, therefore, I am favorably inclined to Dr. Peters' interpretation of the text, I am inclined, while awaiting fuller information as to the locality and identity of Kesh, tentatively to hold as before that in all probability the cylinder is from the time of Naram-Sin.

¹ The city of Kish is usually denoted by a different ideogram (Brünnow, No. 8904 and Meissner, No. 6688). In the one passage known to me in which this ideogram is syllabically defined (Reisner's *Hymns*, 57. 13, 14) the name is spelled *Ki-iš*, not *Ki-e-iš*.

SOME LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE ABSENCE OF TRAGEDY IN THE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT DRAMA

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EVERYONE who is acquainted with Sanskrit dramatic literature is aware that one of the most striking characteristics of the so-called classical drama is the absence of a tragic ending. The discovery of the manuscripts of the thirteen plays attributed to Bhāsa proves that this was not true of the older dramas, as some of them are real tragedies. But this fact only makes more puzzling and more interesting the problem of the consistency with which the later dramatists avoided the tragic ending.

In a number of the later plays there are many distressing occurrences during the progress of the action, but there is never any tragedy in the sense of calamity which remains at the close of the last act. There are near approaches to this but the tragic outcome is always prevented by the timely assistance of a friend or the intervention of the gods.

As Dr. Lindenau has pointed out in his *Bhāsa-Studien*,¹ there must have been known to Bhāsa a form of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* older than the recension we have. In this older form the strict rules concerning the happy ending were probably lacking. In the *Bhārata* known to us, however, and in other dramaturgical works, the rules on this point of avoiding an unhappy ending are very definite and they were very strictly followed by the classical dramatists.

The text-books of dramaturgy, as we have them, in giving the different conclusions which a play might have, seem to make no provision for anything opposed to the ultimate happiness of the hero and heroine,² and it is distinctly stated that the death of the hero or principal person should not occur anywhere in the play.³

¹ *Bhāsa-studien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des altindischen Dramas*, von Dr. Max Lindenau, Leipzig 1918, p. 29.

² See G. C. O. Haas, *Dakṛiṣṭa*, tr. and text (1912), pp. 92 and 145; Lévi, *Le théâtre indien* (1890), p. 86.

³ *DR*, p. 93.

Concerning one type of play⁴ it is stated that the death of a great person must not be presented even though it took place in the legend from which the plot is derived.⁵ Not only must the hero and the heroine suffer no calamity at the end of the play but they must not even be sorrowful.

There were a number of violations of the rules concerning the things considered indecorous to present before the eyes of the audience,⁶ but usually they took place off-stage. Even the death of the hero and heroine occurs but there is always a quick restoration and all ends happily.⁷

I have said that the dramatists of the later plays adhered strictly to the rules regarding the happy ending. I recognize the fact that the rules, as we know them, may have been made after the plays were written, but even if this were so there must have been a strong tradition which had become firmly established, otherwise there would never have been the remarkable consistency we find in the technique of the plays.

Whether written or unwritten there seems no doubt that a deep veneration for these rules is the cause of lack of tragedy in the later Sanskrit drama.

There is no reason, I believe, to think that some of the writers of these plays could not have written real tragedies if they had so wished. There is an abundance of evidence to show that these playwrights were keen psychologists, and they were certainly well versed in the working out of cause and effect. With these qualifications and the ability, so amply proved in numerous passages, to portray deep and noble emotions, we are justified in concluding that the failure to write tragedy was not due to the inability of the writers.

In spite of the fine qualities of many of the Sanskrit plays we are almost sure, in reading those which are essentially potential tragedies, to find ourselves wishing they had continued so to the end. The effect upon us is that of the modern melodrama—the heart may be satisfied but the artistic sense suffers a shock.

It is the purpose of this paper to consider how a few of these

⁴ *Itihāsa*.

⁵ *DR*, p. 105; Lévi, p. 145.

⁶ For examples see *Mṛchakaṭikā*, Act 3, and *Viddhasālabhaṭikā*, Acts 3 and 4, Gray tr., *JAOS* vol. 27.

⁷ See *Capṛa-Kaṇṭika*, *Nāgānanda*, and *Mṛchakaṭikā*.

plays could be changed into tragedies without altering the psychology of the characters, in fact changing nothing but the ending, and perhaps making a slight readjustment of scenes.

Let us take, for example, the *Vikramorvaśi* of Kālidāsa. In order to obtain the invariable happy conclusion the author has greatly changed the original story of Urvaśi and King Purūravas, which allowed them to remain together so long as the King did not behold the son to be borne to him by Urvaśi. By removing the inevitable tragedy of such a love Kālidāsa has weakened his drama from the artistic standpoint. Although he had a fine tragic plot all ready for his poetic touch, in order to avoid the tragedy, he lowered his heroine from her divine estate and even caused the great divinity, Indra, to break his word.

Practically the only change of any importance needed to make a tragedy of the *Vikramorvaśi* would be in the last scene. We can easily imagine the fine scene, between Urvaśi and Purūravas, that Kālidāsa might have written, in which the king is in a tragic conflict of emotion between his joy in beholding, for the first time, his son and heir, and his agony of sorrow at the loss of Urvaśi resulting from the sight of this same child.

A further example is the *Uttara-Rāma-Carita* of Bhavabhūti. Out of the material of this play could have been made a great tragedy. If Rāma's moral conflict between his kingly duties and his love for his wife had been kept the central theme, and the whole play had thus been based upon it; if the banishment of Sītā, after much inward struggle and spiritual suffering, had come toward the end of the play, we might have had a tragedy worthy even of Shakespeare. This would have been the more assured through Bhavabhūti's power of description, his tenderness and beauty of thought, and his inherent sense for the dramatic.

The *Nāgānanda* of Harṣa could quickly be transformed into a tragedy by changing some of the lighter scenes slightly and eliminating the intervention of the gods at the end. If Jimūtavāhana were not restored to life the play would be not only more tragic but more artistic. A fine contrast could have been made between the hero's love for his bride and his devotion to what he felt to be his compelling duty. The hero has sacrificed his life willingly and we feel that, according to all the rules of art, he should not come to life again.

Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* has often been called the *Romeo and Juliet* of the Sanskrit drama. To any one who is not familiar

with the subject this comparison with Shakespeare's play would naturally imply that *Mālatīmādhava* is a tragedy. There is a similarity, indeed, between the two dramas in many points, and there are several near approaches to tragedy in this Sanskrit play, but all ends well. This play is very dramatic and the elements of tragedy are strong. To develop these but few changes would need to be made. The father of Mālatī should appear as one of the principal characters. His fear of the king's disfavor could be strongly dwelt upon and contrasted with his love for his daughter. By showing this conflict as a moral struggle the tragic note would be established at once. Nandana, the king's favorite, to whom the king wishes Mālatī married, would have to appear in person in order to give a contrast with Mādhava, the hero. The very fine scene at the end, in which Mālatī wanders upon the field of the dead and is finally about to be offered as a victim to the dreadful goddess Cāmundā, need not have been changed at all. All that is needed to make the play a real Romeo and Juliet is to delay the hero in his arrival upon the field of the dead just about one minute. Such an ending would be just retribution to the father for sacrificing his child's happiness rather than risk the king's disfavor.

The *Caṇḍa-Kauśika* of Kshemiśvara is filled with tragic incidents from the time the king is cursed by the angry hermit to the end of the play, when the little prince, whose death occurs as the final overwhelming sorrow, is restored to life by the gods and the king receives again his lost kingdom. Nothing but divine intervention could possibly have saved this play from being a complete tragedy.

These are suggestions simply to show how some of the Sanskrit dramas might have been, without much change excepting the final outcome, made tragedies worthy of high honor, and how these have probably been lost to us through the rules prohibiting unhappy endings.

I have not mentioned the incident in Harṣa's *Priyadarśikā* of the heroine being bitten by a serpent and seeming to be dead, nor in the *Mṛcchakatikā*, ascribed to Śūdraka, of the apparent killing of Vasantasenā, because they are merely dramatic devices used to further the plot and not the logical tragic result of previous actions. These incidents might be compared to the supposed death of Hermione in the *Winter's Tale*, of Imogen in *Cymbeline*, or of Hero in *Much Ado About Nothing*. I should mention in this connection the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, one of the Bhāsa plays. In this

play the false report of the Queen's death is used to bring about the happy ending. Here the audience knows from the beginning that the Queen is not really dead.

We know that at least as early as Kālidāsa the strict rules, whether written or traditional, barring tragedy from the Hindu stage, were firmly established and closely observed. What caused the introduction of these rules we do not know. Keith has attempted to explain the invariable happy ending by finding its origin in the ritual of the spring festival in which summer triumphs over winter.⁸ Of course in the light of the Bhāsa plays this explanation would lose its force. Lindenau believes the solution is to be sought in the simple fact of the dramatists' yielding to the taste and demand of the public.⁹

I cannot feel that the last word has been said on this very interesting phase of Hindu thought as shown in the drama. The evidence does not seem yet to be sufficient for a final judgment. Perhaps Dr. Belvalkar, in his promised critical edition of the Nāṭya-śāstra, will have some new theory to offer which may help to clear up the problem.

⁸ 'Origin of the Drama', *JRAS* 1912, p. 423.

⁹ *Bhāsa-studies*, p. 31, note 1.

BRIEF NOTES

The Tower of Babel at Borsippa

I am pleased to see that Dr. Kraeling (above, p. 276 ff.) maintains the identification of the Tower of Babel with Birs Nimrud. That has been my view ever since I first saw the remarkable ruins of Birs Nimrud in 1889. They are far more striking to the eye than anything in Babylon, and they lie sufficiently near to Babylon to make the ordinary man connect them with the famous name of Babel, for indeed Borsippa must have seemed to him no more than a suburb of the great city. It seems to me, however, that Dr. Kraeling has omitted the best evidence of his theory, which I cited in *Nippur* (Vol. 1, 217) in 1897. Because it was written so long ago that it has passed out of mind, I venture to quote the passage:

"In the clay cylinders of Nebuchadrezzar found by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the corners of the Ziggurat of Birs Nimrud, we read:

"Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, the rightful ruler, the expression of the righteous heart of Marduk, the exalted high priest, the beloved of Nebo, the wise prince who devotes his care to the affairs of the great gods, the unwearying ruler, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the son and heir of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I.

"Marduk the great god formed me aright and commissioned me to perform his restoration; Nebo, guider of the universe of heaven and earth, placed in my hand the right sceptre; Esagila, the house of heaven and earth, the abode of Marduk, lord of the gods, Ekua, the sanctuary of his lordship, I adorned gloriously with shining gold. Ezida I built anew, and completed its construction with silver, gold, precious stones, bronze, *musukkani* wood, and cedar wood. *Timinanki*, the ziggurat of Babylon, I built and completed; of bricks glazed with lapis-lazuli (blue) I erected its summit.

"At that time, the house of the seven divisions of heaven and earth, the ziggurat of Borsippa, which a former king had built and carried up to the height of forty-two ells, but the summit of which he had not erected, was long since fallen into decay, and its water conduits had become useless; rain storms and tempests had penetrated its unbaked brick-work; the bricks which cased it

were bulged out, the unbaked bricks of its terraces were converted into rubbish heaps. The great lord Marduk moved my heart to rebuild it. Its place I changed not and its foundation I altered not. In a lucky month, on an auspicious day I rebuilt the unbaked bricks of its terraces and its encasing bricks, which were broken away, and I raised up that which was fallen down. My inscriptions I put upon the *kiliri* of its buildings. To build it and to erect its summit I set my hand. I built it anew as in former times; as in days of yore I erected its summit.

"Nebo, rightful son, lordly messenger, majestic friend of Marduk, look kindly on my pious works; long life, enjoyment of health, a firm throne, a long reign, the overthrow of foes, and conquest of the land of the enemy give me as a gift. On thy righteous tablet which determines the course of heaven and earth, record for me length of days, write for me wealth. Before Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, the father who begat thee, make pleasant my days, speak favorably for me. Let this be in thy mouth, 'Nebuchadrezzar, the restorer king.'"

Nebuchadrezzar describes the condition in which the ziggurat was when he found it. It was built long before his day, and built with very ambitious ideas. It was forty-two ells in height, but the summit had never been completed. The consequence of this failure to erect the summit was that the water struck into the unprotected mud bricks forming the mass of the interior of the ziggurat, dissolved them, and broke and bulged out the casing walls of baked bricks by which the different terraces were held in, reducing the whole to a huge mass of ruins. The water conduits referred to are such as Haynes found on the sides of the ziggurat at Nippur, designed to carry off the water from the surfaces of the upper terraces, and save the whole structure from decay. These conduits are useful only in case proper arrangements are made to carry into them the water falling on the surfaces of the upper terraces. The failure in this case to 'erect the summit', and the consequent soaking of the water into the clay bricks of the interior, soon rendered these conduits useless.

The striking similarities of this story to that of the Tower of Babel are, outside of the site, the extremely ambitious nature of this ziggurat of Borsippa which Nebuchadrezzar found in ruins, and the fact that after it had been raised to a great height the work was abandoned, leaving the building in such an incomplete condition that its ruin was inevitable.

As Nebuchadrezzar found it, the tower was little more than an enormous mass of ruins. He built it over entirely, and made it a seven-staged ziggurat. It is the ruins of Nebuchadrezzar's ziggurat which constitute the present Birs Nimrud, and the explorations which have been conducted there revealed the seven stages still existing.

Now, Nebuchadrezzar gives no similar description of the ruined and incomplete condition of any other ziggurat which he rebuilt. He rebuilt, among other places, the ziggurat of Esagil in Babylon, but he says nothing of its ruined condition. Evidently the ruined condition of the ziggurat at Borsippa, in connection with its great size and ambitious design, made a strong impression upon his mind, or the mind of the writer of his inscription. This is not a positive proof that it made a similar impression on the world at large, yet the natural induction is that the ruined condition of this ziggurat was notorious, and impressed all beholders. How long before the time of Nebuchadrezzar it had fallen into such a condition, it is impossible from our present information to say. Nebuchadrezzar says 'long since', and does not mention the name of the original builder, calling him merely 'a former king', as though its original construction were a thing of the remote past, the details of which were long since forgotten. But whatever the date, Nebuchadrezzar's account of the ruins of this ziggurat corresponds so well with the story of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, that one is inclined to attach that story, at least tentatively, to this ruin. The proximity of the site to Babylon led to its connection with that well-known name, Babel, in the Hebrew story.

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*Note on Angarôš, in Montgomery's 'Aramaic Incantation
Texts from Nippur'*

In Montgomery's *Incantation Texts from Nippur*, page 196, there is the translation of a lengthy charm on behalf of one Mešaršû, in which a large number of non-Semitic deities and demons are invoked. In line 7 of this charm occurs the formula, 'In the name of Angarôš'. In view of the fact that certain Indian names certainly occur in these incantations,—Hindu in Nos. 24 and 40, and Hinduthâ in number 38,—it does not seem improbable

that this name is to be identified with that of Angiras, sometimes a deity and sometimes a semi-divine being of Indian mythology. Angiras is frequently identified with Agni, the fire god, in the Vedas, but is also the progenitor of a line of priests. In many passages he is the father of Brihaspati, and in Rig Veda 2. 23. 18 is identified with Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati, the 'Lord of the Charm'. In view of the fact that Angiras is so frequently invoked or utilized in Indian magic, the importation of his name into Mesopotamia would seem quite possible. In the Atharva Veda, 19. 34. 1, we have him identified with a magical plant: 'Jangida, thou art Angiras: thou art a guardian, Jangida. Let Jangida keep safely all our bipeds and our quadrupeds' (Griffith's translation). When one remembers that a common name for this Veda is 'Atharvāṅgīrashaḥ,' and even 'Āṅgīrasa Veda', and that this is preeminently the book of the ancient priestly magicians, the probability of the identification seems increased. The *o* in the final syllable of Angarōs is just what we would expect to represent the *ā* in the nominative Angirās.

Among other proper names which may possibly be Indian, one may note Arśi in 37, line 5, which may well be Sanskrit Rishi, and Darśi, called the foreigner, in No. 29. This, meaning 'seer', though used ordinarily only in composition in Sanskrit, is used as a noun in Hindi.

GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN

¹ Transylvania College

PERSONALIA

PROFESSOR RICHARD GOTTHEIL, at present on duty at the University of Strasbourg, contributes a note on the death of M. MAX VAN BERICHEM who died in the past winter at his home in Geneva, in his fifty-sixth year. He has been since 1892 the organizer and director of the Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions. The Egyptian division of the work has appeared, and he was engaged in overseeing in Cairo the printing of the division on Palestine when his last illness overtook him. Dr. Gottheil adds: 'His skill in deciphering the tangled inscriptions upon mosque walls and upon other buildings was wizard-like. But his far-reaching knowledge and his well-poised judgment held his skill in proper bounds; and his writings are fascinating for their historic richness and for the wonderful stories that he forced stone and mortar to tell.'

M. PAUL PASCAL HENRI POGNON, retired Consul General of France, died at Chambéry, France, March 16, 1921. His long diplomatic residence in the East, at Aleppo and elsewhere, gave him the opportunity of firsthand research in antiquities and he contributed several notable works in Assyrian and Aramaic studies and archaeological exploration.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
AT THE MEETING IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, 1921

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-third meeting, were held in Baltimore, Maryland, at Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, March 29, 30, and 31, 1921.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Adler	Greene, Miss	Norton, Miss
Barret	Hamme	Notz
Barton	Haupt	Ogden
Bates, Mrs.	Hume, R. E.	Patterson
Benze	Hussey, Miss	Pavry
Bernstein	Jackson, A. V. W.	Robinson, D. M.
Blake	Jackson, Mrs.	Rosenau
Bloomfield, M.	Jastrow	Sanders, F. K.
Brown, W. N.	Johnson, N. T.	Saunders, Mrs.
Butin	Kayser	Schapiro
Casanowicz	Macht	Schmidt
Collitz	Mann, J.	Schoff
Danton	Margolis, M. L.	Seidel
DeLong	Matthews, I. G.	Sukthankar
Dickins, Mrs.	Michelson	Swingle
Dominian	Mancure	Wicker, Miss
Daugherty	Montgomery	Williams, T.
Dinean	Morgenstern	Yeaworth, Miss
Edgerton, F.	Muss-Arnolt	Yohannan
Ember	Newell	[Total: 61]
Gibble	Nies, J. B.	

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session was held on Tuesday morning beginning at 9.47 A. M., at Johns Hopkins University, the President, Doctor Talcott Williams, being in the chair. The reading of the Proceedings at Ithaca in 1920 was dispensed with, as they had already been printed in the JOURNAL (40.204-223); there were no corrections and they were approved as printed.

Professor Haupt, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented its report in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at half past two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that the sessions on Wednesday would be held at Goucher College, and that the session on Wednesday afternoon would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religions, and papers of a more general character. It was announced that the President and Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University would entertain the members at a luncheon at the Johns Hopkins Club on Tuesday at 1 p. m.; that there would be an informal gathering at the same place on Tuesday evening; that the President and Trustees of Goucher College would entertain the members at a luncheon in Catherine Hooper Hall on Wednesday at 1 p. m.; and that the annual subscription dinner would be at the Canary Inn on Wednesday at 6.30 p. m.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Doctor Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

During the past year the correspondence of the Society has increased in bulk almost alarmingly; but when the matters of routine are sifted out, the residue of sufficient importance to report is not too large.

From abroad the Corresponding Secretary received notice last September of the organization of a Dutch Oriental Society, entitled 'Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland', for the purpose of promoting in that country the study of the languages, literatures, history, ethnology, and archaeology of the East. The seat of the Society is at Leiden, and the President is Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. The Board of Directors of this Society, at its special meeting in November last, took cognizance of the organization of the Dutch Oriental Society and extended greetings to it officially.

The Secretary regrets to report that the British, French, and Italian Asiatic Societies have been unable to accept the invitation extended to them by the Directors of this Society to participate in this meeting, which would thereby have assumed the character of a joint meeting of the four Societies. The letters of Lord Reay, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of M. Senart, President of the Société Asiatique, indicate the various difficulties, such as the season of the year and the unfavorable conditions for travel, which made it impossible to secure the attendance of representatives of those Societies. The Secretary would in this regard urge upon the Society the advisability of considering with some care the status of its international relations, in order that it may be prepared to co-operate effectively with the Federated Asiatic Socie-

ties abroad. This is the more advisable because it is proposed at the next joint meeting in 1922 to regulate definitely the rotation and the date of those to follow.

The increase in the Society's membership last year, gratifying as it has been, has made the task of keeping a correct list of the members' names and addresses more difficult, particularly when the migratory habits of Americans are taken into account. The Secretary has received much help in this matter from other officers, especially from the Treasurer of the Society and from the former Secretary-Treasurer of the Middle West Branch; but he would ask the members in general to furnish him with any information they possess concerning changes in address, title, academic connection, and the like, both for themselves and for their friends.

Since the last meeting, the death of one honorary member, Professor Oldenberg, has been reported. The corporate membership, which was 356 at the opening of the last meeting, was increased to 478 by the election at that time of 122 new members; but the losses during the year by death (10) and by resignation (10) amount to 20, so that the present number of corporate members is 458. Such a net gain of over one hundred is a welcome augury for the continued growth of the Society.

In concluding this report, it is fitting briefly to commemorate those members whose deaths have been reported since the last meeting.

Professor HERMANN OLDENBERG, for many years of the University of Kiel, but latterly of the University of Göttingen, was one of our honorary members. His scholarly interests were centered about the earlier religious literature of India, both in the orthodox form of the Veda and in the great heresy of Buddhism. His earliest works were editions of Buddhist texts, and his general outline of Buddhism, entitled *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, first published in 1881, went through many editions. Later he occupied himself especially with the criticism and exegesis of the Rig Veda, as his works *Die Hymnen des Rigveda* (1888), *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), and *Rigveda; textkritische und exegetische Noten* (1909-1912), bear witness, altho he surveyed the wider field of Indian literature as well. One of his last books, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus* (1915), was a fitting linking of the two chief lines of his activity. Elected in 1910. Died on March 18, 1920.

Rev. HENRY SWIFT, M.A., formerly rector of St. Peter's Church, Plymouth, Conn., who as a chaplain in the United States Army spent twelve years in the Philippines and made many translations from various languages for the Government. Elected in 1914. Died on January 14, 1920.

T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, of Madras, India, for twenty-five years a fellow of the University of Madras and an active member of the Tamil Lexicon Committee from its beginning. Elected in 1913. Died on February 29, 1920.

Professor CAMDEN M. COBURN, of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., a diligent and enthusiastic scholar, who, before giving up pastoral work for his academic position, had had practical experience in research and excavation in Egypt and Palestine. Tho always interested in the broader aspects of Biblical study, he felt the importance for it of the results of archaeological exploration and wrote extensively on this topic, his latest work being *The New Archeological Discoveries* (1917). Elected in 1918. Died on May 5, 1920.

Professor ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER, of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, a profound student of medieval Judaism and Mohammedanism, was killed last summer in the Ukraine while engaged in succoring his distressed coreligionists. He was a member of this Society from 1904 to 1915 and contributed an important article on 'The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazim' to Volumes 28 and 29 of the JOURNAL. Re-elected in 1920. Died on July 5, 1920.

Rabbi ELI MAYER, Ph.D., of Albany, N. Y., formerly associate rabbi of Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia. Elected in 1920. Died on July 29, 1920.

WILLIAM HENRY FURNESS, 3d, M.D., of Philadelphia, whose activities were not limited to the medical profession but covered a wide range of scientific endeavor. His interest in the Farthest East, aroused thru his travels, resulted in the publication of *Home Life of Borneo Head-Hunters* (1902) and subsequently of *UAP, the Island of Stone Money* (1910). Elected in 1913. Died on August 11, 1920.

BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, of Philadelphia, one of our oldest members, a geologist, mining engineer, and inventor, who in the pursuit of his profession explored the oil fields in India and spent six years in Japan as chief geologist and mining engineer for the Japanese Government. He maintained his interest in the Far East thruout his life and was the author of many papers on technical subjects. Elected in 1871. A life member of the Society. Died on August 30, 1920.

JACOB H. SCHIFF, of New York City, who in addition to his distinction as a financier was a munificent patron of Jewish learning and had recently testified to his appreciation of Oriental studies by becoming a life member of this Society. Elected in 1920. Died on September 25, 1920.

JOSEPH GEORGE ROSENGARTEN, LL.D., of Philadelphia, who was not only prominent in that city for many years as a man of affairs and a benefactor of education, but also manifested his scholarly tastes by his numerous researches into the part that the earlier immigrants from Continental Europe played in American history. Elected in 1917. Died on January 14, 1921.

JOSEPH RANSBOHOFF, M.D., professor at the Medical College of the University of Cincinnati and a surgeon of international reputation. Elected in 1920. Died on March 10, 1921.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted. Brief remarks were made concerning several of the late members: Doctor Williams spoke of Lyman, Furness, and Friedlander; Professor Montgomery of Rosengarten; Professor Bloomfield of Oldenberg.

A letter of greeting from Professor Lanman was read.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Treasurer, Professor A. T. Clay, and that of the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1920

Receipts

Jan. 1, 1920 Balance	\$3,707.35
Annual Dues	1,070.15
Dues paid in advance by prospective members	52.88
Life Memberships	300.00
Interest on Bonds:	
Virginia Ry.	\$50.00
Lackawanna Steel	100.00
Minn. Gen. Elec.	50.00
	<hr/> 200.00
Dividends:	
Chic. R. I. & Pac.	120.00
Interest on deposit	187.20
Subscription for Publication Fund	1.00
Repayment Author's alterations	9.00
Sales	1,395.02
For offprints	1.73
	<hr/> \$7,944.42

Expenditures

Printing Journal Vol. 39, No. 5	\$343.09
40, No. 1	470.21
40, No. 2	528.44
40, No. 3	401.48
40, No. 4 on account	500.00
J. A. Montgomery, Honorarium	100.00
Franklin Edgerton, Honorarium	100.00
Contribution to American Council of Learned Societies	25.00
Expenses, Committee on Cooperation with Soc. As.	25.00
Library Expense, postage	50
Middle West Branch Expense	107.50
Editors' Expense	41.56
Corresponding Secretary's Expense	\$25.00
Corresponding Secretary, clerical	80
Corresponding Secretary, printing and stationery	\$5.07
	<hr/> 110.87
Treasurer's Expense:	
Clerical	\$21.75
Printing	52.48
	<hr/> 74.23
Membership Committee Expense:	
Printing and stationery	\$36.50
Clerical	22.78
Postage	34.02
	<hr/> 93.30
Jan. 1, 1921—Balance	5,023.24
	<hr/> \$7,944.42

The following funds are held by the Society:

Charles W. Bradley Fund	\$3,000.00
Alexander I. Cothrel Fund	1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund	1,000.00
Life Membership Fund	2,450.00
Publication Fund	78.50

The foregoing funds, the interest on which is used for publication purposes, are represented in the assets of the Society held by Yale University for the Treasurer, which on January 1, 1921, were as follows:

Cash	\$5,023.24
Bonds:	
\$2,000 Lackawanna Steel Co. 5's 1923 (present value)	1,870.00
1,000 Virginian Railway Co. 5's 1962 (present value)	820.00
1,000 Minneapolis General Electric Co. 5's 1934 (present value)	840.00

Stocks:

20 shares Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway pfd. (present value)	1,240.00
(Received in the reorganization of the road in exchange for \$2,000 5% bonds of 1932).	

For the information of the Society it may be added that since January 1, there have been purchased \$4,000 (par value) United States Third Liberty Loan bonds at a cost of \$3,508.60, which will make them yield 5.92%.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY
F. W. WILLIAMS

Auditors.

NEW HAVEN, March 22, 1921.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and of the Auditing Committee were accepted.

It was also voted: that the Society extend its thanks to Doctor Grice for the admirable assistance which she has rendered to the Treasurer and Librarian, especially during the last year.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Librarian, Professor A. T. Clay, and upon motion it was accepted.

The books and periodicals received during the year have been catalogued and placed upon the shelves. The accession list, here appended, shows a

large increase over previous years. A number of members have inquired for books during the year, and in most cases have been supplied either from our own Library or from the Yale University Library.

The work of cataloging the books and periodicals was completed several years ago, but owing to the war no steps were taken to publish the catalogue. Through the generosity of Prof. J. R. Jewett and the late Mrs. J. B. Nies, sufficient funds are available, now included in the assets of the Society, to put the material into shape for the printer; but funds are needed for the printing of the catalogue. A supplement to the *JOURNAL*, similar to the proposed index, of about eighty pages, containing "a title a line," would suffice. If provision were made for this, the printing could begin before Christmas.

Nearly a complete set of the *JOURNAL* and the *PROCEEDINGS* of the Society have been sent to the University of Louvain. Unfortunately, owing to missing numbers, and the lowness of the stock of certain parts, there are a few lacunae.

The Librarian's difficulties have been greatly increased in connection with the task of supplying parts of our *JOURNAL*, missing on account of the war, which have been asked for by European, Asiatic, and American subscribers and exchanges. Such requests are being received almost daily. This necessitates much detailed work on the part of the Librarian. The shipment of the reserve stock from Germany has made it possible to supply our own members with many missing parts, which were lost during the war. The surplus stock of Vol. 40, Part 1, is exhausted. Unless a way is devised to secure copies from members who do not care to preserve them, this will also occasion difficulties.

Through the activities of the Yale University Press the subscription list of the *JOURNAL* has been greatly increased, especially in certain countries. In certain other lands, where in the past the *JOURNAL* has been generously distributed, we have had scarcely a single subscription. The exchange list for many years has contained names of institutions, which long before the war ceased to send us their publications, or which have never sent them. The Society, it seems to the Librarian, should have a standing committee on exchanges, which should give due attention to this matter, and to which proposals regarding exchanges could be referred.

The current periodicals received have been catalogued, also the books, with the exception of the Siamese texts and *Bibliotheca Indica* series. These are to be done.

Accessions to the Library

- American school of oriental research in Jerusalem. Bulletin.
 Amrta Ranga Pillai. Diary, v. 7.
 Ananga Ranga, or, The theatre of Cupid. (Sanskrit text.)
 Andree, T. Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde.
 1917.
 Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (Pūrvabhāga, pp. 1-124 of Peterson's ed.) with notes by P. V. Kane. 1920.
 Bankipore. Oriental public library. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts, v. 6. 1918.
 Bhandarkar Institute. Annals, v. 4, pt. 1. 1918-19.
 Bhattojī Dilshita's Siddhantakaumudī, v. 2. 1920.

- Brandsteter, R. *Architektonische Sprachverwandtschaft in allen Erdteilen*. 1920.
- Bushnell, D. L., Jr. *Native cemeteries and forms of burial east of the Mississippi*. 1920. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 71.)
- Clemen, C. *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae*. 1920.
- Cowley, A. E. *The Hittites*. 1920. (Schweich lectures for 1918.)
- Dastur Meherji-rana and the Emperor Akbar; being a complete collection of the editorials and contributions relating to this controversy conducted in the Indian press. Collected by Khurshedji Manekji Shastri (Nariman). 1918.
- Delaporte, L. *Les monuments du Cambodge; études d'architecture khmère*. livr. 2. 1920.
- Epigraphia Birmanica; being lithic and other inscriptions of Burma. 1919. v. 1. pt. 1.
- Farquhar, J. N. *The religious quest of India, an outline of the religious literature of India*. 1920.
- Feng-Hua Huang. *Public debts in China*. 1919. (Studies in history, economics and public law, ed. by the faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, v. 85, no. 2.)
- Grierson, G. A., comp. *Indo-Aryan family, north-western group. Specimens of Sindhi and Lahnda*. 1919.
- Guesdon, J. *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-français*. 2. fasc. 1919.
- Hogarth, D. G. *Hittite seals*. 1920.
- Holy places of Mesopotamia, printed and engraved by the Supt. Govt. press, Basrah. 1920.
- Ibn al-'Arabi. *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi. Nach Handschriften hrsg. von H. S. Nyberg*. 1919.
- Karlgren, B. *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, 1. 1915.
- Kaye, G. R. *A guide to the old observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares*. 1920.
- Kharoshthi inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, pt. 1. Transcribed and ed. by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senari. 1920.
- Khurshedji Manekjee Shastri (Nariman) pub. by Ervad Dāri S. Dastur Shapur Dastur-meherji-rana. 1918.
- Koluit, A. *The ethics of the fathers*. Ed. by B. A. Elzas. 1920.
- Kolmodin, J. *Traditions de Tsazega et Hazzega; annales et documents*. 1914.
- Laotze's Tao and Wu wei*. Tr. by D. Goddard. *Wu wei, an interpretation by H. Borel*. Tr. by M. E. Reynolds. c.1919.
- Littmann, E. *Zigeuner-Arabisch; Wortschatz und Grammatik der arabischen Bestandteile in den morgenländischen Zigeuner-Sprachen*. 1920.
- Mahzor Yannai, a liturgical work of the VIIIth century. Ed. . . . by Israel Davidson. 1919. (Texts and studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, v. 6.)
- Mehta, S. S. *A manual of Vedānta philosophy as revealed in the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgītā*. 1919.
- Morgenstern, J. *A Jewish interpretation of the book of Genesis*. 1919.

- Narasimhachar, R. The Lakshmi-devi temple at Doddagaddavalli. 1919. (Mysore archaeological series.)
- O'Connor, V. C. S. An eastern library. 1920.
- Oriental advisory committee. Report on the terminology and classifications of grammar. 1920.
- Pithawalla, M. Afternoons with Ahura Mazda. 1919.
- Pithawalla, M. If Zoroaster went to Berlin; or, The ladder of perfection. 2d ed. 1919.
- Rabbath, A., comp. Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient (XVIe-XIXe siècle) t. 3, fasc. 3, pub. avec notes et tables par le P. F. Tournèize.
- Rangacharya, V. A topographical list of the inscriptions of the Madras presidency, collected till 1915. 1919. 3 v.
- Sushil Kumar De. History of Bengali literature in the 19th century, 1800-1825. 1919.
- Swanton, J. R. A structural and lexical comparison of the Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa languages. 1919. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 68.)

Siamese Texts

- Abu Hassan, a poem composed by order of H. M. Rama V. B.E. 2462.
- Ancient Cambodian laws on slavery. B.E. 2462.
- Ancient songs from the time of Ayuddhya. B.E. 2463.
- Bang Chang, Genealogy of the family of. (2d ed.) B.E. 2462.
- Bhuvanetr Nariindr Riddhi, *prince*. Manibijali, a play. [n. d.]
- Chulalongkorn, *king*. A poem on the names of H. M. Rama IV's children. B.E. 2461.
- A collection of chronicles, v. IX-XII, XIV, XVI-XIX. B.E. 2461-2463.
- A collection of plays for marionettes. B.E. 2462.
- A collection of poems composed by H. M. the second king of Siam. B.E. 2463.
- A collection of poetical works engraved on stone-slabs in Vat Phra Jetubon. B.E. 2462.
- A collection of riddles, composed during the reign of H. M. King Rama V. B.E. 2463.
- A collection of travels, pt. II. B.E. 2461.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. History of Chinese porcelain. B.E. 2460.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. History of the reign of H. M. Rama II. B.E. 2459.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. History of the wars between Siam and Burma during the XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries. B.E. 2463.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. A history of Vat Mahadhatu. B.E. 2461.
- Desanā Mahājāti, a sermon; being a translation of the Vessantara-jataka. B.E. 2463.
- Dhananjai Chieng Mieng, the Siamese Eulenspiegel, according to the version in the Northern provinces. B.E. 2463.
- The Jataka, or, Stories of the Buddha's former births; tr. from the Pali into Siamese. Book 1, v. 1 (2d ed.); Book 3, pt. 2. B.E. 2462.
- Krom Loang Wongsa, *prince*. A treatise on medical property of various herbs. B.E. 2462.

- A list of royal names and titles, v. 2. B.E. 2463.
- Mahāvamsa, tr. into Siamese, v. III. B.E. 2463.
- Mahāvamsa, a sermon on an episode of the life of Vessantara. B.E. 2462.
- Manners and customs, pt. II-VII. B.E. 2462-2463.
- Milinda Pañha, the questions of king Milinda; tr. . . . from Pāli into Siamese, v. 1-2. B.E. 2462.
- Nang Manora and Sangkh Thong; two ancient plays from the time of Ayudhya.
- "Nāriramya." A collection of poems formerly printed in the "Nāriramya". B.E. 2462.
- An old sermon on an episode in the life of Vessantara. B.E. 2461.
- Pāli and Siamese stanzas recited during the Vesākḥapūyā festival. B.E. 2462.
- Pañhādhammavinichaya, explanations on various points of religious doctrine (2d ed.). B.E. 2462.
- Paramanujit Jimoras, prince. Moral precepts of Kṛṣṇa. B.E. 2462.
- Phya Prajakich Korachakr. The languages and dialects spoken in Siam. B.E. 2462.
- Phya Ratanakul Atulyabhakt. Genealogy of some old Siamese families B.E. 2463. 2 v.
- A poem on the demise of H.M. the second king of Siam. B.E. 2461.
- Poems on the names of the boats conveying lamps and offerings down the river during the "Loi Krathong Pradip" festival. B.E. 2461.
- Poetical record of a journey to India. B.E. 2462.
- A poetical record of the journey of Phya Mahānuphāb to China in B.E. 2324. B.E. 2461.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Akankheyya sutta. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Daliddiya sutta. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Dhammuddesakathā. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Dighajinnakoliyaputta sutta. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Kalama sutta. B.E. 2461.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Lekhapatidā sutta. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Namassana gāthā. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Parabhava sutta.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Pavaragatha mānāvāda. B.E. 2462.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Sangahavattihū and Devatābali. B.E. 2463.
- Pussadeva. A sermon from the Subhā sutta.
- Rāja nitiśāstra. Pāli text with the Siamese version. B.E. 2463.
- Rāma III. A poem in praise of H.M. Rāma III. B.E. 2462.
- Rāma IV. A collection of letters by H.M. King Rāma IV. B.E. 2462.
- Rāma IV. On the style of royal letters. B.E. 2463.
- Rāma IV. Prologue for the Royal theatre. B.E. 2463.
- Rāma IV. Sermon on the life of Vessantara. B.E. 2463.
- Rāma V. A collection of moral stanzas composed by H.M. Rāma V and other members of the royal family. B.E. 2463.
- Rāma V. A treatise on ceremonial. B.E. 2463.
- Rāmāyana. Fragments of the Siamese Rāmāyana. B.E. 2461.
- The romance of Khun Ch'ang Khun Phēn, a poem for recitation, v. III. B.E. 2461.
- Royal proclamations conferring titles upon members of the royal family during the present reign. B.E. 2463.

Sāsanāyupakkhakathā, a sermon.

Sattāriyadhanakathā, a sermon.

A sermon on chastity. B.E. 2462.

Selasapāṇhā, pt. V-VI; tr. from the Pali into Siamese by the late Patriarch Pussadeva. B.E. 2461-62. 2 v.

Somdet Phra Vanarat. Culayuddhakāravamsa, Siamese chronicle . . . Pali text with the Siamese version. B.E. 2463.

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Amarakoṣa, a metrical dictionary of the Sanskrit language, with Tibetan version. Fasc. I-II. 1911-12.

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Ātmatattvaviveka, or, Banddhādhikāra, a refutation of Buddhist metaphysics by Udayanācārya. Fasc. II. 1914.

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Dharmahindu, a work on Jaina philosophy, by Haribhadra. Fasc. I. 1912.

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Mugdhabodha Vyākaraṇa, by Vopadeva. v. I, fasc. I-VI.

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- Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-parisuddhi, by Udayanāchārya. Fasc. I-V. 1911-18.
- Nyāya-vārttikam, a gloss on Vātsyāyana's commentary of the Nyāya aphorisms. Fasc. VII. 1914.
- The Padumāwati of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. Fasc. VI. 1911.
- Prajoākaramatī's commentary to the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Āntideva. Fasc. VI-VII. 1912-14.
- Prthivīrāja Vijaya, a Sanskrit epic with the commentary of Jonarāja. Fasc. I-II. 1914-18.
- Ravisiddhānta mañjarī, by Mathurānātha Śarmā. 1911.
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- Saduktikarṇāmrta, by Śrīdhara Dāsa. Fasc. I. 1912.
- Samarāñeca Kāhā, by Haribhadra. Fasc. IV-VII.
- Śiva-parīṇaya. Fasc. I-II. 1913-14.
- Smṛitiprakāśha, by Vasudeva Ratha. Fasc. I. 1912.
- Śrī Surisarvasvam, by Śrī Govinda Kavibhusana Samantaroy. Fasc. I-III. 1912-14.
- The Suryya Siddhanta. Fasc. II. 1911.
- The Tantravārttika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Fasc. IX-XV. 1911-18.
- Tattvacintāmaṇi Dīdhūti Prakāśa, by Bhavananda Siddhanta-vargisa. v. I fasc. IV-VI. 1911-12.
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- The Upamitibhāvaprapaṇcā Kathā of Siddhārṣi. Fasc. III, pt. 2, fasc. XIV. 1912-14.
- Vajjālaggaṇa, a Prakṛita poetical work on rhetoric with Sanskrit version. Fasc. I. 1914.
- The Vidyāna-pārijāta. v. II, fasc. V, v. III, fasc. I. 1911-12.
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- The Akṣurnāma of Abū-l-Faṣl, tr. by H. Beveridge. v. III, fasc. II-IV, VI, VIII, IX-X. 1911-18.
- 'Amal-i-Šālīh, or, Shāh Jahān Nāmah of Muḥammad Šālīh Karīmī. Fasc. I-III. 1912-18.
- The Fāna-nāma of Zabardast Khān. 1911.
- Farīdatu'l-Aṣṣ; a comprehensive index of persons, places, books, etc., referred to in the Yatīmatu'l-dahr, the famous anthology of Tha'ālibī. 1915.
- Gubrix, by Agha Muḥammad Kazim Shirāzi and R. F. Azoo. 1912.
- Ḥadīqatu'l-Ḥaḡīqat, or the enclosed garden of the truth. 1911.
- Ḥaṣṭ-i-Iqlīm, or, The geographical and biographical encyclopædia of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzi. Fasc. I. 1918.
- History of Shūstar. 1914.
- Kaṣṣ al-Ḥujub wal asṭār 'an Asmā' al-Kutub wal Asfār, or, The bibliography of Shī'a literature. Pt. 1, fasc. I-II. 1912-14.

- The Ma'asir-i-raḥim of Mullā 'Abd ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī. Pt. I, fasc. II-IV. 1911-13.
- Marhamu'l-'Ilālī'l-Mu'dilā, by al-Imām Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh Bin As'ad al-Yaḥḥī. Fasc. III. 1917.
- Memoirs of Shāh Tahmāsp. 1912.
- The Muntakhab-al-Labāb of Khāfi Khān, pt. III, fasc. III-IV. 1913.
- Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh, by 'Abdu-l-Qādir Ibn i Mulūk Shāh, known as al-Badā'ij. v. III, fasc. II-III. 1913-14.
- The odes of Sheikh Muṣliḥu-d-dīn Sa'di Shirāzi. Pt. I. 1919.
- Shāh-'Ālam Nāma. Fasc. I-II. 1912-14.

Bibliotheca Indica: Tibetan Series

- Minor Tibetan texts, I. 1919.
- Prajñā-pradīpā, a commentary on the Madhyamaka sūtra, by Bhāvaviveka. 1914.
- The story of Ti-med-kun-den, a Tibetan Nam-thar. 1912.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor J. A. Montgomery, Senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was accepted.

We have increased the size of last year's volume to 382 pages as against 352 pages for the previous year, and hope this year to make the volume 400 pages. We regret to report that the bill for last year's volume, despite strictest efforts at economy, was extravagantly large. We have changed printers, having given the work to the John C. Winston Company of Philadelphia, and we hope that in the matters of finance and expedition the new arrangements will be satisfactory. We take this opportunity to inform contributors that they will be held strictly to account for all expenses incurred for imperfect copy or for subsequent corrections. In this day of expensive printing it is a boon to the scholar to have his work printed gratuitously but he cannot expect the Society which gives him this opportunity to pay unnecessary costs.

A suggestion was made from the floor that the Editors take note of the desirability of having the date of issue of each part of the JOURNAL printed on its cover.

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee, as printed in the JOURNAL (40.361-2); it was accepted.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected corporate members of the Society; the list includes some elected at a later session:

- Mr. Marcus Aaron
 Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman
 Mr. L. A. Ault
 Rabbi Dr. Henry Barnaton
 Prof. F. C. Beazer
 Rabbi Louis Bernstein
 Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar
 Mr. Emanuel Bensberg
 Swami Bodhananda
 Rev. August M. Bolduc
 Mr. David A. Brown
 Mr. G. M. L. Brown
 Mr. Henry Harmon Chamberlin
 Prof. Ramaprasad Chandra
 Mr. Charles P. Coffin
 Prof. George H. Danton
 Prof. Israel Davidson
 Rev. Edward Slater Dunlap
 Rev. J. F. Edwards
 Rabbi Dr. H. G. Enelow
 Pres. Milton G. Evans
 Mr. George Albert Field
 Dr. Louis Finkelstein
 Rabbi Solomon Foster
 Mr. W. B. Frankenstein
 Mr. J. Walter Freiberg
 Dr. Harry Friedenwald
 Rev. P. B. Gibble
 Prof. William Creighton Graham
 Prof. Everts B. Greene
 Miss Lily Dexter Greene
 Prof. Léon Gry
 Rev. Alexander D. Hail
 Rev. Edward R. Hamme
 Rev. Charles W. Hepner
 Prof. William Bancroft Hill
 Rev. Dr. Charles T. Hock
 Mr. Albert D. Hutzler
 Rev. Dr. Moses Hyamson
 Mr. T. R. Hyde
 Mr. Harald Ingholt
 Mr. Franklin Plotinos Johnson
 Dr. Helen M. Johnson
 Mr. Nelson Trusler Johnson
 Mr. Charles Johnston
 Rev. Dr. Robert Johnston
 Mr. Felix Kahn
 Rabbi Dr. C. E. Hillel Kaurvar
 Prof. Elmer Louis Kayser
 Rev. James Leon Kelso
 Prof. Anis E. Khuri
 Prof. Taiken Kimura
 Rabbi Samuel Koch
 Pandit D. K. Laddu
 Miss M. Antonia Lamb
 Mr. Ambrose Lansing
 Mr. Simon Lazarus
 Rabbi David Lefkowitz
 Mr. Isidor S. Levitan
 Dr. Robert Cecil MacMahon
 Rev. Dr. Judah L. Magnes
 Dr. Jacob Mann
 Dr. Clarence A. Manning
 Prof. I. G. Matthews
 Rabbi Raphael Hai Melamed
 Rev. John Moneure
 Mr. Robert Mond
 Hon. Roland S. Morris
 Rev. Dr. Philip Stafford Moxom
 Sardar G. N. Mujamdar
 Mr. Adolph S. Ochs
 Mrs. Myer Oettinger
 Prof. Charles A. Owen
 Pres. Charles Thomas Paul
 Jal Dastar Curesji Pavry
 Prof. Marshall Livingston Perrio
 Mr. D. V. Potdar
 Rev. Dr. Sartell Prentice
 Rev. Dr. A. H. Pruessner
 Prof. Alexander C. Pundy
 Rev. Dr. Charles L. Pyatt
 Dr. V. V. Ramana-Sastrin
 Dr. Edward Robertson
 Prof. David M. Robinson
 Hon. Simon W. Rosendale
 Dr. Samuel Rothenberg
 Prof. Henry A. Sanders
 Mr. Gottlieb Schaenslin
 Mr. Adolph Schoenfeld
 Rabbi William B. Schwartz
 Prof. Helen M. Searles
 Mr. H. A. Seinsheimer
 Prof. W. A. Shelton
 Mr. Andrew R. Sheriff
 Rev. Wilbur M. Smith
 Rabbi Dr. Elias L. Solomon
 Mr. Herman Steinberg

Mr. Max Steinberg	Miss Isabella C. Wells
Mr. Horace Stern	Mr. O. V. Werner
Prof. Frederick Annes Stiff	Dr. Richard B. Wetherill
Dr. V. S. Sukthankar	Mr. Fred B. Wheeler
Rev. William Gordon Thompson	Rev. Dr. Wilbert W. White
Baron Dr. Gyoyu Tokiwai	Miss Ethel E. Whitney
Prof. Ram Prasad Tripathi	Miss Carolyn M. Wicker
Prof. Harold H. Tryon	Rabbi Johan B. Wise
Rabbi Jacob Turner	Mr. Unrai Wogihara
Rev. Dr. L. Leander Uhl	Prof. A. C. Woolner
Rev. John Van Ess	Mr. John M. Wulfin
Dr. J. Ph. Vogel	Miss Eleanor F. P. Yeaworth
Rev. Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J.	[Total: 124]
Mr. Felix M. Warburg	

Professor Jastrow for the Publication Committee reported that the times seemed inopportune for an attempt to secure a publication fund.

After discussion it was voted: that the Society recommend to the Board of Directors that the publication of Blake's Grammar of the Tagalog Language be undertaken.

It was also voted: to refer to the Board of Directors for consideration the matter of use of income from the Society's invested funds for publication.

The Committee on Coöperation with Foreign Oriental Societies reported on its activities.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary send the greetings of the Society to Professor B. L. Gildersleeve.

The President, Dr. Talcott Williams, delivered an address on 'The Caliphate.'

President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins University, extended a cordial welcome to the Society in a brief address: after which the first session was adjourned at 12.25 P. M.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order by President Williams at 2.30 P. M. on Tuesday afternoon. The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Miss RUTH NORRIS, of Johns Hopkins University: The Vedic *ṛkṣi*-deduction from a new angle.—Remarks by Prof. Bloomfield, Dr. Ogden, and the author of the paper.

Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, of Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, New York City: The Root *šē'al* and the Etymology of *šē'al*.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt.

This paper tries to prove that *šē'al* has also the meaning 'bid,' 'decree.' These connotations, which go back to an original meaning 'cut,' 'split,' make it probable that *šē'al* originally meant 'cleft,' 'ravine.'

President CYRUS ADLER, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia: A New Hebrew Press in America.—Remarks by Dr. Williams and Prof. Montgomery.

The object of this paper, besides giving certain information, is to point out the possibility of enlarging this Hebrew Press into a general Oriental press.

Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) A New Method of Syntactical Arrangement; (b) The Present Status of Philippine Linguistic Studies.

(a) There are two familiar methods of syntactical arrangement; the formal, in which the use of forms is explained, and the logical, in which various expressions for the same idea are grouped together. A third method of arrangement is the combinatory, where the combinations of each part of speech with all possible modifying ideas are discussed. This is the most important of the three, as it shows how the combinations of which speech consists are actually made. In a good syntax, all the syntactical material of a language should be arranged separately according to both combinatory and formal methods, with occasional shifts in both parts to the logical point of view.

(b) There are between forty and fifty Philippine languages. Up to the time of the Spanish-American War, in 1898, the seven principal languages, Tagalog, Bisaya, Iloko, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Bikol, and Ibanag, and about a dozen of the lesser known tongues had been more or less thoroughly treated, though the work was largely unscientific and incomplete. Since that time the work already done has been broadened and deepened, one new language, Bontok Igorot, has received a comparatively thorough treatment, and the foundations of a Comparative Philippine Grammar have been laid.

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: (a) The Archaic Inscription in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. 1^{bis}; (b) Statement on the Mesopotamian School of Archaeology in Baghdad.

Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, of Johns Hopkins University: The Ostrich in Job 39, 13-18.—Remarks by Professors Justrow and Haupt.

V. 18, followed by v. 17, should stand after v. 13 where we must read *kānāf rannānā* (AJSL 32, 143; ZA 33, 63) *nē'lāmā, 6-bāšed eḥd yē-nōqā*; v. 18^a: *Bē-ḥ' bam-meyōṣ taur'* = Arab. *tuari'* (ZA 33, 62) or *tu'arri* (Franz Delitzsch, *Job* 514, below). *Kī* in v. 17 is concessive, while in v. 14 it is due to vertical dittography; also the *ba* before *lāmā*, at the end of v. 17, is dittography. In v. 14^b read *'ālē* and *lhammāmēn* = S *mīhammāmā lāhēn*; in v. 15: *yē-tikkāh* and *raglī* (WF 217) *ḡāwēhā*; in v. 16: *tuḡiḥ, kē-lō-lāh, lāriq* = *lō-hariq*, and *bal-tiḥbāḡ* (she fears not to frustrate her labor).

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: On the Doubling of Consonants in the Seam of certain Pāli Compounds, such as *anuddayā*, *paṭikkāla*. (To be printed in the JOURNAL.)—Remarks by Dr. Michelson, Dr. Ogden, and the author of the paper.

The secondary doubling of the consonant in such cases may be due to proportional analogy with other cases in which the second member began in Sanskrit with two consonants, which were simplified to one in Pāli except in compounds, but in compounds appeared with double consonants; e. g., *kama* (Skt. *krāma*): *anukkama* (Skt. *anukrāma*) = *dayā*: *anu(d)dayā*.

Professor AARON EMER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Phonetic Value of several of the Egyptian Alphabetic Signs and their Correspondence Etymologically in the other Semitic Languages; (b) Metathesis in Old Egyptian.—Remarks by Dr. Williams, Professors Jastrow and Haupt, and the author.

(a) The 'snake' represents the sound of palatalized *g*. It should be transliterated by *ḡ*. Etymologically it usually corresponds to Semitic *ḡimel* and *ḡāḡ* (c, ḡ and ḡ). The pronunciation of the *ḡāḡ* in Egyptian approximated that of the *ḡimel* when palatalized. Occasionally the 'snake' represents a more original *ḡ* (which was palatalized in Egyptian) or 'ajin. In a number of old Egyptian words *d* represents a more original *ḡ*. Parallels in Arabic dialects. The sign usually transliterated by *ḡ* represents the sound of palatalized *k*, and should be transliterated by *ḡ*. At first palatalization of *k* took place only in proximity to an *i*-vowel, but later it was extended to other cases. Parallels in Arabic dialects, etc.

(b) Metathesis is more common in Egyptian than in any of the other Semitic languages. In most cases it is due to the presence in the stem of one or more of the following consonants: *l*, *n*, *r*, *b*, *ḡ*, and sibilants. Examples: *ḡnl*, nose < *ḡnl* (partial assimilation) < *ḡnm* = Heb. *ḡōḡm*, Ass. *ḡuḡmnu*, Arab. *ḡuḡm*, *ḡw*, granary = Arab. *ḡuḡl*, heap of grain; *ḡpd*, thigh = Arab. *ḡahḡd*; *ḡḡt*, tooth (Copt. *naḡḡe*) connected with Arab. *naḡḡ*, sharp, pointed; *ḡamu*, rain = Arab. *ḡam*; etc.

Rev. JOHN MONCURE, of Johns Hopkins University: Compensation of Geminization by Insertion of Nasals.

Compensation of geminization by insertion of nasals is due to a reaction against assimilation of antedental *n*. When this reaction set in, an *n* (or, before *b*, an *m*) was erroneously inserted in some derivatives of stems *medhac geminativae* (Assyr. *zumbu*, fly, for *zubbu*) or in cases where the geminization was due to progressive assimilation (Assyr. *ḡumbu*, finger = *ḡubbu* = *ḡub'u*) or to the stress on the preceding vowel (Assyr. *imandad*, he measures = *imandad* = *imandad*). Cf. Haupt, *Parim*, p. 23, l. 21; *JHUC*, No. 316, p. 12.

Dr. THREMAN MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.: Some Middle Indic Notes.—Remarks by Prof. Edgerton and the author.

V. S. Sukthankar, *JAOS*, 40, 253, entirely overlooks the fact that thirteen years ago I pointed out that *Māgaḡhi aḡake* occurs a few times in the Devanāgarī redaction of the *Śakuntalā*.—Sārasvatī *atthidā* (with

dental *th*) is additional proof that *Shābhāgarhi uthanam* is a genuine native word, and not a 'Māgadhism.'—*Mārkapleya* at IX. 63 gives an anomalous form for the loc. sing. in Śaurasenī.

MR. WILFRED H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: Aloes.—Remarks by Professors Jackson and Edgerton.

This paper is an inquiry into the migration of a trade-name from a drug to an incense, both used in ceremonial purification, similar in appearance and in manner of preparation for the market; together with some account of the information, wise and otherwise, given concerning them in ancient writings.

DR. DAVID I. MACIIT, of the Department of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University: A Pharmacognostic and Pharmacological Study of Biblical Incense.

The author has made an inquiry into the botanical and pharmacognostic characteristics of the various ingredients of Biblical incense and has collected pictures and specimens of a number of the same. Following this attempt at identification of the constituents, two series of original experiments were made. In one research the fumes of a number of gum-resins, etc., were examined with respect to their antiseptic properties. In another experimental investigation an inquiry was made into the possibility of narcotic or sedative action of such fumes. The results of these investigations have led to data which will be of interest not only to the pharmacologist, but also to the student of the Bible.

The session adjourned at 5.40 p. m.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order by President Williams on Wednesday morning at 9.37 o'clock at Goucher College. The reading of papers was immediately begun:

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, of New York City: The Carudatta and the *Mrechakatika*: their mutual relationship. [To be printed in the JOURNAL].—Remarks by Prof. Edgerton and Dr. Michelson.

Professor MARY I. HUSSEY, of Mt. Holyoke College: Notes on an Unpublished Ritual Tablet in the Harvard Semitic Museum.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow and Dr. Rosenau.

Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia: The Text of Sirach 4, 19.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt.

In addition to the obvious correction in verse 19a, delete 19cd, and read in 19b *yāhiqurūhū beqad lūdrō*.

DR. W. NORMAN BROWN, of Johns Hopkins University: Hindu Stories in American Negro Folklore.

About sixty of the stories reported by collectors of American Negro folk-tales are paralleled in Indian fiction. These are of three sorts:

(1) Those which have traveled from India to America either by way of Europe or by way of Africa. The stories first started on their long journeys perhaps before the time of Solomon. (2) Those which have traveled from Africa to both India and America. These are very few. (3) Those which both India and the Negroes have drawn from the universal fiction of the world. The place of origin of the tales of this last class cannot be determined. Illustrations of all three types of tales.

Professor GEORGE H. DANTON, of Tsing Hua College, Peking, and New York University: A Preliminary Announcement of a Study of Chinese Village Names.—Remarks by Prof. Jackson and Dr. Williams.

The announcement contemplates no more than a statement of the problem and of the method used. The object of the study is twofold: first, to examine the Chinese words for village and to work out a study in generalization of terms. A crystallization process is observable. Secondly, an attempt will be made to examine into the bases of Chinese imagination as evinced by the variety and connotations of the terms used for village. The material is mainly from Chihli Province, but there is an ample check-list from the other sections of China.

Mrs. VIRGINIA SAUNDERS, of New York City: Some Allusions to Magic in the Arthashastra. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

This paper deals with some allusions to magic in Arthashastra, bk. 4, ch. 3; bk. 14, chs. 1-4, as phases of Hindu magic in general.

Mr. LEON DOMINIAN, of Washington, D. C.: The People of Justinian's Capital.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow and Dr. Williams.

An inquiry into the life of the contemporaries of Justinian in Byzantium must take into account the background provided by the capital's former history and its location on the borderland of two continents. Within the city the consolidation of the policies inaugurated by Constantine was well advanced. Asiatic influence assumed growing importance. This and other influences were reflected in the different levels of Byzantine society. The masses of the plain people exerted considerable power at court. Among leaders progressive thought was not unusual although constantly checked by convention.

Professor RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: The Goucher College Babylonian Collection.

In 1918 Goucher College secured a collection of nearly a thousand Babylonian tablets, most of which belong to the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. As a part of the temple archives of Erech, they present additional data for the reconstruction of the industrial, social and religious life of that ancient city, and also furnish valuable lexicographical material.

Dr. JACOB MANN, of the Baltimore Hebrew College: On some Early Karaite Bible Commentaries.—Remarks by Prof. Margolia.

Among the MSS. of the Cairo Genizah, now in Cambridge and London, I have found several fragments of Bible commentaries in Hebrew by early Karaite writers, probably of the ninth century. The fragments extend to portions of Genesis, Leviticus, Hosea, Joel, Ecclesiastes, and

Daniel, and are a welcome addition to our very scanty knowledge of early Kärnite Bible exegesis. Of the several topics dealt with in these commentaries there should be singled out the Biblical conception of angels, whom one author, probably identical with Daniel b. Moses al-Kāfīmī, deprives of any influence. This was in opposition to the theory of an Intermediary, akin to Philo's Logos, introduced into Käratism by Benjamin al-Nahawendi.

DR. WILLIAM ROSENAU, of Johns Hopkins University: Harel and Ha-ariel in Ezek. 43, 15.—Remarks by Professors Haupt, Morgenstern, Margolis, and Montgomery.

REV. DR. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: Notes on Theodore bar Khoni's Syriac Account of Manichaeism.

This paper discusses several of the difficult passages in Theodore bar Khoni's Syriac account of Manichaeism and proposes a somewhat different explanation of them from those previously suggested. Among these *crux*-passages in the edition of the text (with French translation) by H. Pognon, Paris, 1898, cf. also the French revision by E. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, Brussels, 1908, are: (1) Pognon, p. 129 (189), cf. Cumont, p. 29, the passage containing *apuni*; (2) Pognon, p. 129 (190), cf. Cumont, p. 29, the simile *raikh mēnātha blawsha*; also (3) Pognon, p. 128 (187), cf. Cumont, p. 29, *bin Rabba*.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Directors recommended the election of Père M.-J. Lagrange of Jerusalem as an Honorary Member of the Society: the report was accepted and Père Lagrange was duly elected.

It was also reported that the Directors recommended the election of the following to be Honorary Associates: Charles R. Crane, Otis A. Glazebrook, Frank J. Goodnow, Henry Morgenthau, Paul S. Reinsch, and William Howard Taft: this report was accepted and they were duly elected.

Prof. Jastrow for the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1921 reported nominations for the several offices as follows:

President—Rev. Dr. James B. Nies, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents—Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University; Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell University; Prof. A. T. Olmstead, of the University of Illinois.

Corresponding Secretary—Dr. Charles J. Ogden, of New York City.

Recording Secretary—Prof. LeRoy C. Barret, of Trinity College.

Treasurer—Prof. Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Librarian—Prof. Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Editors of the Journal—Prof. James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Franklin Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Directors, term expiring 1924—Prof. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College; Prof. Julian Morgenstern, of the Hebrew Union College; Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

The session adjourned at 12:45 p. m.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at Goucher College on Wednesday at 3 p. m. The reading of papers was immediately begun:

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Statement on the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: The Language of the Hittites. (Printed in the Journal, 41, 195 ff.)—Remarks by Prof. Jackson.

Professor MORRIS JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania: Veiling in Ancient Assyria.—Remarks by Prof. Morgenstern and the author.

Mrs. EDITH P. DICKINS, of Washington, D. C.: Rabi'a, a Modern Saint of the Eighth Century.—Remarks by Prof. Jackson.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Rainbow after the Deluge; (b) The Fall of Samaria.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow and the author of the paper.

(a) NIM-MEŠ in L 164 of the Flood-tablet means *muscaria* (Arab. *mudabb*). When Istar sees the gods gather around the offerer like a swarm of flies (because there had been no offerings during the Flood; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 248) she is so incensed that she takes the great fly-brushes of her father Anu to drive away the gods. Fly-brushes are ancient Oriental symbols of sovereignty. Anu is the father and king of the gods (like Zeus). Both in Assyria and Egypt kings were attended by flappers with large fly-brushes. In processions at certain festivals attendants on the Pope still carry flabella. KB 5, 47* Winckler mistook NIM, fly, for RAN, bow (cf. KAT³ 517, l. 7). A Jewish priest in Babylonia (c. 500 B. C.) may have made the same mistake, and the rainbow after the Deluge in Gen. 9, 13 (P) may be due to this misunderstanding (cf. also KB 6, 32, 5; ATA³ 143).

(b) The prediction of the fall of Samaria (721 a. c.) in Am. 3, 3-4, 3, which should be preceded by 1, 2, was composed about 737; the fall of Arpad (the Galilean stronghold Irbid or Arbela, which appears in the

OT also as Riblah and Beth-Arbel) in 740 and the deportation (2 K. 15, 29) of the Galileans in 738 opened Amos' eyes, so that he foresaw the fall of Samaria and the deportation of Israel. This poem of the Israelitish gardener (who lived in Judah after he had been banished from the Northern Kingdom about 743) consists of three sections, each comprising two triplets with 3 + 2 beats (*JBL* 35, 287; *ZDMG* 69, 170, 1. 35; *AJSL* 27, 29, n. 37; *Monist* 29, 299, n. 18).

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: Studies in Manichaeism.

The paper presents some of the results of a study of the fragments of Manichaean manuscripts discovered in Chinese Turkistan, as supplementing the previously available sources of our knowledge of Manichaeism. Emphasis is laid on the Zoroastrian elements in the religion of Mani, and an interpretation is given of some of the fragments that relate to the life of this religious teacher of the third century A. D.

Professor ROBERT E. HUME, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City: A Presentation of a New Translation of the Principal Upanishads.

I. The fascination of the work, continued through a period of 255 years, of translating the Upanishads. Chronological lists of translations into different non-Indian languages: Persian, Latin, English, German, French, Italian, Swedish. II. Striking estimates by non-Hindus of the value of the Upanishads: (a) favorable; (b) unfavorable. III. Striking estimates by Hindus of the value of the Upanishads: (a) favorable; (b) unfavorable. IV. An original estimate of the ethical value of the Upanishads on the basis of twelve passages, controverting Deussen's position in the section on 'Die Ethik der Upanishads' in his '*Die Philosophie der Upanishads*.'

Professor JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: The Seven Fifties, a Study of the Ancient Canaanite Agricultural Calendar. —Remarks by Prof. Montgomery and Dr. Williams.

In certain districts of Palestine the peasants divide the year, beginning with Easter, into seven periods of approximately fifty days each, called 'The Seven Fifties'. Each period begins with a religious festival. A similar practice is observed by the Samaritans and in the Syrian Church. Other instances of the division of time into fifty-day periods are found in different parts of the Semitic world, usually connected with the observance of important festivals. This practice existed also in ancient Israel. It is undoubtedly of pre-Israelite origin, and in all likelihood constituted the practical religious and economic calendar system of the ancient Canaanites, and perhaps also of other ancient agricultural Semites.

Professor NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: Daniel in the Lions' Den and Androcles in the Arena.

The Old Greek Version, for which Theodotion's was substituted, reveals an older form of the story than the present Aramaic text, and is free from many of the difficulties of the latter. When the translation was made, Daniel was not spied upon and accused before the king by a vast crowd of officials, but only the two fellow-presidents were spies

and accusers, and only they and their families were slain by the lions. The decree did not forbid a petition of any god or man save the king only; it seems to have prohibited the worship of any god without the king's permission. There was no reference to the unchanging law of the Medes and Persians. The story of Androcles, as told by Aulus Gellius in his *Noctes Atticæ*, appears to go back to Jewish sources. It is possible that both of these stories, in spite of their legendary character, to some extent reflect observations of the actual habits of lions.

Professor GEORGE S. DUNCAN, of the American University and the Y. M. C. A. School of Religion, Washington: Spittle in the Oldest Egyptian Texts.

In the oldest hieroglyphic inscriptions in tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties at Sakkara, spittle plays an important role. Spittle on the face expels the demon of evil. It produces ceremonial purification. It heals wounds. As a preventive of sickness spittle was applied. It was also used to keep people from becoming aged. There appears to be, behind all this usage, the idea that the evil spirit producing the ill must be banished. One may compare the use of spittle by Jesus in curing the deaf, dumb, and blind. Pliny, Suetonius, and Tacitus speak of the medicinal value of human saliva.

The session adjourned at 5.40 P. M.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order by the President, Dr. Williams, at Johns Hopkins University on Thursday at 9.35 A. M.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Directors had voted to accept the invitation of the Middle West Branch of the Society for a joint meeting to be held at Chicago during Easter Week of 1922. The report was accepted.

A brief report was received from the delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend Article IV of the Constitution so as to read:

ARTICLE IV. 1. Honorary members and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same manner as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend By-Law VIII so as to read:

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

A communication from Sir George Grierson was presented by the Corresponding Secretary and referred to the Editors of the Journal as a committee with power to add to their committee.

At ten o'clock the Society paid silent tribute to the memory of Cardinal Gibbons lately deceased.

The presentation of papers was resumed:

Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NILES, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: Proof that *Bashishdagan* is a Place-name.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow.

Rev. P. B. GIBBLE, of Johns Hopkins University: Mistranslated Passages in Job.—Remarks by Professors Jastrow, Haupt, and Ember.

The phrase mistranslated *skin for skin* (2:4) means lit. *a skin in separation from a skin*, i. e., *two separate skins*; Job is protected by two sheepskin coats (DB 1, 625). Even if he has lost his outer coat, i. e., his wealth and his children, he has still his inner coat, his health and his wife, so that he may have children again, and he may recover his wealth. *Uaigaddêem* (1, 5) means *he made them clean themselves* (JBL 38, 144). *Lê-hiiggêb 'al jahê* (1, 6) signifies *to place themselves over against JHVH*, to line up opposite Him (JBL 32, 112, 121). The name Job is connected with Arab. *ijâb*, return, and denotes *a man who came back* (32, 10), i. e., regained his former condition (SGI 99; SG § 177, b). Uz is the region of Antioch; *al-âḡl*, the Orontes, denotes the *Uzain* (river). For *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* (1, 15, 17) we must read *bôd*, raiders, and *pârlâm*, riders (JBL 38, 157; 31, 67).

Miss ELEANOR F. F. YEAWORTH, of Johns Hopkins University: The Preformatives of the Semitic Imperfect.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt.

Arab. *naḡul* is conformed to *taḡul*; whereas Heb. *tiḡol* is influenced by *naḡol* = *nai-ḡul*; Assyr. *nai*, we = *naḡni* = *nâni* = *naḡna* = *na'na*, a reduplication of *ana*, I, which is shortened from *undû* (BA 1, 17). *H* is often secondary (ZA 33, 63, below). In *aḡul* this *ana* is reduced to *a*, just as the prepositions *ana* and *ina* appear as prothetic aleph; cf. Talmud, *abbâb*, at the door = *ina bôbi* (JSOR 1, 41). The preformatives of the third person were originally *u* and *i*; *i* became *ju*, and

u, under the influence of *ja*: *ja* (OLZ 12, 212). The generic differentiation of *hū*, *hī* is secondary; cf. Aram. *abāhi*, his father; *jōmēh*, his day = *jōmahī* (contrast VG 303, γ, 310, n. 1; 312: G).

MR. WALTER T. SWINGLE, of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C.: (a) The Multindex System for Finding Chinese Characters and its Uses; (b) Notes on the Gazetteers and other Geographical Works in the Library of Congress Chinese Collection.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt, Dr. Williams and the author of the paper.

(a) The most pressing need of China today is for an efficient and accurate system of indexing Chinese characters. Only men with superb memories could pass the old style examinations. They did not need indexes. Under the modern educational system indexes became indispensable. A new system has been worked out in the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture and in the Library of Congress which, it is believed, offers an easy and certain method of indexing Chinese characters. Examples of this method are shown.

(b) A Chinese district corresponds roughly to the county of America but has four times the population; a prefecture of China corresponds roughly to a congressional district, but has four times the population; and a Chinese province corresponds roughly to a state, but has about eight times the population. Each of these territorial units has its official gazetteer, usually reprinted and even rewritten every 50 or 75 years. These gazetteers are replete with information of great interest to the geographer, naturalist, historian, and sociologist. The Library of Congress has brought together the largest collection of these works to be found outside of China.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Gleanings from the Pañcatantra.

Illustrations of the important results, text-critical and hermeneutic, which careful comparative study of the different versions of the Pañcatantra produces.

It was voted to refer the matter of the publication of Professor Edgerton's reconstruction of the Pañcatantra to the Publication Committee with the recommendation that the publication be undertaken.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On a Pre-Vedic Form in Pāli and Prākṛit.—Remarks by Prof. Jackson, Dr. Ogden, and the author of the paper.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Egyptian Boomerangs; (b) The Names of Mount Hermon.

(a) In ancient Egypt wild birds were brought down with the throw-stick or taken in a clap-net. Some of the throw-sticks were sickle-shaped, like the Australian boomerangs, so that they resembled a bow; but Heb. *mōqēl*, throw-stick, is not connected with *qōl*, bow: it must

be derived from *ṣiqāḥ* = *naqāḥ*, to strike. Syr. *ṣifāḥā* (Luke 21, 35) is derived from a causative of Heb. *paḥ*, clap-net, with *ṣ* for *s* owing to *ḥ*. Am. 3, 5^b means: Does a clap-net fly up from the ground without catching a catch (*laṣṣūḥ*)? This is preceded by the gloss, or variant, Does a bird ever fall to the ground without a throw-stick?

(b) Cuneiform *Sīrān* = *Sīrōn* (Deut. 3, 9) suggests that the *i* should stand before the *r*, and that the final *n* is due to dissimilation. *Sīrōn* (Deut. 4, 48) may represent an Egyptian form of the name, with *i* instead of *r* (*ÄZ* 51, 111, No. 9). Also *Sēnir* (= *Tal'at Māṣā*, *BL* 51) may be dissimilation for *Sīr*, so that both *Sēnir* and *Sī(r)ōn* may be connected with *šāraru*, to shine (*JBL* 36, 141). All three names mean *shiny*, i. e., white, snowy mountain (cf. *Montblanc*).

Dr. W. NORMAN BROWN, of Johns Hopkins University: The Wonderful Tar-Baby Story: its place of origin.

The 'tar-baby' motif appears seven times in Hindu fiction. This has led folklorists since the time of Joseph Jacobs to assume that India is the home of that story, but the view needs re-examination. The theme has never taken hold of the Hindu mind; there are no evidences that the Hindus have carried it with them to China, Siam, Cambodia, and the lower Malay Peninsula, or that they have given it to the Semitic world. On the contrary it is the grand theme of Negro fiction, and has been carried by them wherever they have gone. It is likely that the Negroes originated the motif and took it to India, first in very early times and again in modern times.

Professor AARON EMERY, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The J. T. Dennis Collection of Egyptian Antiquities; (b) The Etymologies of Hebrew *šām*, 'father-in-law,' and of Egyptian 'šd', 'month.'

(a) Through the death of the late Mr. James Teackle Dennis the Johns Hopkins University has recently come into possession of a great deal of Egyptian material. In the collection there are about 125 scarabaei of different sizes and materials, some with cartouches. Among other objects we may mention: Several fine necklaces of the 18th and 19th dynasties; several pre-historic slate-palettes; a number of pre-historic jars found at Abydos; alabaster offering jars; diorite dish; head-support; bronze articles found at Thebes; arrows (11th dyn.); ushebtis; toys, etc.

(b) The original meaning of *šām* was kinsman, blood-relation. It is connected with Arab. *ḥammāt*, kinsmen, relatives, family, and *ḥamīm*, kin, relative, from the stem *ḥawwā*, be hot. Semantic development: be hot, glow, ardent, related. Number of parallels for the change of meaning may be cited. Arab. *naṣīb* denoted originally blood-relation but came to be used for relation by marriage (brother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law). Cf. *ḥār*, hot, burning, and *ḥār*, relation by marriage: son-in-law, brother-in-law. Egyptian 'šd', month, meant originally moon. It is connected with the Semitic stem 'bd, to wander.

Dr. Talcott Williams made some informal remarks, based on his personal observations, regarding the veiling of women in the Near East.

The President announced the formal presentation by title of the following papers:

DR. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of New York City: Recurrent and Parallel Passages in the Principal Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gītā.

DR. JULIUS J. PRICE, of Plainfield, N. J.: Medicine in the Talmud.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

On Nominations for 1922—Prof. Jackson, Prof. Allen, and Mr. Dominian.

Auditors for 1922—Prof. F. W. Williams and Prof. Torrey.

On Arrangements for 1922—Prof. Breasted, Prof. Allen, Prof. Price, Prof. Luckenbill, Dr. Laufer, and the Corresponding Secretary.

On motion of Prof. Jastrow the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the American Oriental Society be extended to the President and the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University for welcoming the Society in the Civil Engineering Building during the sessions on Tuesday and Thursday, and for entertaining the members at luncheon on Tuesday; likewise to the President and the Trustees of Goucher College both for hospitably placing their buildings at the disposal of the Society during the Wednesday sessions and for the luncheon tendered to the members on that day. The Society wishes also to record its sincere appreciation of the offer made by the Rector and the Faculty of the Catholic University of America to welcome the members on Thursday in Washington, an offer which, through the sad coincidence on that day of the funeral of his late Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, became impossible of fulfillment, to our deep regret. Finally, the members of the Society would express their heartiest thanks to the local members, and especially to the efficient Committee of Arrangements, under the skilled leadership of the Chairman, Professor Haupt, for their hospitality extended on Tuesday evening at the dinner and informal gathering at the Johns Hopkins Club and for their unfailing attention to the comfort and convenience of the members throughout the meeting.

The Society adjourned at 12.43 P. M. to meet in Chicago in 1922.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS FIFTH MEETING AT MADISON, WIS., FEBRUARY 25-26, 1921

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch was held at Madison, Wisconsin, February 25-26, 1921, as guests of the University of Wisconsin. The local committee, consisting of Professors E. H. Byrne, F. T. Kelly, A. G. Laird, G. Showerman, M. S. Slaughter, R. H. Whitbeck, with Professor L. B. Wolfenson as chairman, provided generously for the comfort and entertainment of the members. Through their efforts, practically all of the visiting members were assigned to rooms at the University or the Madison Club, and all meals were taken in common at the former. On Friday evening, Professor Byrne entertained the members at a smoker at his house and on Saturday noon the local members gave the visiting members a luncheon at the Madison Club. At these, the members met some of the local faculty who were most nearly interested in our work. In the absence of President Birge, Dean Sellery gave us a cordial welcome.

The members present were Allen, Breasted, Bull, Byrne, Edgerton (W. F.), Fuller, Kelly, Leavitt, Luckenbill, Lybyer, Morgenstern, Olmstead, Price, Rostovtzeff, Waterman, Wolfenson, Ylvisaker. At the business session, the retiring secretary-treasurer made his last formal report, pointing out that the branch had steadily grown each year, even during the war, until today it had 116 members in its territory. The nominating committee, consisting of Messrs. Byrne, Luckenbill, and Waterman, reported the following who were unanimously chosen: President, Professor A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois; Vice-President, Professor F. C. Eiselen, Northwestern University; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. T. George Allen, University of Chicago; Executive Committee, Professor A. H. Lybyer, University of Illinois; Dr. Berthold Laufer, Field Museum. Professor Breasted presented an invitation from the University of Chicago, the Field Museum, and the Art Institute, to hold the 1922 meeting in Chicago. On motion

of Professor Morgenstern, the Middle West Branch accepted the invitation and at the same time invited the parent organization to meet with it on this occasion. On motion of Professor Price, the Branch expressed its heartiest thanks to the University of Wisconsin and the local committee for the excellent arrangements, to the local members, Messrs. Byrne, Kelly, and Wolfenson, for the luncheon at the Madison Club, and to Professor Byrne for the smoker held at his house.

Opportunity for informal discussion has always been given at the Middle West Branch meetings, and at Madison two such discussion-groups were formed. After the formal meeting of Friday afternoon, the members adjourned to the University Club, where Professor Rostovtzeff, formerly of the University of Petrograd and now of the University of Wisconsin, presented the chief needs of students of the classical land system which might be supplied by Orientalists. The great question, he believed, was as to the tenure of the land, whether it was held virtually in fee simple, or whether title was vested in the king. Professor Breasted pointed out that the conditions in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt could be traced back much earlier, but the material was scanty. Professor Morgenstern pointed out the Biblical parallels and the light which might be gained from a study of the later Jewish writings. Professors Luckenbill, Price, and Olmstead all discussed the land system in the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, with the general consensus that private ownership appears early and continues constant, although large tracts did belong to the royal domain, and although conditions closely analogous to medieval serfdom were found outside the estates belonging to the citizens of 'free cities' with chartered rights.

A more formal symposium on the Unity of Early History was held Saturday morning. Professor J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, opened the discussion of the general problem.

Professor M. Rostovtzeff discussed the Unity of Ancient Culture in the Copper Age, especially as shown in the pottery and animal style in the neolithic and copper periods.

Close resemblances in the style of pottery and decorations and in plastic reproductions of animals, etc., found in prehistoric remains all over the Near East—in Elam, Turkestan, Baluchistan, and the Caucasus, and as far west and north as the lower Danube and Dniepr—point to a common cultural origin. Yet there are marked differences. E.g. in the east, geometric patterns like the spiral and meander evolved out of

animal motives, while in the west the former precede the latter chronologically. The modes of burial in the two regions are also different: in the east, individual graves; in the west, places that are half sepulchres, half temples.

The discussion was closed by a brief presentation of Babylonian and Assyrian Influences in the Ancient World by Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois.

In the same group might well be placed the Presidential Address, *The Four Quadrants of Asia*, by Professor A. H. Lybyer, of the University of Illinois.

It is helpful in approaching Asiatic History to bear in mind the obvious geographical subdivision of the continent. Thus many relationships become clearer, and aid is given toward grasping the unity of the whole, which is otherwise in danger of being obscured by the vastness and complexity of the subject. Thus, too, the relations between the fields of different Orientalists become easier of definition.

Starting from the Pamirs as a center, four mountain ranges radiate to the northeast, southeast, south, and west; the Tian Shan, Altai, Yablonai, and Stanovoi mountains, with the height of land which continues on to the East Cape; the Himalaya mountains and the ridges down the Malay Peninsula to Singapore; the Suleiman Mountains to Karachi; and the Hindu Kush as far as the Caspian Sea. Thus Asia is divided into East, South, West, and North Quadrants. The last is largest, approaching twice the size of the United States; the east quadrant is one and a half times, the west quadrant nine tenths, the south quadrant one half the size of the United States.

The mountains vary in effectiveness as barriers. Those between the east and the south quadrants are approximately impassable; each of the others contains a number of good passes. The areas in each quadrant are further subdivided; in the east, China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, Tibet; in the south, the plains of North India, the mountain district, and the Deccan; in the west, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Anatolia; in the north, Russian Turkestan and Siberia. In each case, the subdivision first named was apparently the first to develop a civilization which exercised profound influence over its whole quadrant.

With these fundamental subdivisions in mind, every aspect of Asiatic studies can be located and related to the others, while many old problems are advanced toward solution and many new ones are suggested. Archaeology has made a good beginning only in the western quadrant, and may well give more attention to the others. Anthropology is conditioned by the movements of mankind within and between the quadrants. Languages and the systems of writing, the domestic and the fine arts, folk-lore, scientific knowledge, and philosophy, were all modified in their extension and influence by this fundamental geographical basis. The

history of civilization observes that very diverse systems appeared in the several quadrants. The whole east quadrant had a special quality which may be called Chinese; the south is as clearly Hindu; the west, apparently more diverse in many ways, still as a whole forms in its ancient phase the background of European civilization. The north was the least distinct in the past since much of it was a thinly settled waste; still, Central Asia may have played a greater part than is now proved, as may be revealed in the future by thorough archaeological study of wonderful sites like Merv and Samarkand.

Great religions are related to the quadrants: Confucianism grew up in the east; Hinduism in the south threw off Buddhism which disappeared there but travelled around the Pamirs and across the east quadrant to Japan; the west developed Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and the latter has come near to prevailing there of late; the north has no such claim to originality, unless it should appear that the fundamental religion of the Indo-European peoples developed there.

Historically, the entire story can be given the correct interpretation by remembering the fact of the quadrants. Consider the advances toward and the retreats from political unity in each quadrant; the west quadrant was united under the Persians, under the Macedonians (except Arabia), and under the Saracens (except Asia Minor); the east quadrant, save for some outlying portions, was united as China at several different periods; the south was nearly unified under the Moguls and completely under the English. The north was held for a short time by the Mongols, and again by the Russians. Only one empire, that of the Mongols, has come near to uniting all Asia. It held the east, north, and most of the west quadrant, and on two sides entered the south quadrant for a slight distance.

At the present time, the imperial rule of Britain and Russia sways completely the south and north quadrants, with some tendency to impinge through the mountain barriers upon the other two quadrants. But Britain is endeavoring to retain India within her empire by granting extreme concessions to Hindu nationalism. In the east and west local nationalism is strong. Japan and China no longer seem destined to be ruled from Europe; the ambitions of Russia, Britain, France, and Italy to partition the west quadrant bid fair to fail before the patriotism of Turks, Arabs, and Persians.

General also in its nature was the paper by Professor R. H. Whitbeck of the University of Wisconsin on the Influence of Geographical Environment upon Religious Beliefs.

Influence of geographical environment on the religion of a primitive people is shown in various ways. First, and often most markedly, in the personification of benevolent or malevolent powers of nature which prominently affect the people. Second, in different conceptions of happiness projected into the future life (heaven is warm and hell cold in Norse mythology; the reverse is true in southern climates). Third, in religious phraseology, especially in metaphors drawn from natural surroundings.

Rev. J. Astrup, of Natal, South Africa, presented an interesting account of the ruins of Rhodesia, aqueducts, terraced slopes, gold mines, and buildings. More detailed descriptions were given of the well-known ruins of Zimbabwe, and an attempt was made to connect them with more northern civilizations.

The question of 'Boats' or 'Towns' on Predynastic Egyptian Pottery was discussed by Mr. W. F. Edgerton of the University of Chicago.

Certain paintings on 'decorated' pottery of the so-called Naqada type, were recognized by their first discoverers as boats. The majority of scholars have continued to regard them as boats; but a minority have tried to prove that they represent towns or other enclosures on land. Several details of boat construction can be traced from the earliest known picture of a boat, thru the disputed Naqada paintings and later predynastic boats, down into dynastic times. The curious break in the middle of the bank of oars, and all the other details which have led some scholars to deny that the Naqada paintings represent boats, have their counterparts in other pictures which are admitted to represent boats. This systematic comparison of details with undoubted pictures of boats, therefore, shows that the objects painted on the Naqada vases must also be boats.

Dr. T. George Allen of the University of Chicago told the Story of an Egyptian Politician.

A squeeze brought back from Egypt by the 1919-20 expedition of the University of Chicago adds a new historical text to the few now known from the disturbed period between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms. The stele represented belonged to a Southern general and Chief of Interpreters named Dmy, who was evidently an expert politician. For he states that he got on with 'any general who went down (stream)'; that he made an expedition to Abydos, perhaps under the protection of the lion god Mahesa; that he 'taxed the people of Wawat for any overlord who arose' in his nome, and raided Gwt (Canopus?); and that (as a consequence) he filled his father's house with luxuries. The stele was dedicated by Dmy's first-born son, Hotep, who is shown embraced by his wife N-teshnes.

The Functions of the Officers of the Temple of Ningirsu, by Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago.

Discussed the fifteen officers named by Gudea (Cyl. B.vi.11-xii.25) in the temple of Eninnu at Lagash. The first and last were entrusted with the establishment and administration of government, the second with the food supply, the third and fourth with preparation for and

prosecution of war, the fifth with advice and counsel, the sixth and seventh with the apartments of good things or pleasure, the eighth and ninth with animal husbandry, the tenth and eleventh with music, the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth with irrigation, agriculture, and the royal park system.

Professor D. D. Luckenbill reported briefly on the Babylonian antiquities acquired by the Chicago Expedition to the Near East, and especially on the complete prism of Sennacherib which gives an earlier form of the expedition against Hezekiah than that found in the Taylor Cylinder.

Professor Julian Morgenstern of Hebrew Union College, gave a new interpretation of Exodus 4:24-26, and Professor Leslie E. Fuller, of Garrett Biblical Institute, spoke on the Conception of God in the Jewish Apocalypses.

Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant were found by Professor Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan.

Analysis of sources and analogies of history lead us to anticipate Pre-Israelite laws in the earliest Hebrew Codes. The decalog and pentad structure of the Book of the Covenant emphasizes the early character of the Covenant Code. It is not, however, all equally ancient. The so-called 'Precepts' are to be eliminated as secondary. The 'Judgments' that remain, by every test, point to a very high antiquity. A criticism of the traditions which relate these laws directly with Moses and indirectly with Joshua, confirms the Palestinian origin of the laws themselves. A comparison of the Judgments, in their pentad, decalog structure, with the Code of Hammurabi tends to confirm the Canaanite origin of the Judgments in their present arrangement. The Hebrew tradition itself probably retains a fading memory of the adoption of these laws by Israel.

The Old Testament Attitude toward Labor was the title of the paper of Mr. D. A. Leavitt, of the University of Chicago.

Before the exile, labor is simply taken for granted unreflectively, while only incidentally we get the nomadic interpretation of settled industry as a curse, or the agricultural attitude toward it as a means to a good end. The Sabbath, however observed, was neither cause nor result of a theory of labor. With the exile developed individualism, legalism, and reflection. In Proverbs, labor is a synonym for righteousness, as helping to secure the wealth that betokens God's favor, and is more respectable than idleness. But Qoheleth regards it only as a meaningless drudgery, unless one enjoys the fruits of labor as he goes along. Job is distinctive in bearing witness to deplorable economic conditions so long disregarded. He shows the only socially minded outlook in the Old Testament, outside of Prov. 31.

In the absence of their authors, the following papers were read by title: Divine Service in Ur, Professor Samuel A. B. Mercer, Western Theological Seminary; The Ethical Standards of the Early Hebrew Codes, Professor J. M. P. Smith, University of Chicago; Notes on the Textual Problem of the Arabic Kalila wa Dimna, Professor Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago; Persian Words in the Glosses of Hesychius, Dean H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University.

A. T. OLMSTEAD,
Secretary-Treasurer.

THE HITTITE LANGUAGE

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IN THE SUMMER OF 1916 there came to the hands of American scholars a report by Professor Friedrich Hrozný, of the University of Vienna, printed in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Nr. 56 (December, 1915), in which he dealt with the Hittite language. Professor Hrozný was one of a group of Orientalists commissioned by the Berlin Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft to decipher the Hittite cuneiform documents which had been excavated a number of years before by Professor Hugo Winckler in Boghazköi in Cappadocia, and which were then deposited in the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. No communication of an historical or filological character could have been more startling; Professor Hrozný claimed that Hittite was Indo-European, and inaugurated his thesis by a sensational exhibit of etymological and grammatical illustrations. One thing was clear without further ado: if his illustrations were based upon sound decipherment of the cuneiform characters; if his translations were impeccable; if the resulting speech units admitted of no other linguistic interpretations than those proposed, and if they did not represent merely a small selection of I. E. assonances, such as any language might furnish; then Hittite must be Indo-European.

Hrozný promised a full treatise, but during the troubled years following not much reached our shores, except reviews of his thesis by various European scholars, the majority of whom accepted his conclusions without any kind of reservations, tho a sceptical voice or two could be heard in the midst of the chorus of acclaim. Not until the spring of 1920 were we privileged to see Hrozný's full treatise, entitled '*Die Sprache der Hethiter*', published in Leipzig in 1917; and it is this treatise, along with a volume of Hittite cuneiform texts of Boghazköi, in transcription, translated and commented upon by the same scholar, which furnish the main basis of the present discussion.¹ In addition,

¹ *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, in Umschrift mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, von Friedrich Hrozný. I. Lieferung. Leipzig, 1919. Subsequently appeared a treatise by Carl J. S. Marstrand, entitled *Caractères*

it is quite certain that the Boghazköi inscriptions are closely related to the two Arzawa letters found among the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, containing correspondence between the Pharaoh Amenhotep iii and the Arzawa potentate Tarhundaraba. Just what Arzawa is—Cilicia, Commagene, Cyprus—has remained uncertain. It was near Hatti; its relationship with Hittite cannot be questioned; and Hrozný uses its evidence on a familiar par with Hittite. In fact, Hrozný may be said to start with certain results or assumptions regarding the character of Arzawa which were made by Knudtzon (supplemented by Bugge and Torp) in his monograph on the Arzawa letters in 1902.³ Thus the forms *u-i-e-nu-un* and *up-pa-āh-hu-un* are explained by Hrozný (p. 127), after Knudtzon (pp. 54, 55), as preterites first sing. act., both in the sense of, 'I have sent.'⁴

Since the appearance of Hrozný's *Language of the Hittites* there have been further important developments. First, I may mention an inscription which contains Sanskrit words, especially the odd numerals from one to seven in the forms *aika*, *tiera*, *panza*, and *šatta*, in close vicinity to the cuneiform signs of these numerals by wedge count.⁵ They occur in composition with a word *partana*, again obviously Sanskritic, as epithets of horses in a sort of *ḫḫu-ḫu* composed by 'Kikkulī' from the land Mittani', and lend obvious support to the four much-discussed names of Vedic gods (Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas), discovered long ago by Hugo Winckler.⁶ Dr. Forrer thinks that these Sanskrit traces are to be assigned to the 'Urinder', whose original home he places on the right bank of the river Kur (Cyrus) up to the Kaspian sea, and that they crossed the Caucasus into

Indo-Europäen de la Langue Hittite, Christiania, 1919, in which the author with even greater assurance treats the same language as Indo-European. His explanations of the phenomena often differ markedly from Hrozný's. Cf. also Ferdinand Sommer, 'Hethitisches', in *Boghazköi-Studien*, 4. Heft = iii. Stück, 1. Lieferung (1920), p. 1.

³ *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe, die ältesten Urkunden in indogermanischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1902.

⁴ Cf. *Arzawa-Briefe*, pp. 132, 133.

⁵ See Jensen, *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1919, pp. 367 ff.; Ferdinand Sommer, 'Hethitisches', pp. 2ff. (*Boghazköi-Studien*, 4. Heft = iii. Stück, 1. Lieferung).

⁶ The name calls up sharply Kilikia.

⁷ *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-gesellschaft*, No. 35.

Hittite land at about 2500 B. C.⁷ More likely they came to the Hittites from Mittani. It seems quite clear that both the god names and the 'horse numerals', as we may now call them, are not 'Aryan', but Sanskrit; the numeral *aika*, as compared with *aita*, the Achaemenidian Persian and Avestan form, as well as the specific Vedic form of the four god names, makes this almost certain.

Simultaneously Forrer, in the paper just quoted, and Hrozný, in an essay published in 1920,⁸ show that the Boghazköi inscriptions contain many languages in cuneiform script. Forrer counts eight, of which the language hitherto designated flatly as Hittite comprises about nine tenths of the entire material. Forrer finds in addition: Sumerian, Akkadian, 'Urindisch', Harrian, Proto-Hittite, Luvian, and Paläic. Hrozný does not differ much. When the texts say 'he speaks Hittite'⁹ they mean not the assumed I. E. Hittite, but the autochthonous Proto-Hettitic, described by Forrer, l. c., p. 1033 ff.; this is neither Indo-European, nor Shemitic, nor at the present time correlated with any other group of languages. On the other hand the supposedly I. E. Hittite seems, according to both authors, to be well entitled to the name Kanesian, named after the city of Kaneš. But this latter designation is never indicated by an ethnical adjective as is the case with the other languages (Harili, Hattili, Lüli, Palä-umili). Instead there occurs, more frequently than the mention of Kaneš, the ethnical designation Nāšili, which Forrer takes to be the same as Kanesian, but Hrozný renders it by 'our' (i. e. 'our language', 'the home language'), from a glibly assumed, and more than dubious stem *nas* = I. E. *nos*. Under these circumstances the interrelation, if any, between Kaneš and Nāšili is wholly puzzling, tho it does seem that both refer to the main language whose character we are about to discuss.

The Luvian which seems to have been spoken in the land or the city of Lājja¹⁰ (MĀT ^{AL} Lu-u-i-ia) is regarded by Hrozný

⁷ 'Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften', von Dr. Emil Forrer, *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1918, p. 1036.

⁸ 'Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes', *Boghazköi-Studien*, 5. Heft = III. Stück, 2. Lieferung.

⁹ Nu hattili halzai.

¹⁰ Hrozný shows some reason for identifying Lājja with Arzawa; see his paper, pp. 39 ff.

as an even more corrupt L. E. language and dialect than Kanesian. I shall refer to its character below.

Hrozný's work will certainly count among the most memorable events in the history of language and ethnology. The acumen, learning, and infinite diligence displayed by the author is excelled only by the depth of his sincerity and the fervor of his conviction which almost reminds one of the prophet. I should say that there is not the least attempt to minimize difficulties, or to bend the object to his purpose. If, nevertheless, his exposition, especially in the matter of etymology, does at times become what we might call teleological, let him who finds himself in the lure of such a theory, yet applies it more objectively, or is more keenly intent upon the all-important truth,—let him throw the first stone.

On the face value of his text-readings, interpretations, and grammatical estimates Hrozný makes out a strong case. There are, however, from the start, difficulties and tangles. Cuneiform is, at the best, a poor vehicle for Indo-European. The Kanesian Hittite inscriptions are unilingual, in the main to be explained out of themselves. But a large part of this Hittite is expressed in Sumero-Akkadian ideograms, as well as in syllabic Akkadian words. It may be presumed that such words were pronounced Hittite, in the manner in which words written in a sort of Hebrew were pronounced by their Persian equivalents in Pehlevi. This has both its good and its bad side. The good side is, that the lexical meaning of many words is relatively clear from the beginning, which often insures a general conception of what a given passage is about. On the other hand it leaves uncertain the pronunciation of these semi-Akkadian words, for they were pronounced Hittite. The final outcome is this: the Akkadian material, by itself fonetically and grammatically indeterminable, really furnishes the start and the concrete basis for Hittite interpretation. The known meaning of the Akkadian words leads on to the interpretation, and to some extent the text reading of the unknown Hittite words. There is in the volume of texts of 1919 scarcely a sentence that is not part Akkadian. I have, however, the impression that there are few sentences whose sense is perfectly clear. Hrozný himself leaves much untranslated, and resorts to many an interrogation mark. Aside from material imperfections, i. e., fractures, lacunas, and indistinct writing, the subject matter is often turgid, or guess-work. In other words, the filological basis of Hittite is by no means stable; it will require

many successive corrections. Under such circumstances even the most conscientious interpreter, who has arrived at a settled theory as to the character of the language, is thereafter sure to be under the influence of that theory. Let us pick at random one or two sentences whose writing is quite clear. P. 168, ll. 16 and 17 of the Hittite texts, we read:

A. BU. IA-ma-kan I. NA. MÂT ^{ALU}Mi-it-ta-an-ni ku-it an-da a-ša-an-du-li-eš-ki-it na-aš-kan a-ša-an-du-li an-da iš-ta-an-da-a-it. Hrozný translates this: 'When (*kuít*) my father further in the land Mittani dwelled, he in dwelling therein was hesitating.' The capitals are Akkadian. In the Hittite itself the word *ašanduleškit*, 'dwelled,' is explained as a preterite from a *šk*-stem based upon a present participle *ašand*, extended by a *an* agent suffix *ul*, the participle *ašand* being from the root *eš* 'to be'. The second occurrence *ašanduli* is explained as an action noun 'in dwelling' from part of the same materials. That is, going about the other way, the root *eš* 'to be', which appears here as *aš*, a by no means agreeable change,¹¹ makes a participle *ašand*, 'being'; this is extended by a suffix *ul* which makes out of it an action noun, 'act of being'; and to this is added the present system ending *šk*. I presume that few students of I. E. speech will think that the term 'monstrous' is too strong for such a bit of formative history. But what is more important is, that everything concerning the word is really guess-work: word-form and meaning—and consequent sense of the entire passage. The verb *iš-la-an-da-a-it*, which reminds Professor Kretschmer of 'stand', is entirely too glib in its pretense.

One's attention is arrested by p. 180, lines 8 and 9:

Nu-za ANŠU-KÚR-RA^N ni-ni-in-ku-un nam-ma a-pi-e-da-ni MU-ti I. NA^{MÂT} Arzawwa i-la-an-ni-ia-nu-un-mit

'Now warriors and horses I gathered. Thereupon in this year to the land Arzawa I went'. The two verbs in *-un* mark high water in the assumed I. E. morphology of Hittite, for *-un* is supposed to be I. E. *-om*, first person sing. pret. active, as in Gr. *ἔφερον* = Skt. *abharam*. But the lexical matter shows just about how Hittite looks: *yannianun* is supposed to be an extension of a verb *yannai* (*i-ia-an-na-i*) 'he goes', whereas *nininkun* 'I gathered', supported elsewhere by forms *niniktat* and *niniktari* in the sense of 'it collected itself', or 'it was collected', is interpreted

¹¹ This interchange between *e* and *a* is, however, not uncommon.

entirely from the connection. And the particle *-mit* at the end of *yanniyamun* and the end of the sentence is also curious.

On the other hand we must not neglect to point out sentences as beguiling as this:

Nu ku-iš A.NA¹¹⁰ ŠAMŠI¹¹¹ i-da-a-lu-uš tu-uk-ka a-pa-a-aš i-da-a-luš e-eš-du ma-a-naš A. NA ŠAMŠI¹¹² KUR tu-uk-ka-aš¹¹³ KUR e-eš-du: 'Now he who is evil to my sun (i. e. my majesty) he shall be evil to thee. If he shall be an enemy to my majesty, he shall be thy enemy'. In support of this: ma-an šu-me-eš-ma ku-wat-ka i-da-a-lu i-ia-at-te-ni: 'If moreover ye perform some evil' (*Sprache der Hethiter*, pp. 110 and 117).

The Boghazkēi inscriptions, as well as the Arzawa letters, go back to perhaps as early a date as 1500 B. C.; yet, according to any showing, both these Hittite forms are in a state of advanced or secondary development, far exceeding e. g. the Gothic of the fourth century A. D., or the Lithuanian of much later date. The archaic quality, or degree of preservation, of an I. E. language, corresponds in general with its antiquity. Yet here is said to be the oldest dated Indo-European in a condition which, if I judge it aright, might be compared to, but hardly reached by, a modern Italian dialect, remembering that such comparisons can be made only in a very general way. The relation of this Hittite Indo-European to the total of Indo-European is entirely passive or parasitic; it is explained from and as Indo-European, it explains practically nothing Indo-European. I must disarm here the prospective argument that Hittite is profoundly affected by the aboriginal or native non-Indo-European Anatolian with which it blended into the existing product. This may be so, but the secondary character of Hittite morphology is practically all due to Indo-European manœuvres. A form like *akkuškinun*, 'I drank', contains the root *aku* or, elsewhere, *eku* (Lat. *aqua*), with the two present affixes *sk* and *nu*, and the personal ending *ni*—all Indo-European; root, two present formatives, and personal endings; *za-ah-hi-ia-u-wa-aš-ta-ti* 'thou shalt fight', p. 182, l. 13 of the texts, is explained from a stem *zakhaiš*, *zakhia*, about equal to Skt. *sahas*, 'strength', Goth. *sigis*, with three denominative I. E. formatives *-y*, *-w*, and *-t*. Forms like these abound thruout the texts; even the most plastic secondary developments of I. E. speech in other quarters fail to produce types of this sort.

Another matter is scarcely less striking, tho perhaps more easily accounted for. It concerns the literary and stylistic

quality of the Hittite, which is of the lowest order. I have recently pointed out¹² that Western Asia is at all times, and certainly round about 1500 B. C., practically inarticulate as regards literary contents, expression, and style. There is not in the volume of inscriptions before us a single sentence that rises above banality of contents and crudity of expression and style. This phenomenon is by no means favorable to the I. E. character of the language; it must, if possible, be accounted for by the assumption that the invading Indo-Europeans were, at that early time, so completely absorbed by the Anatolian aborigines as to have given up every trace of their ethnic character. The reverse has happened in India, in Persia, and particularly in Greece, where the invaders found the advanced material civilizations of the Mycenaeans and Minoans, who, apparently, were even more inarticulate than the Western Asiatics, but upon whom they impressed their national character so as to result in the final composite of Greek art on the material side, and Greek literature, mythology, and philosophy on the mental side.

Hrozný makes out the feeblest case imaginable on the ground of etymology and fonetics. But if we take his text-readings, interpretations, and grammatical estimates at their face value, his plea for I. E. morphology in Hittite is, on the surface at least, strong enough to captivate, if not to convince.

Let us go *in medias res*.

There is a non-thematic or *mī*-verb *yami*, which means, rather unexpectedly, 'I make' (not 'I go'). Its conjugation in the present active is as follows:

Singular	Plural
1. <i>yami</i>	<i>yaweni</i>
2. <i>yāši, yeši</i>	<i>yalleni</i>
3. <i>yazi, yuzzi, yezzi, yizzi</i>	<i>yanzi, yenzi</i>

This paradigm is certainly impressive, and it has impressed. I would remark that the *z* of the third person forms is not as simple as it might seem. We instinctively think with the author that it is for *t*, moullated by *i* (cf. Gr. $\sigma\tau$ for $\tau\iota$). But the participle present in Hittite ends according to the same grammatical theory in *za*, e. g., *adanza*, 'eating'¹³; *adanzi*, 'they eat'. Now the morfo-

¹² *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. L, p. 76.

¹³ The type is nominative singular; one would expect *adanzi*.

logical connection between these two types in I. E. is everywhere such that the third plural of the present in *-nti* minus the *i* is the stem of the participle (*φέρωντι:φέρωντ-*). The explanation of *-zi* thru palatalization, therefore, leaves *za* unexplained. We encounter the same difficulty several times more: *zig* is assumed to be the word for 'thou', where both the *z* and the *i* are difficult (comparison with Gr. *σῑγε* is a whitened sepulchre). The assumed root *ad* 'eat' shows the forms *ezzazi*, *ezzazzi*, 'he eats'; *ezzateni* 'ye eat'; *ezzaten*, *ezaten*, 'eat ye'; and *ezzai*, 'he eats', flanked by *adanzi*, 'they eat', and *adanza*, 'eating'. Disturbingly the same type of participle *papranza*, 'cooking', occurs also as *paprandaza* (p. 83), and furthermore the whole class is supposed to have passive, as well as active value. As inspection narrows down to the two elements *zi* and *za*, there steals upon me the sense of the presence of two particles, post-positive conglutinates, adverbial, deictic, or localizing, and this impression is not weakened by the apparent existence of an infinitive-supine in *-wanzi*, *-uwanzi*, which interchanges with a parallel form without *-zi*, e. g. *šu-ma-aš wa-al-ah-hu-wa-an-zi u-iš-zi* 'he comes to annihilate you', and *bi-eš-ki-u-wa-an ti-i-ia-u-e-ni* 'we come to furnish (cavalry)'; see p. 91. It is barely possible that Hittite interpretation will have to contend sooner or later with a different theory, according to which it is not inflectional at all, in the sense of I. E., or even Shemitic. It may be a language which has no morphology in the sense to which we are accustomed, but rather carries on its correlations by means of deictic, modifying, allusive particles of great mobility and freedom of position. I recommend the inspection of the element *za* in a variety of other connections, particularly as imbedded in long groups of other particles: ZAG *-za*, 'to the right side' (which, by the way, varies with ZAG *-az*); see pp. 4, 11, 13, etc.; *nu-za*, and *nu-za-kan*, 'now then'; *ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za-kan*, 'when further for me'; *am-mu-ug-ma-za*, *am-mu-ug-wa-za*, *am-mu-uk-ka-za*, 'I further', and 'me further'; see *za* in the Index to the Grammar, particularly pp. 102, 106.

The present indicative of *yami* as given above is not the only type of present inflection in the singular. There is another, about as glaringly different as can be imagined, in which the three singular forms are represented by *dakhi*, 'I give', *datti* or *daithi*, 'thou givest', and *dai*, 'he gives'. Many verbs show freely forms of both types. Thus *arnumī*, 'I bring' makes its second

singular either *arnuši*, or *arnutti*; the third person of *dā* 'give' is either *dāi*, or *-dāizzi*, and the inflection of *pā* 'give' or 'draw' is in the singular:

1. *pāimi* or *pahhi*, 'I give',
2. *pāiši* or *paitti*, 'thou givest',
3. *paizzi* or *pāi*, 'he gives'.¹¹

The thought comes to the mind of the author, well-versed as he is in I. E. organisms, that the inflection *pahhi*, *paitti*, *pāi* represents the *ō*-verb, or thematic conjugation. With *pahhi* he compares I. E. **bherō* (φέρω), but this is hardly more than what the physicians call a *placebo*. The *h* of the form is a persistent 'formative' element (p. 177) so that the ending is *hi*. The form *dāi* reminds Hrozný of Gr. φέρει, itself problematic; Scheftelowitz thinks of Aryan *e* (= *ai*), the middle ending of the first and third singular perfect (p. 2, note 2). No real conviction of either speaker or hearer goes with this. Again, if we confront *mī* and *tī* as first and second person suffixes, we can hardly fail to remember the same two suffixes in Arzawa at the end of nouns in the sense of 'mine' and 'thine' (Knudtson, *Zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, p. 41; Bugge, p. 100; Torp, p. 113). These same suffixes, as well as forms *ma*, and *ta* (*du*), appear also in the Boghazköi documents (p. 120, and p. 128) with the full measure and weight of non-Indo-European conglutinates; explanation of one without the other seems to be illusory. It is as tho in I. E. Greek one could say not only φημί 'I say', but also οἶκο-μι 'my house'.

Perhaps second in importance as regards organic appearance and breadth of scope are the noun-stems in *a*, *i*, and *u*, making nominatives in *aš*, *iš*, and *uš*. An Indo-Europeanist's mind is sure to respond to the stimulus of *u*-stems. This category, when oxytone, is the very own of primary adjectival function, describing physical properties. In Latin adjectives in *u* have regularly been extended into *u-i* stems. In order to be on familiar ground I cite first Latin *suavis*, *brevis*, *levis*, *pinguis*, *mollis*, *tenuis*; in order to show both the extent and primary lexical character of the same type I cite in addition Skt. *tr̥śús*=Goth. *þairsus*, 'dry'; Skt. *pr̥thús*=Avestan *parəbu*, Gr. *πλάρύς*, 'broad'; Skt. *mr̥dús*=Gr. *βραδύς*, 'slow'; Skt. *purús*=Gr. *πολύς*, 'much'; Skt. *ásús*=Gr. *ώκύς*, 'swift'; Skt. *urús*=Gr. *εύρύς*,

¹¹ Note the two somewhat different paradigms given by Sommer, l. c., p. 1.

'broad'; Skt. *rjás*, 'straight'; *rbhūs*, 'clever'; Greek *γλυκύς*, 'sweet'; *βαθύς*, 'deep'; Goth. *tulgus*, 'firm'. In early I. E., *u*-stems have scarcely a respectable rival in this semantic field, except perhaps the primary adjectives in *-rō* (*ἐρυθρό-ς* = Skt. *rudhirás* = Lat. *ruber*, 'red'; Skt. *citrā-s* = OHG *heitar*, 'bright'). Of both these types of adjectives, which pervade to this day every nook and corner of I. E. speech, not a single one is to be found in this Hittite of 1500 B. C.; yet their type of inflection is supposed to have remained over. It is as though a Parisian salad had been carried through the house of Hatti, and had left behind nothing but its *soupe* on onion aroma. The results of speech mixture are varied and not easy to predict, but it is difficult to conceive processes apparently so concerted and intentional as to wipe out all such words as 'sweet', 'short', 'light', 'thick', 'thin', 'soft', 'broad', 'wide', 'dry', 'swift', etc., etc., of the invading language, yet leave behind the inflection of these words as the orphaned result, so to speak.

Something very like this has happened to the *i*-stems. No Indo-European scholar can visualize *i*-stems without the abstract *-ti* stems, like Skt. *gātis* = *βάσις* = Goth. *qumþ(i)s*; or Skt. *mat's*, Lat. *men(t)i's*, Goth. *ga-mund(i)s*; Skt. *śhit's*, Gr. *στάσις*, Lat. *statio*. They still control I. E. abstract expression everywhere, as in English station, convention, mention. There is not, as a matter of fact, among the *u*- and *i*-stems a single etymology which can claim standing; this as part expression of the wider fact that Hittite I. E. etymology rests on a basis whose shakiness cannot easily be overstated.

We come to the *a*-stems, nominative *aš*, accusative *an*. Echoes sound from many quarters of Western Asiatic speech. Kassacan *suryaš*; Chaldic (Vannic) *-š(e)* (with accusative *nī*)¹⁴; Mittani quasi-nominatives and accusatives in *š* and *nī*¹⁵; even Lycian figures in a way¹⁶. This declension, the well-known second declension of Greek and Latin grammar, holds in Hittite for both masc. and fem.; thus: *annaš* 'mother'; *ŠAL-naš* 'woman'; *GIM-aš* 'slave-girl'. Again there is not a single even remotely respectable I. E. etymology for this most pervasive class, involving

¹⁴ Hrozný, p. 27, note.

¹⁵ Bork, *Die Mitannissprache*, p. 46; see especially the proper names in *an* on p. 88 of the text.

¹⁶ Hrozný, p. 49.

either a noun or an adjective. The paradigms of *a*-stems, on pp. 44, 45, look very good on paper; still, nominative and genitive singular, as well as genitive and dative plural end alike in *aš*; the loc. sing. in *az* is entirely unexplained; the acc. plur. ends in *uš*. Outside the paradigm there is considerable mixture between *aš* and *iš*; the number 'one' in nom. sing. masc. appears as *1-aš* or *1-iš* (Hrozný 92); and see in general pp. 16, 24, 29, 36, 38. The like of this is not unknown elsewhere. There is also mixture between *aš* and *uš*; see p. 30. Still there seems no reason to question that *uš*, *iš*, and *aš* figure in subject words very regularly; all three occur together in the sentence, p. 166, line 10 of the text volume: *memir A. BU. ŠU-wanaš kuiš LUGAL. MĀTHatti ešta nuwaraš UR. SAG-iš LUGAL-uš ešta*, 'They said, "His father, who was for us king of the land Hatti, now he was a brave king."' Morfologically this pervades the language as, perhaps, its strongest plea for I. E. character. Still there are notable cross circumstances: all these stems show also a nominative in *ša*: *Telihiuša* 'name of a Hittite god' (p. 3); by the side of *IR-aš* and *IR-iš* 'slave', also *IR-ša* (p. 30); *Mariaša* 'name of a person' (p. 36); *apāša*, 'this one' (texts, p. 100, l. 15); *EN-urtaša*, 'name of a person', (texts, p. 136, l. 8); and in Arzawa first letter, l. 23 *halugulataša*, 'messenger'. There is, moreover, an independent post-positive pronoun nominative *aš*, accusative *an*, which differs in no wise from the nom. and acc. case-endings *-aš* and *-an*; this may be added to an existing inflected expression, as in the expression *kuiš-aš imma kuiš* 'whoever', accusative *kuinan imma kuin*; *tu-ak-ka-aš* 'he to you' (p. 110). Out of this perplexity seems to arise the question whether all these, *aš*, *iš*, *uš*, are not, once more, post-positive deictic particles. With every inclination to follow Hrozný's methodic and brilliant exposition, it seems difficult that the material body of all I. E. *u*-, *i*-, and *a*-stems should have disappeared while leaving behind their ghostly endings; better the opposite alternative, that a variety of cuneiform syllables containing *š* preceded by different vowels chance to lend themselves, in a surprising manner to be sure, to correlation with the endings of these stems current in I. E.

Still, a theory as to linguistic appurtenance derives its strength from cumulation. Hittite exercises its most bewitching enchantment in the domain of pronouns. I have always held that the best test for admission to I. E. membership is thru numerals, pronouns, and nouns of relationship. A puckish prank (as in

Kretan) makes Hittite write its numerals by wedge count; the nouns of relationship are either nursery words, or in Akkadian writing. Not so the pronouns. They appear in syllabic Hittite writing. Thus the personal pronouns, reduced to their lowest terms, present themselves in the following rhythmic shape:

	I	Thou
Nom.	<i>ug, uga, ugga</i>	<i>zig, ziga, zigga, zikka</i>
Gen.	<i>ammēl</i>	<i>tuēl</i>
Dat. Acc.	<i>ammug, ammuga, ammugga, ammuḫḫa</i>	<i>tug, tuga, tugga, tuḫḫa, dukḫa</i>
	We	Ye
Nom.	<i>anzāš</i>	<i>šumēš, šumāš</i>
Gen.	<i>anzēl</i>	<i>šumēl, šumēnzān</i>
Dat. Acc.	<i>anzāš</i>	<i>šumāš, šummēš, kumēš</i>

After recovering from the general effect of this list, there are a few interesting circumscriptions. *ug*, etc., is, of course, assumed to be *ego*, whereas *zig*, etc., are compared with *σύ*. But it is unlikely that the *g* of one form is not the *g* of the other, and *zi* is not *σύ* nor, as far as can be seen, anything else Indo-European. The forms *ammug*, etc., are both nom. and acc.; they are compared with Gr. *ἐμοί*, but it seems far more natural again to identify the final syllable with the fundamental *ug*, etc. Therefore, the same seems true of the sound *ug* in *tug*, etc. The 'ye'-stem *šuma* is not so easily correlated with I. E. *yume* as the author thinks; and its genitive *šu-me-en-z-an*, by the side of which exists *a-pi-en-za-an* 'eorum', and also an independent *šu-raš en-z-an* 'your', is perplexing (pp. 115, 116). Doubtless some of these difficulties can be ironed out by assuming sundry processes of analogy which will present themselves in different ways to different experts.¹⁸ Perhaps more important is the almost impalpable air of Indo-Europeanism which pervades this sphere of expression, and I personally have felt at times in the mood to capitulate right here.

The question reaches its climax in the relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronoun *kuiš*, neuter *kuit*, genitive singular *kuēl*; nominative plural *kuēš*. The indefinite is expressed also by duplication, *kuiš kuiš*, neuter *kuit kuit*; or by *kuiš ki*, neuter

¹⁸ Cf. Marstrand, pp. 7 ff.

kuit ki. Comparisons are unnecessary. There are here also difficulties in detail, but they may be surmounted in future. It seems well-nigh unimaginable that this part of Hrozný's theory does not hit the nail on the head. Yet with it goes a remarkable corollary which is almost in the nature of a paradox. All students of Lycian seem now agreed that its stem *ti* is the relative stem = I. E. *qi* (Latin *qui-*), and that the combination *ti-ke* is the indefinite; e. g. in the epitaf, *ti ūte hri alahadi tike, ūte ti hrppitadi tike*, 'qui intus violat (?) aliquem, vel intus superimponit aliquem'.¹⁹ Lydian also has the words *his*, *hid*, which Lüttmann identifies with Lat. *quis*, *quid*; see his Lydian inscriptions. Danielsson, 'Zu den Lydischen Inschriften', p. 41, points out also Lyd. *k* as the enclitic copulative (Lat. *que*). Hrozný, pp. 191 ff. has an appendix of considerable length which deals with correspondences between Hittite and Lydian. A door must be either open or shut: if these comparisons are correct both Lycian and Lydian, as well as Hittite, are Indo-European, and that, too, of a degree of depravation, unparalleled in any pidgin-dialect.

A word as to the 'Luvian'. Forrer, l. c., p. 1034, quotes from unstated sources a number of Luvian grammatical and lexical forms, some of which have I. E. coloring, others being decidedly strange. Thus he quotes as forms of 'a pronoun', *kui*, *kuiha*, *kuiš*, *kuišha*, *kuištar*, and *kuinza*. He notes a number of reduplicated verbs which look Indo-European: *tatarhandu*, *tatarijamman*, *tatarrijamna*, *mimentōwā*, *hōhoijanda* (by the side of *hōijadda*), and, with 'Attic reduplication', *elehāndu* (by the side of *ēhādu*). The endings of the verb are *du*, *andu*, *indu*, reminding Forrer of the Lydian *-d* and *ēnt*. For the substantive he quotes *-anza*, and *-inzi* in the plural; they may bear upon our discussion of *-zi* and *-za*, above, p. 201 f.

Hrozný, in his above mentioned essay on the peoples and languages of the Chatti land, pp. 35 ff.,²⁰ quotes one or two Luvian passages and discusses some words. The passages, evidently obscure in meaning, are not translated, but they show some words which resemble Kanesian Hittite. Thus *kuinzi*, 'which,' with plural meaning and ending *-nzi* (see Forrer's statement,

¹⁹ See Vilh. Thomsen, *Études Lyciennes*, p. 9. Hrozný, p. 49, remarks that the Lycian *a*-stems correspond to a remarkable degree with the Hittite *a*-stems.

²⁰ See p. 36, lines 22 ff., 30 ff., and p. 37, lines 36 ff. of the cuneiform texts.

just quoted); *azzaštan*, 'eat ye', which reminds Hrozný of Kanesian *azzašteni*, and *ezzašten*, in the same sense; *vaššantari*, Kanesian *veššanta*, 'they clothe themselves'. Hrozný thinks that Luvian is a dialect of Kanesian, or a language closely related, in which I. E. structure is practically effaced. The problem is very obscure, but it would seem rather to point the other way, namely, that Luvian is not I. E., and that many of the alleged I. E. phenomena of Kanesian are only seemingly so, for the very reason that they reappear in non-I. E. Luvian. The future will decide.

As far as I can see the I. E. aspects of Hittite have no basis in any known historic colonizations by Indo-Europeans of parts of Asia Minor. The Phrygian from Thrace and the Armenian of unknown provenience settled in Anatolia at a later time. In 900 B. C., Vannic or Chaldic (cuneiform) was still spoken in Urartu, the land later settled by the Armenians. The older Phrygian inscriptions are not earlier than 500 B. C. The Tocharians, Italo-Celtic emigrants, seem to have passed thru Asia Minor on their way to their permanent home in far-away Chinese Turkestan, but we have no record of Tocharian that is not about 2000 years younger than the Hittite age. An I. E. migration from the south-west of Europe must have settled in various parts of Asia Minor many centuries prior to 1500 B. C., and prior to the recorded history of Indo-Europeans in Celtic, Italic, or Hellenic lands. For it must have taken hundreds of years of mixture with the Anatolian aborigines before such languages as Hittite, or Lycian and Lydian (if these two are also I. E.), could evolve out of such a symbiosis. And, be it understood, this Indo-European must then be assumed to be about 3000 years younger in quality than the faint traces of I. E. Aryan which are found in the scant Urindisch of the 'horse numerals' and the four Vedic gods.

My readers will ask point-blank: 'Is Hittite Indo-European?' I answer that it seems to contain an injection of I. E. material in a composite pidgin-Kanesian, but even of this I do not feel quite certain. When Tocharian came to light, the numerals alone settled its status: Hittite has no numerals. They should sound from 2-5: *du-uwa*, *tre-i-eš*, *ke-tu-wa-reš*, *pe-en-ku-we* or *pi-in-ku-we*. When Tocharian came to light the nouns of relationship settled its status: *pācar* 'father'; *mācar*, 'mother'; *prācar*, 'brother'. The Hittite words for father and mother are either Anatolian

nursery words: *addaš* or *attaš*, 'father', *annaš* 'mother', or they are written in Babylonian (Shemitic) A. BU 'father'; AHI-IA 'of my brother'; AHĀTU, 'sister'. The Hittite before us has, with the exception of the noun *wādar*, said to mean 'water', which is also written *widār*; genitive *wedenaš*, *u-e-te-na-aš*, *widēni*, hardly a single noun of I. E. etymology. The inflection of the noun is by no means conclusively Indo-European. The verbal inflections are at points (not all of them brought out here) bewitchingly Indo-European; at other points they are not less bewilderingly mystifying. From the point of view of verb etymology there are not a dozen verbs that are securely Indo-European, and the total of etymology, with the exception of pronominal etymology—and here again really only the interrogative-indefinite pronoun—is the weakest link in the chain. The heaping of conglomerative particles (e. g., *ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za-kan* 'when further mine', p. 39), combined with the conglomerative use of personal pronouns at the end of nouns, is non-Indo-European, and deserves special investigation. Finally, the over-ripe condition of language at the earliest dating known to I. E. speech history (1500 B. C.) bids us hold still a while longer, on the off-chance that we are facing a perplexing illusion.

POSSIBLE NON-INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS IN 'HITTITE'

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IN 1915, I published a paper on 'The Hittite Material in the Cuneiform Inscriptions' as set forth by Friedrich Delitzsch in his *Sumerisch-Akkadisch-Hettitische Vokabularfragmente*.¹ After an analysis of the scanty material of Delitzsch's fragments, I reached the conclusion that this language was probably not IE.² in character, but showed marked non-Aryan peculiarities, an opinion which Professor Maurice Bloomfield had already expressed in his able treatise on the language of the Arzawa letters,³ which is now recognized as the same idiom as that of the 'Hittite' cuneiform inscriptions.

At present the most important contributions towards Hittitology are undoubtedly Ferdinand Hrozný's masterly special plea⁴ for the IE. character of this language and his published texts from Boghazköi, embracing temple, omen and oracle, ceremonial, and historical material.⁵ Since these publications, however, Hrozný has definitely shown that the language designated formerly by him and others as 'Hittite' is not really entitled to this name,⁶ as

¹ *Amer. Journal of Semitic Languages*, 32, 38-63.

² *Kön. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1914.

³ The following abbreviations have been used in this article: A. = accusative; Akkad. = Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian Semitic); Av. = Avestan; BO. = Boghazköi Inscriptions, mentioned here note 6; Cher. = Chermessian; D. = dative; Esth. = Estonian; Finn. = Finnish (Suomi); G. = genitive; 'H' = Hrozný's 'Hittite' language; Hr. = Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, mentioned note 5; IE. = Indo-European; Lapp. = Lappish; N. = nominative; OHG. = Old High German; San. = Sanskrit; Sum. = Sumerian; *Sum. Gr.* = Delitzsch, *Grundzüge d. Sumerischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1914; Szinyei = József Szinyei, *Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1910; Wotj. = Wotjak.

⁴ *Amer. Journal of Philology*, 25, 1 ff.

⁵ *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau in Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm*, Leipzig, 1917.

⁶ *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig, 1919.

⁷ *Ueber die Völker u. Sprachen des alten Chitt-Landes*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 29-30. Another work on the subject of the multiplicity of languages in these Boghazköi inscriptions, not at present accessible to me, has been recently published by Forrer.

the genuine Hittite or Chatti language, which appears in BO 2002, obv. 1, 64, was very evidently a non-Aryan speech entitled *xattili* in Hrozný's 'Hittite' material and not in any way resembling the latter idiom.⁸ We are consequently forced to indicate this supposed IE. 'Hittite' of Hrozný, for which there is as yet no certain designation,⁹ as 'Hittite' (abbrev. 'H') and to use the term *Hittite*, without quotation marks, as denoting the apparently genuine Chatti (*xatti*) or Hittite, known in 'H' as *xattili*.

The object of the following study is to examine especially some important points in the morphology of the 'H' as given, apparently with great correctness, by Hrozný, in order to determine whether or not some of the most salient forms are of non-Aryan, rather than IE. character. I lay especial stress on morphology rather than on similarities in vocabulary or radicals, since many such seeming resemblances may well be based on accident or borrowing, possibilities which render mere *Gleichklang* a dangerous criterion in speech comparison. As is well known, words and even radicals may pass between languages of inherently differing stocks. The same principle seems to be true of the transfer of phonetics, which, as Franz Boas has indicated,¹⁰ occurs not infrequently in American languages of widely varying bases and particularly in the adoption by the African Bantu of the clicks of the Bushmen and Hottentots, in spite of the enmity between these groups and the Bantu. Similarly, morphological characteristics may probably pass from one language to another of a radically variant grammatical system and, as Boas believes, may even modify fundamental structural characteristics.¹¹ Such processes may have been primarily due to the presence of a large number of alien wives and mothers in primitive tribes, and

⁸ Cf. especially the Chatti = real Hittite material in the above cited work, 26; 31-32; 34. Among the Chatti names of occupations, the word (*amēl*) *in-du-uk-ka-ra-am* = (*amēl*) KA-ŠU-GAB (?) -*uk* 'cup-bearer' is especially striking as apparently containing the elements *vin* (*vin*) 'wine' and the Sum. word *duš* 'vessel' + the probably Chatti ending *-aram*, i. e., *vin-duš-aram* 'the one concerned with (aram) the wine-cup *vin-duš*(?)'. This was probably a loan-word. The rest of the Chatti material is at present beyond our range of knowledge for comparison with known elements.

⁹ Unless we accept Hrozný's *nahili* 'in our(?) language'; probably 'in this language' (see below, B., I., b). The term 'Kanesian' is suggested by Forrer and is provisionally accepted by some scholars.

¹⁰ *Amer. Anthropologist*, 22, 372.

¹¹ *Ib.* 22, 373.

secondarily to inter-cultural influences. In this 'H', in spite of the apparent IE. morphological basis, it will appear from the present paper that other than Aryan influences seem to have been present in the formation of much of the 'H' morphology.

A. RADICALS

1. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

The paradigms of the 1 and 2 personal pronouns, as given by Hrozný, are as follows (Hr.: 1 p. sg., 104-105; 1 p. pl., 114; 2 p. sg., 111; 2 p. pl., 118):

	1 p. sg.	2 p. sg.
N.	<i>ug, uga, ugga; ammug, am- muga, ammugga, am- mukka</i>	<i>zig, ziga, zigga, zikka</i>
G.	<i>ammēl</i>	<i>tuēl</i>
D.	<i>ammug, ammuga, ammug-</i>	<i>tug, tuga, tugga, tukka, dukka</i>
A.	<i>ga, amukka</i>	
Loc.	<i>prob. ammēdaz</i>	<i>prob. tuēdaz</i>
	pl.	pl.
N.	<i>anzāš</i>	<i>šumēš, šumāš</i>
G.	<i>anzel</i>	<i>šumēl, šumēnzān (šurašenzan?)</i>
D.	<i>anzāš</i>	<i>šumāš, šummāš</i>
A.		<i>šumēš, šummēš, šumāš</i>
Loc.		<i>prob. šumēdaz</i>
Comitative(?)		<i>šumāšila</i>

In spite of apparent resemblances to IE., these pronouns present, none the less, non-Aryan aspects in many particulars. Thus, Hr., 98, connects *ug, uga*, etc., with Lat. *ego*; Greek *ἐγώ*; Goth. *ik*, etc., in spite of the strange initial *u-*, instead of the IE. *e*, a variation not satisfactorily explained by his comparison of the 'unclear' Old Slav. *az* 'I'. It is much more likely that 'H' *ug, uga*, etc., stand for original *mug, muga* (*m = w*, a common phenomenon), especially as the forms *ammug, ammuga*, etc., appear in the N., D., and A. apparently arbitrarily. Furthermore, the 'H' suffix (D. and A.) of the 1 p. sg. is *-nu* (see below, B., I.), showing the same element (*-m*).

But this *m*-element is not essentially IE.; cf. Sumerian *mae* 'I'; *mara* 'to me'; Asiatic Turkish *men* (Osmanli *ben*) 'I'; also

Finno-Ugric: Finn. *minä*; Lapp. *mon*; Cher. *mēn*, etc., with *m* throughout the dialects. Most striking is also Georgian *mē* 'I'; *čemi* 'of me', etc.

With these 'H' 1 p. sg. *mug*-forms should be compared the 2 p. sg. *zig*, *zigu*, etc., returning phenomenally to *tu*- in the oblique relations of the pronoun, and showing the D. (rarely A.) pronominal suffix *-ta*, used with nouns. The sibilant in *zig* can hardly be explained satisfactorily on the basis of Greek *σϋ*, even with Doric *ρϋ* in the background. Finno-Ugric also has the interchange between sibilant (*s*) and *t*, but this is not seen intra-dialectically, but always between different idioms; cf. Finn. *sinä*; Lapp. *ton*, *don*. On the other hand, in Lakish 1 p. sg., we do find *na* 'I'; gen. *ttul* 'of me' (possibly = **ntul*), which is an intra-dialectic change of consonant in a non-Aryan language, but not, I think, applicable here. It is possible that 'H' *zig* may have been pronounced *šig* or *čig* (thus, Weidner, *Studien*,¹² 152); cf. also the Sumerian interchange of *z* and *š* possibly = *š* (Prince, 'Phonetic Relations in Sumerian,' *JAOS* 39, 271). The Sum. *z* interchanges also with *s* and even with *n* (*op. cit.* 270). The 'H' *zig*, **šig*, therefore, reminds one more of Sum. *zoe* 'thou'; *zara* 'to thee,' than of any IE. form. The 'H' 2 p. verbal ending *-ši* (see below, C., II.) contains perhaps the same *zi*, *š*-element of the 2 p. pronoun and, although alternating with *-ti* in the second conjugation, rather speaks for the *š*-pronunciation of *zig*. The difficult problem here is presented by the oblique 'H' *tu*-forms of the 2 p. pronoun. Instead of *tuēl*, *tug*, one would expect *zēl* (or *zēl*), *zig*, or, at least, *zēl*, *zug*. The interesting possibility arises that *tuēl*, *tug*, etc., may be a writing representing an aspirated pronunciation of *t*, either as *th* (in *think*), or actually *zu*, *š*u(?). In this connection should be noted the 'H' *d*-form *dukka*, parallel with *tukka*, *tug*, etc., possibly indicating a *dz*-pronunciation(?). Hrozný intimates throughout his work that 'H' is a palatalizing language, witness especially the *-nzi* 3 p. pl. of verbs below, equated by Hrozný with IE. *-nt*, *-nd* (see below C., III, on palatalization). The whole question is shrouded in doubt, especially in connection with the 2 p. pronoun, as even a pure *t*-element here would not necessarily connote Aryan origin (see the Finno-Ugric forms cited just above).

¹² Ernst F. Weidner, *Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1917, unfavorably commented on by Hr., 194-211.

Another problem arising in this connection is the appearance of the *-g* in the 1 p. sg. *mug*, *muga*, etc., and in the 2 p. sg. *zig*, *ziga*, etc. (note also *tug*, *tuga*). The presence of forms in *-k* such as *ammukka*, *dukka*, precludes the possibility of this *g* representing an *ng*-nasal which might remind us of the *n*-element in Finn. *mi-nä* 'I', *si-nä* 'thou', Turk. *me-n* 'I', etc. Nevertheless, the 'H' *-g*-final looks most unlike an Aryan termination. Furthermore, where is the true D. sign of these 'H' pronouns, both in the sg. *ammug*, *zig*, oblique *tug*, and in the pl. *anzāš*, 1 p., *šumēš*, *šumāš*, 2 p. (see below B., I.; B., II.)? These forms seem to appear indifferently for practically all case-relations, even the nominative. Only in *tu-* do we find what seems to be a specific oblique form. Contrast this with Av. 1 p. N. *azem*; G. *mana*; D. *ma'byā*; A. *mam*; San. N. *aham*; G. *mama*; D. *mahyam*; A. *mām*; 2 p. Av. *tūm*, *tū*; G. *tava*; D. *ta'byā*; A. *thwam*; San. N. *twam*; G. *tava*; D. *tubhyam*; A. *tvām*. Considered in the light of present knowledge, the 'H' 1 and 2 p. sg. pronouns do not seem to show strong IE. characteristics.

The 1 p. pl. element *-nz-* in *anzāš*, etc., is compared by Hrozný (112) with Germ. *uns*, *ons*; Lat. *nōs*, Slav. *n(a)s*. The *s* of these IE. forms is usually regarded as a pl. sign (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, 2. 2. 120, 379, 406) and the question here is as to whether the *s* of the 'H' *anz-* is really a plural. Hrozný (10) is not satisfactory on this point, as his argument amounts to a mere categorical statement. The ordinary 'H' pl. ending is *-š*. The 'H' suffix of the 1 p. pl. is apparently *-naš*, i.e., *n* + *a* + real pl. *š* here (Hr. 130). The resemblance of these 'H' *anz-* and possibly *-naš* forms to IE. is certainly striking (note Av. 1 p. pl. enclitic *no*; San. *nas*) and the forms may really be IE. Note, however, that the prefix *a-* of 'H' *anz-* should be compared with the *a-* of *ammug*, 1 p. sg., as a possible carrier of the characteristic pronominal element. Non-Aryan morphology can hardly be cited in this connection, unless one thinks of Turk. *biz* (= *m-z*) and 1 p. pl. suffix *-miz* 'our'; cf. Finn. *me* 'we' and Sum. *mēn* 'we.'

Similarly 'H' *šumāš* 'you', pl., so strikingly like modern Persian *šumā* (Greek *ὑμεῖς*, Lesbian *ὑμμεῖ*), seems an IE. radical, not at all recalling non-Aryan forms such as Turk. *siz* 'you' (pl.). Probably the 'H' A. suffix was *-šmaš* (Hr. 131-132) derived, as Hrozný supposed, from the fuller *šumāš*. But this suffix *-šmaš* is doubtful for the 2 p. pl., as the 3 p. pl. suffix is also *-šmaš* (see

below, C., I.). Here no decision can be reached with the present material.

There is no direct pronoun of the 3 p. in 'H.' but the demonstrative *apāš* 'this one' serves in this capacity (Hr. 138). Note the declension:

Masc. and Fem. (?)		So-called Neuter (see below C., I.)
N.	<i>apāš</i>	<i>apāt</i>
G.	<i>apēl</i>	
D.	<i>apīa; apēdani; apīdani</i>	
A.	<i>apun; apēdan</i>	<i>apāt; apēda</i>
Loc.	<i>apēz; apīz; apīaz</i>	
Comitative <i>apāšila</i> (?)		
pl.		
N.	<i>apūš</i>	(<i>apē</i>)
G.	<i>apēnzan</i>	
D.	<i>apēdaš; apīdaš</i>	
A.	<i>apūš</i>	<i>apē</i>

Hrozný himself admits that this *ap*, *ab*-stem may not be of IE. origin (137), but he prefers to connect it with the Lycian pronoun *ebe* 'this one'. His tentative association of *apāš* with the Elamite demonstrative *ap* and even with Lydian *bi-s* 'he' (191) is probably correct; compare also the non-Aryan Sumerian demonstrative *bi*-elements in such forms as *lu-bi* 'that man' (Delitzsch, *Sum. Gr.*, 35). Here then we have what is most probably a non-Aryan element, whereas the 'H' demonstrative pron. *tal* 'that one' (Hr. 136) is highly suggestive of IE. connection; cf. Av. and San. neuter demonstr. *tal*. On the other hand, in this connection must be compared the Finno-Ugric *t*-demonstratives: Finn. *tä*; Wogul *t'e*, *t'i*, Lapp. *ta*, etc., so that even here the IE. character of the radical is not fully determinable. The 'H' demonstr. *naš*, so-called neut. *nat* (Hr. 134), also used as a 3 p. 'he, she, that one,' may not be IE., as it suggests the Sum. common demonstrative *ne*-element (Delitzsch, *op. cit.* 34), which carries also a *-na* 3 p. suffix in Sumerian. With this 'H' *naš*, cf. also 'H' *eni* 'this one' (Hr. 135), which seems to contain the same *n*-stem, possibly of non-Aryan origin.

II. *Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite Pronouns*

The 'H' so-called relative, interrog. and indef. pron. *kuiš* (Hr. 144, 147 ff.) is declined as follows:

	Masc. and Fem. (?)	so-called Neuter
N.	<i>kuiš</i>	<i>kuit</i>
G.	<i>kuēl</i>	
D.	<i>kuēdani</i>	
A.	<i>kuin</i>	<i>kuit</i>
Loc.	<i>kuēz</i> (not <i>kudaz</i> !)	
	pl.	
N.	<i>kuēš, kuš</i>	<i>kuē, kuī</i> (fem.)
G.	—	
D.	<i>kuēdāš</i> (once <i>kuitāš</i>)	
A.	<i>kuēš, kuē</i> (?)	<i>kuē, kuī</i>

Hrozný compares this with the IE.; viz., Av.: N. *ka, kas-*, A. *kam*; San.: N. *kas*, G. *kasya*, A. *kam* (better Av. N. A. *čiš*, San. N. A. neuter *kim* and the particle *cit*, as showing the *i*-vowel); Lat.: *qui, quis*, Greek: *τίς, τί* (144). The 'H' *kuiš* seems often to be an unaccented enclitic and may occur thus in the middle and even at the end of a relative clause, a proof, according to Hrozný (144), that the relative was developed from an indefinite. But such a construction may also be suggestive of un-Aryan influence, even though the *kui*-root may itself be of IE. origin; cf., for structure only, the Mitanni apparently enclitic relative *-ne* (H. Winckler in *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Ges.* 1909; 45; 76), the authenticity of which Mitanni form, however, is rejected by Hrozný (144. n. 3). In Turkic, relative relation is frequently expressed by participles with personal suffixes, as *gördijim adem* 'the man whom I saw,' a construction common to many agglutinative languages. Note the following examples of the use of the 'H' *kuiš, kuit*, which seem to indicate that a definite decision regarding it cannot yet be reached: *ki kuit kuē XU-XAR-RI zallarannī* 'after these oracles have (had?) been received (?)', *BO* 2. 1. 21. Note also *kuitmanzaikan* 'before (conj.) he', *BO* 2. 1. 31. Observe *kuēdāš UD-XI-A* 'several days', *BO* 2. 142 (is *kudāš* dative pl.?). This last example is clearly indefinite, as is *tapaššar ILUM kuiški iazi* 'a disease some god or other makes' (*BO* 2. 2. 2). Or, can this mean: 'the god makes (causes)

some disease or other'? Here, however, seems to belong ILUM *kuiški* 'some god,' BO 2. 2. 25. But in BO 2. 2. 21: ILIM-tar *kuit* KIL-DI-at 'when the deity appeared,' we have the *kuit* as a conjunction. Note also the 'H' *kuiš* = Akkad. *minū* 'how' (Prince, *op. cit.* 57) and Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, X. rev. 10: = Akkad. *matl* 'how long.' *Kuiš* seems really to be demonstrative in Prince, 57-58: *natta kuiš walkiššaraš* 'one (who is) not strong.' In Delitzsch, IX. 1. 18: UD-KAM-aš *anīan kuiš eššai* 'that which is the daily offering' (Hr. 205: *anīan* is a participle), we have an apparent neuter use of the 'masc.-fem.' *kuiš*, i. e., *kuiš* here = 'that (thing) which' (see below C., I., on gender).

As to the supposed IE. origin of 'H' *kuiš*, note the indefinite-interrogative *k*-element in Finno-Ugric and Turkic: Magyar *kí*; Syryenian and Wotj. *kin*; Cher. *kā*, all = 'who' (Szinnyei, 113); also Finnish *ku*; Lapp. *ko*, etc., and especially Magyar *hód* (= **kod*) with the meaning 'how,' with which cf. 'H' *kuit*, frequently = 'how.' In short, the *k*-form is in itself alone not a sign of IE. origin. It is quite possible that 'H' *kui-* may originally have meant 'person, thing,' in other words, *kui-* may have been an indefinite, from which its general use was developed. It seems by no means certain that we have an IE. particle in 'H' *kuiš*.

B. CASE-ENDINGS

1. Pronominal Endings

There are certain endings peculiar to the 'H' pronouns which merit a brief discussion at this point. These are (a) G. sg. and pl. *-el*, in *ammēl*, *tuēl*, *anzēl*, *šumēl*, *apēl*. (b) Comitative (?) *-ila* in *šumāšila* (?), *apāšila* (?). (c) G. pl. *-ēzan* in *šumēzan* (= *suraš*[?] *ēzan*), *apēzan*. (d) Loc. sg. and D. sg. and pl. *d*-insert in *ammēdaz*, *tuēdaz*, and (probably) *šumēdaz*; D. sg. *apēdani*, *apīdani*; D. pl. *apēdaš*; also in D. sg. *kēdani*, from *kaš* 'this' (140).

(a) There seems to be no doubt as to the G. character of the 'H' *-el*-endings, none of which are inflected, but which are pure genitives used as possessives. For the inflected possessive suffixes, see below, B. III. These forms *ammēl*, *tuēl*, etc., occur in so many cases prefixed to Akkad. ideographic combinations, indicating respectively the 1 and 2 person, that their possessive meaning

seems perfectly clear; cf. *ammēl-wa*¹³ MU-DI-IA 'my spouse' (Hr. 108); *tulēl* MARE-KA 'thy children', etc., *passim*.

What is this *-el* which has so un-Aryan an appearance? Hrozný points out (191), referring to Kretschmer, that Lydian has a G. *-l* occurring especially in adjectives. But there is a similar referring *l* in Kushite (non-Semitic) Abyssinian (Enno Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions*, Part 1, 1916, 77): Hrozný devotes a long treatise (50-59) to the 'H' formative *l*-element, connecting it with IE. formative *l* in such words as Lat. *humilis*, from *humus* 'ground', etc. He does this because 'H' seems to show gentilicia in *-l* (for examples, see Hr. 51). Hrozný associates this gentilic genitive *l* with the participial formative *l* in 'H' *šarnikzi-el*. He also compares IE. *nomina agentis* in *-el*, *-el*, *-il*, such as Lat. *figulus* 'potter', OHG. *tregil* 'bearer' and the Slavonic preterite participle, as *dělal* 'having done'. But after this argument in favor of the IE. origin of the 'H' *l*, Hrozný mentions (57) that a similar *l* exists outside of IE, i. e., in Etruscan, Lakish and Avar, as Lakish *na 'T, ttul* 'of me, my'. He is inclined to the view that this non-Aryan *l* may have had an IE. origin. He compares the 'H' G. *-l* in the pronouns with the G. *-r-* in Gothic *unsara* 'of us, our,' Armenian *mer* 'our.' He adds (59) that the Turkic gentilicia and adjectives in *li, lu* have nothing to do with the 'H' *l*, as Turkic *li, lu* come from an earlier *-lik, -luk* (thus Bittner). Even admitting this latter statement to be so, the same *l*-formative was present in Turkic *-lik, -luk* as in *-li, -lu*, since the final *-k* in Turkish was merely a nominal-adjectival termination, used in Osmanli for nouns alone.

(b) Closely connected with this question is that of the supposed 'H' Comitative in *-ila*, as *šumāšila, apāšila*. Hrozný admits (118) the unclearness of the passages containing these forms, which, therefore, may well be doubted. If, however, these were genuine comitatives, they would suggest rather Turkic *-ile(n)* 'with'. Furthermore, the term *našili*, which Hrozný thinks, probably correctly, indicates the language known to us as 'Hittite', he derives from the suffix *naš* 'our' and this derivative *l*-element, seen also in *zattili*=the real *Chatti* or Hittite language (*Völker u. Sprachen*, 3 ff.). Hrozný's rendering of

¹³ The suffix *-wa* is not part of the genitive here, but a mere particle, probably meaning 'indeed'. A similar particle exists in Mongolian (Japanese), as *matokushi wa* 'indeed', but with nominative force. See, however, below, n. 15.

našili as 'our language', paralleling Slavonic *naški* 'in our speech'; *vaški* 'in your tongue', is probably not accurate, as 'H' *naš* means 'this' as well as 'our,' so that *našili* could simply mean 'in this language' (see above, n. 9).

In view of the un-Aryan appearance of referring *l* and of its widespread use in languages of varying provenance, the IE. origin of the 'H' *l* (-*el*, -*il*, etc.) is very doubtful.

(c) The G. pl. -*ēzan* in *šumēzan*, *apēzan* suggests un-Aryan morphology, but of what origin it is impossible to determine.

(d) What is the origin of the infix -*d*-? Hrozný refers (138, n. 3) to an original -*da*, -*ta*(?), which he associates with the *ro*-element of Greek *οὗτος* 'this', and Slav. *k-to* 'who.' This seems a far-fetched conclusion. The 'H' D. ending -*ni* (= -*anni*), suffixed to this -*da*- in such forms as *kuēdani*, also without -*da*- in *idaluanni* (Hr. 65, n. 4) 'to the evil person,' is far more suggestive of Finnic than of IE.; cf. Lapp. *mu-ni* 'to me'; *tu-ni* 'to thee' (Szinnyéi, 71). It is possible that the -*da*- in 'H' D. and Loc. forms may be cognate with the Sumerian -*da*-, also of locative signification (Delitzsch, *Sum. Gr.*, 127), and may not be IE. at all.

II. Noun Inflection

The 'H' nominal inflection is much more Indo-European in appearance than that of the pronouns. Thus, the very evident occurrence of *a*-, *i*-, *u*-stems, to which case-endings are suffixed, is strongly suggestive of IE. Note the following declensions:

	<i>a</i> -stems	<i>i</i> -stems	<i>u</i> -stems
N.	<i>antuxša-š</i>	<i>xalki-š</i>	<i>Telibinu-š-a</i> (conjunctive - <i>a</i>)
G.	<i>antuxša-š</i>	<i>xalki-aš</i>	<i>Telibinu-u-ašš(a)</i> ; <i>Telibinu</i>
D.	<i>antuxš-i</i>	<i>xalk-i</i>	<i>Telibin-i</i>
A.	<i>antuxša-n</i>	<i>xalki-n</i>	<i>Telibunu-n</i>
Loc.	(<i>antuxša-z</i>)	(<i>xalki-az</i>)	
Abl.	<i>antuxši-t(d)</i>	<i>xalki-t(d)</i>	
		pl.	
N.	<i>antuxš-eš</i>	(<i>xalki</i>)- <i>eš</i>	<i>idalau-eš</i>
G.	<i>antuxš-aš</i>	(<i>xalki</i>)- <i>aš</i>	
D.	<i>antuxš-aš</i>	<i>xalki-aš</i>	
A.	<i>antuxš-uš</i>	<i>xalki-uš</i>	
Loc.	—	—	
Abl.	<i>antuxši-t(d)</i>	—	<i>zarnau-ua</i>

Here it will be observed that 'H' \bar{s} resembles Av. San. N. \bar{s} , save that in 'H' the so-called N. \bar{s} may have a non-Aryan indicative force in some instances, a phenomenon which seems also true of the other 'H' cases. Thus, *zalugatallašmiš* 'my messenger' (109) shows the \bar{s} -suffix after both the noun and the pronominal suffix. Note also forms like *apāš-ila*, *šunāš-ila*, mentioned above, with \bar{s} -*ila* affixed to the apparent N. \bar{s} , and especially *našili* 'in this language' (see above B., I, b). The same application of the case-ending appears in the accus. *zalugatallanmin* 'my messenger' (124). It must be noted that these pronominal endings \bar{s} -*miš*, \bar{s} -*min* are genuine suffixes and not separates like Lat. *meus*, *meum*. Note, furthermore, that in the *u*-class, the G. *Telibinu* occurs without G. \bar{s} . The \bar{s} -sign of the D., common throughout the declensions, although perhaps corresponding to the IE. locative ending \bar{s} , as suggested by Kretschmer (Hrozný, 'H', p. 9), rather than to Av. San. D. \bar{s} , is even more suggestive of the Finno-Ugric Lative-Dative \bar{s} , as Lapp. *par' nai* 'to the son'; *monnai* 'to the egg'; *johkoi* 'to the river' (Szinnyei, 71). Note, however, Lycian D. \bar{s} in *ladi* 'to the spouse' from *lada* (Hr. 49).

The 'H' Loc. \bar{s} -*az* is a real puzzle. There is no IE. corresponding form. It is true, Hrozný compares Lycian \bar{s} -*azi*, \bar{s} -*zi* (10, n. 4) formatives of ethnica, but in the pre-Hellenic Lemnos inscription, \bar{s} -*asi*, presumably also ethnic, occurs in force in a language which was not IE. (Bugge, *Verhältnisse d. Etrusker zu den Indogermanen*, 100 ff.): Hrozný also refers to the Greek adverb $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\iota$ 'before the door', as a possible cognate. But there are locatives in a sibilant (\bar{s} , \bar{s} , \bar{s}) in the Caucasian dialects (Erkert, *Die Sprache d. Kaukas. Stammes*, 2. 223), a comparison which Hrozný arbitrarily rejects. Finno-Ugric shows also a well-marked sibilant locative, as Finn. *ma-sso* 'in the land'; *kyla-ssä* 'in the village' (\bar{s} -*ssä* = \bar{s} -*ssä*, Szinnyei, 78). How far any of these stems may be compared with the 'H' locative \bar{s} -*az* is, of course, uncertain, but it is probable that this \bar{s} -*az* is not IE.

'H' Abl. \bar{s} -*it(d)* seems to be a cognate of Av. San. Abl. \bar{s} -*i*; original in \bar{s} -stems \bar{s} -*it*; and secondary in \bar{s} -stems: Av. \bar{s} -*it*; \bar{s} -stems: Av. \bar{s} -*ait*.

The 'H' pl. also presents few non-Aryan peculiarities. The coincidence of the G. and D. pl. in \bar{s} -*as* is striking, but cf. Goth. G. *unsara* 'of us', *unais* 'to us' with (\bar{s})-*as* dative.¹⁴

¹⁴ In Goth. the pronominal D. sign is possibly the \bar{s} - or \bar{s} -vowel + \bar{s} , as *mis* 'to me', *us-ais* 'to us', *twis* 'to you', *thus* 'to thee'.

I am unable to comment on the so-called 'neuter' 'H' Abl. pl. -wa.¹²

C. I. Gender

Finally, in this connection arises the question as to the existence of grammatical gender in 'H'. The fact that in Delitzsch (*Vokabularfragmente*, IX. 6) we find *walkiṣṣaraš* = Akkad. *lêu* 'strong,' but GUN *walkiṣṣaraš* = Akkad. *lêtum* 'strong' (fem.) would appear to indicate a lack of feminine grammatical designation for nouns, already mentioned by me (*Hittite Material*, 41). It is highly likely at the present showing that 'H' lacked distinctive feminine and also neuter terminations. Hrozný, throughout his discussion of the declensions, admits the merging of the feminine with the masculine. In the combination GUN *walkiṣṣaraš* 'strong' (fem.), Hrozný reads for GUN, SAL-za, implying an unknown 'H' word for 'woman', ending in -z, and renders 'strong woman,' but it is much more likely that GUN here = the Sum. ideogram 'heavy, gravid, pregnant', hence 'female' (possibly GUN = Akkad. *biltu* 'tribute' was applied to *bêltu* 'lady, woman'). Even if the preformative of *walkiṣṣaraš* were SAL-za, rather than GUN, this is more likely to have been a feminine distinctive and not a qualifying word. Had SAL-za (GUN) meant 'woman', the Akkad. rendering would have been *aššatum lêtum* 'strong woman' and probably not *lêtum* alone. Lack of grammatical gender is very un-Aryan and appears in the Turkic and Finno-Ugric group. For such distinctive prefixed gender words, cf. Osmanli *erkek* 'male', used before both human and animal names, as *erkek arslan* 'male lion', and *qyz* 'female' before human names, as *qyz qardaş* 'sister', and *dışi* before animal names alone, as *dışi arslan* 'lioness', etc. While it is true that prehistoric IE. did not make distinctions of gender in forms of personal pronouns, nor of all nouns, there was nevertheless a careful distinction in many pronominal and nominal and most adjectival terminations, although the distinction was not carried so far as in some modern IE. languages. It is a question whether the lack of gender in such modern IE. tongues as Persian, Hindustani and Armenian is not the result of non-Aryan influences, such as that of Turko-Tatar, rather than an independent IE. tendency towards genderlessness, such as appears, for example, in modern English.

¹² Has this so-called Abl. -wa any connection with the -wa mentioned above in n. 13, this article?

It seems significant also that 'H' 'neuter' forms, especially pronominal forms in *-t*, as *nat*, *tat*, *apat* (see above A., I.) are all capable of being regarded also as masc. pls.; cf. Hrozný, *Völker u. Sprachen*, 26, line 5: *nat paratianzi* 'these ones (masc. pl.) come forth.' In other words, it is doubtful whether there really was a neuter in 'H'. In short, the whole question as to Hrozný's gender distinctions is very doubtful, the probability rather being that 'H' was a genderless idiom, similar in this respect to Asiatic non-Aryan forms of speech.

C. II. Pronominal Suffixes

As has already been noted above (A., I.), the 'H' pronouns have D. and A. suffixes *-mu*, 1 p. sg.; *-naš*, 1 p. pl.; *-ta*, 2 p. sg.; *-šmaš*, 2 p. pl. But the suffix of the 3 p. pl. is also *-šmaš*, so similar to that of the 2 p. pl. as to arouse suspicion, or, at any rate, to awaken confusion in the mind of the student. Hrozný himself admits the danger of misunderstanding in this connection (131), as this *-šmaš*- suffix must mean 'to them' and not 'to you' in many forms (such as those cited in 133). Hrozný's derivation of the 3 p. pl. *-šmaš* from some cognate of San. *asmai* 'to him'; Umbrian *esmei* = Lat. *huic*, seem very far-fetched, especially as there is no established IE. form of the 3 p. pronoun in 'H' (see on *apaš*, above A., I.). Note here, however, the D. suffix of the 3 p. sg. *-ši* 'to him, to her' (132), discussed in the following paragraph.

None of the above mentioned suffixes are possessive in character. The true possessive 'H' suffixes are appended to the nouns qualified and apparently declined with the same case-endings as the nouns, which do not lose their own case-endings (see above on *zalugatal-lašmiš*, B., II.). These 'H' *-m*-, *-t*-, *-s*- possessive suffixes do not necessarily imply IE. connection, as we find precisely the same style of possessives in Finno-Ugric; viz., 1 p. *-m*; 2 p. *-t*; 3 p. *-s*; cf. Szinnyei, 114: Magyar *karo-m* 'my arm'; *karo-t* 'thy arm'; Lapp. *ahče-s* 'his father'. It is curious that the Finno-Ugric pl. possessives do not show the same analogy with the 'H', as Finno-Ugric simply pluralizes the *-m*-, *-t*-, *-s* by adding the pl. ending *-k* (Szinnyei, 114). In 'H' as in Finno-Ugric the 1 and 2 p. possessive suffixes seem to be formed from the pronouns themselves, as 'H' 1 p. *mi-š* from *mug*, 2 p. *-tiš* from *tug*. As to the connection of the 'H' 3 p. suffix *-ši*, *-šiš* with any other 'H' element, this must be left for the present without suggestion, as the 'H' 3 p.

pronoun was *apaš* (see above, A., I.). It is interesting to notice that a demonstrative *s*-element is common to all the Finno-Ugric languages; cf. Finn. *se*, Esth. *sen*, Lapp. *son*, Syr. *si*, *sy*, 'he, they'.

C. III. Verbal Endings.

Lack of space forbids a detailed study of the 'H' verb, but it may be remarked, in connection with the pronominal suffixes just treated, that the problem of the verbal personal suffixes of the present tense is very interesting. There are two distinct 'H' conjugations differing in the present tense as follows:

1 <i>ja-mi</i> 'I make' (not 'go!') (152)	<i>dā-(x)xi</i> 'I give' (160)
2 <i>ja-ši</i> (<i>je-ši</i>)	<i>da-tti</i>
3 <i>ja-zi</i> , etc.	<i>dā-i</i>
	pl.
1 <i>ja-weni</i>	(<i>dā-weni</i>)
2 <i>ja-tteni</i>	<i>da-tteni</i>
3 <i>ja-nzi</i> (<i>je-nzi</i>)	<i>dā-nzi</i>

There can be no doubt that these forms resemble very closely the ancient IE. verbal morphology in the singular; cf. San. *yā-mi*, *yā-ši*, *yā-ti*; pl. *yā-masi*, *yā-tha*, *yā-ni*. And yet, on close examination there is some room for doubt even here. How are the 'H' 3 p. sg. *-zi* and the 3 p. pl. *-nzi*, as contrasted with Av. San. *-ti*, 3 p. pl. *-ni* to be explained? The supposition that 'H' *-ši* may be a palatalization of an original *-ti* in these forms, seems strange in view of the presence of *z* in the 'H' participle in *-za*, as *adanza* 'eating', and *adanzi* 'they eat' (cf. Prof. Bloomfield's article 'The Hittite Language' in this volume, p. 201 f.). It is certainly striking to find in Finno-Ugric the personal verbal singular endings 1 p. *-m*, 2 p. *-ti* and, most startling of all, in some idioms, 3 p. *-se*; thus: Magyar *also-m* 'I sleep'; *ese-m* 'I eat'; Finn. *mene-t* 'thou goest', the *t* alternating in the dialects with *l* (Magyar *also-l* 'thou sleepest') and *n* (Wogul *minñe-n* 'thou goest'); Esth. *surrek-se* 'he is dying'; Cher. *tolno-še* 'he will come', Wotj. *basto-z* 'he will take', etc. (Szinnyei, 148-150). Furthermore, the 'H' 1 and 2 pl. endings *-weni* and *-tteni* do not have an IE. appearance; contrast the San. *-masi* and *-tha*, cited just above, and Av. *-mahi* and *-tha*. Were it not for the very evident non-Semitic character of 'H', the casual observer might be reminded of the Semitic (Assyrian) 1 and 2 pl. endings *-ni* and *-tunu*. The 'H' *-theni*, however, has been compared with Vedic 2 p. pl. *-tana* (secondary tenses) or

-*thana* (primary tenses), a possible connection. Finally, in this connection, how are we to explain the 'H' verbs with 1 p. pres. in -*zi*,¹⁶ in verbs which have lost the -*z*- of the 3 p. pres. entirely (see above *daxzi*, 3 p. *dai*)?

The conclusion almost forces itself upon the philologist that 'H' displays a mixed and, at the present moment, in many instances untraceable morphology. It is yet too early, in view of the great uncertainty of many translations from 'H' texts, to come to a definite decision, but it is highly possible that this idiom may have to be classified eventually in a group by itself, perhaps standing half way between IE. and non-Aryan idioms such as Finno-Ugric and Turkic.¹⁷ I am aware that many IE. philologists have already rejected the idea that there can be any connection between non-Aryan languages and IE., preferring to regard radical morphological resemblances, such as those pointed out in the present study, as either accidental or form-borrowings from IE. on the part of ancient non-IE. idioms. Henry Sweet in his striking article on linguistic affinity (*Otia Messeniana*, 1900-1901, 113-126) called attention to and laid emphasis upon such radical similarities, and Szinnyei (20) cites a number of salient examples of apparent root-relationships between Finno-Ugric and IE. Especially noticeable among these are Wogul *wit*, Cher. *wüt*, Finn. *rete*-, Magyar *víz* = IE. *red-* (cf. Phrygian $\beta\epsilon\delta\eta$) 'water'; Finn. *vetä* 'draw'; Cher. *wüd-* *wid-* 'lead'; Magyar *vázd-* 'lead' = IE. *uedh* 'lead', as Slav. *vedu* 'I lead', etc. Furthermore, the A. suffix in -*m*, as Finn. *n = m*, Cher. -*m*, = IE. -*m*, is of interest in this connection.

In view of the many doubtful points to which attention has been called in the present paper, it would seem advisable to await further developments of Hittitology before the decision is reached that we have in 'H' a regular IE. idiom, standing on the same plane as Sanskrit, Old Persian, or Avestan.

¹⁶ The verbal -*zi*, 1 p., is a strange phenomenon in 'H'. May it be compared with the Slavonic 1 p. -*ch* of Aorists, as *bych* 'I were, would be' (*passive*), or is it an entirely un-Aryan form? [The *ch* of Slavonic aorists probably goes back to IE. *s*. — F. E.]

¹⁷ Carl J. S. Marstrand, Professor of Celtic at Christiania, Norway, published in 1919, *Caractères indo-européens de la langue hittite*, in which he seeks to prove that 'H' belonged to the western group of IE. languages, with Germanic, Italo-Celtic, and Greek, and shows especial affinities with Italic, Celtic, and Tokharian, the recently discovered idiom of the Indo-Scythians. On this latter subject, cf. *Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 39 (1908), 924.

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Some years ago the Jewish Publication Society of America undertook the publication of a series of Jewish Classics (Text and Translation) in twenty-five volumes, and this undertaking together with the interruption of mail facilities due to the war emphasized the need for a Hebrew Press.

Through the generosity of the late Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall, Esq., and a number of other gentlemen in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore a fund was placed at the disposal of the Publication Society for the creation of a Hebrew Press.

After fully considering the subject it was decided to adopt the monotype system. This system, which first came into use in 1899, not only makes type but also sets it in lines justified more accurately than can be done by hand. It is a combination of a type-caster and a type-setting machine equipped with an automatic justifying mechanism. Each monotype character is on a separate body so that corrections and alterations are made as readily as with hand-set type.

In the monotype system two machines are used: a paper perforator and a type-caster. The keyboard, or perforator, produces a ribbon of paper which controls, by means of the perforations, the casting machine just as a paper roll controls an automatic player piano. The keyboard, which is not unlike a typewriter (its key arrangement is the universal typewriter keyboard), consists of a punching and counting mechanism. When a key is depressed the punches for this character perforate the paper and at the same time the width of this character is registered by the counting mechanism; the paper ribbon (about four and one-half inches wide) then automatically advances to receive the record of the next key struck. As in a typewriter, a bell signals the operator to end the line, and when this is done, a scale indicates the keys to be struck to justify the completed line. No calculation whatever is required, for the counting mechanism not only determines the amount the line is short of the required measure, but it also divides this by the number of spaces in the line and indicates the keys to strike to produce the proper size spaces to make this line the correct length. When the ribbon unwinds at the caster, the first perforations for the line are these justifying perforations, which cause the caster to adjust its space-sizing mechanism to produce the proper size spaces for the line.

The Duplex Keyboard is a further development of the Monotype; it introduces a new process to the printing industry. It is like the ordinary monotype keyboard except that it is equipped with two perforating and counting mechanisms and consequently simultaneously produces two different paper ribbons for quite independent type sizes and width lines. With this keyboard an article may be set in 10 point for a magazine while at the same time the same matter is produced in 12 point for publication in book form. Either set of perforating and counting mechanisms may also be used independently of the other set. This matter of different point sizes may be alternated, each on its own ribbon; for example, the text of a book in large type and the footnotes in a smaller type.

The Casting Machine is a complete type-foundry, making type, borders, quads and spaces in all sizes from 5 to 36 point inclusive. This type may be put in cases and set by hand like foundry-type, or, when the caster is controlled by a ribbon perforated by the keyboard, the type in any sizes from 5 to 14 point is delivered, in any measure required, up to 60 picas, upon ordinary galleys in

perfectly justified lines. In short, its product is exactly the same as hand-set foundry type and is handled, corrected, and made up in the same way.

Under this general plan two machines have been built to produce Hebrew composition. The keyboard has been provided with keys bearing the Hebrew characters. This was done by exchanging the complete keybanks, key-bars and stop-bars, substituting those carrying the Hebrew characters for the ones with the English characters. The paper ribbon is perforated exactly the same as it would be for English composition. In setting Hebrew composition the characters are set in one line and the vowel points and accents are set in the following line so that they come directly above or below the characters which they affect.

The composition with vowel points required the adoption of an ingenious standardization system which not only constitutes an original contribution to the art of Hebrew printing, but its principles may be applied to other Oriental languages. The set size of the characters or their widths has been standardized into two units: eighteen and nine. English characters have widths ranging to twelve units. Thus—the wide characters like *aleph*, *he*, *mem*, *sade* are arranged in eighteen unit set sizes, while the narrow characters like *nun*, *wau*, *gimel*, are set in nine units. The vowel points have also been standardized to match the eighteen unit characters and another set of vowel points for the nine units. The reducing of the set size to a two unit system, eighteen and nine, eliminates all the possible difficulties which a compositor would otherwise have if he had to match as in English a larger variety of units.

The Hebrew matrix case consists of about 225 characters and includes in addition to all the letters of the alphabet those characters which carry the *dagesh* and *holem*, so that they may be set with one touch. The matrix case also contains the superior characters, the numbers, vowel points, musical accents, and the punctuation marks. Thus all conceivable kinds of Hebrew composition, straight matter, table work, composition with or without vowel points, notes, may be set using but one matrix and on the same keyboard. It will be possible to set scientific articles which require a mixture of English and Hebrew, and all sorts of faces, without making any insertions by hand. The convenience of this can be readily seen when setting glossaries, dictionaries, encyclopedic articles, indexes; in short, wherever several languages

or variations of style of type are required. As many as six different faces of type may be set on one line. The principal change in the mechanism is at the Casting Machine where the type is produced. The matrices of each character are placed in the matrix case upside down. In addition to turning the characters around, the lines as they come out of the machine are assembled in the reverse order from English composition. That is—instead of the lines as they come out being pushed onto a galley or tray toward the right they are pushed toward the left. This combination of turning the characters around and assembling the lines in the reverse order makes the Hebrew composition read from right to left instead of from left to right as in English.

The lay-out of the keyboard could not follow any older system, but was so arranged as to produce the maximum speed and convenience for the compositor.

A work under this plan is always printed from new type. The cost of electrotyping is unnecessary as the paper rolls can be stored away in a small space and new castings made from them if a new edition is required. The space for storing electrotypes is also saved.

In the matter of the economy of time it can be stated that the Jewish Publication Society is employing a skilled type-setter from Wilna who formerly worked for the Romm firm of that city, which published the great Talmud. This man, though a novice on the Monotype machine, nevertheless has set up a galley of Hebrew type with vowels on the machine in forty-five minutes as against four hundred and fifty minutes by hand.

It may fairly be said that a revolution in Hebrew printing has thus been effected. The Jewish Publication Society of America may lay claim to having adapted the Monotype system to the full use of Hebrew composition. It has not only initiated the idea but its special committees on Hebrew printing have contributed nearly all the ideas which have enabled the producers of the machine to utilize it for the purposes of Hebrew printing.

As for the face itself, a word should be said. The original effort was to maintain a tradition of the Hebrew printing as known in America. Faces of early Hebrew type vary, of course, very greatly in Turkey, Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, Holland and England. In some cases they obviously imitate a local manuscript style. A study of early Hebrew printing in America and especially of works of considerable length made it plain that

the American types were descended from Holland which in its turn seems to have gone back to Venice. Accordingly, some prints were taken of works published by the distinguished Manasseh Ben Israel (1604-1657) who was at once author, printer, and statesman and whose features are known to us by a splendid etching of Rembrandt. From these characters an artist drew the designs for the Monotype machine. These were carefully studied and slight alterations made to prevent possible confusion of letters like *daleth* and *resh*, *gimel* and *nun*, *samech* and final *mem*. A face was thus finally secured which it is believed combines beauty with clearness. The machines are being constructed to carry six sizes of type.

Aside from presenting this statement my purpose in bringing the subject before the Society is to enable the members to consider whether the Society desires to supplement this enterprise.

The Jewish Publication Society has expended some \$14,000 up to now in building two machines carrying six sizes of type. Hebrew is ample for its purpose. I have ascertained that for a maximum cost of \$500 per language any other alphabet which would lend itself to the Monotype system could be added.

This press, which I hope will be ready for practical purposes by the end of May, will be at the service of anyone up to its capacity. Being operated by a Society which does not seek profits, it may aid in solving some of the financial questions connected with the printing of Hebrew and other Oriental texts in America.



March 29, 1921

THE OLDEST DOME-STRUCTURE IN THE WORLD

FRITZ HOMMEL

UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH



THE REPRESENTATION of 'the oldest monumental dome-structure' given by Dr. H. F. Lutz in this JOURNAL, vol. 39 (1919), p. 122, from one of the famous 'palettes en schiste', or slate pallets of the beginnings of Egyptian civilization, has a long and interesting history which I will give in outlines in the following pages.

A. The history of 'one of the oldest known temples in Egypt'. In the Pyramid Inscriptions (ed. by Kurt Sethe) two temples are named more than thirty times in close connexion, viz., *pr-wr*  with many slight variants, i. e., 'the house of the prince', or 'the great house', and *pr-nw*, i. e., 'the house of the heavenly ocean', or *pr-nsr*, 'the house of diadem (?)', or, perhaps, 'of watching' . As it is seen easily, the latter is the temple, given by Prof. Lutz from the 'palette en schiste avec scènes de chasse'.

(a) *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* (or *pr-nsr*) named together (I cite the paragraphs of the edition of Sethe):


Pyr. 256a god Min *js hnt pr-wr pr-nw* (var. *jrt p. p.*, *jrt chapel* or a similar meaning), comp. below 1998a.

Pyr. 425c the two *pr*, the double ox and the obelisk *thn-b'* together with *sp'* (larva?) in an exorcism-formula, comp. below 669 (the two *pr* and *sp'-wr*).

Pyr. 577c, d (=645b), Osirian text: 'the gods are in brotherhood with thee in thy name *snwt*,   they do not repel (tw) thee in thy name *jrt pr-wr pr-nw'*. Comp. also 1830c, d.



Pyr. 645b (comp. 577, c, d and 1830, c. d.).

Pyr. 669ab, comp. 425; not the ideograms, but *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* are meant by 'the two *pr*'.

Pyr. 731c (Osirian text). Osiris judging the gods *m hnt jrt pr-wr* (and) *pr-nw* (ideog. with det. ); comp. 2005a.

Pyr. 757b *jrt pr-wr pr-nw p-t* (of heaven); comp. 757b (the throne of Osiris).

Pyr. 852bc *pr-wr pr-wr* (here phonetically with id.) *pr-n-s-r* and id. (Osirian text!).

¹ I transcribe  always *pr-wr* (with a hyphen) and  always *pr-nw*.

Pyr. 896c Osiris standing before *jrt pr-wr pr-nw* like Anubis.

Pyr. 1009a (Osirian hymn) no mourning in *jrt pr-wr pr-nw* = 1978a.

Pyr. 1068cd the enneas in On *m hnt* (before) *jrt pr-wr*, *m dd b-t pr-nw* (comp. 288b, 1362c).

Pyr. 1159b *Hnt jrt pr-wr pr-nw* (comp. 1157b Osiris and 1159a *spd-wr*).

Pyr. 1182c he goes up-stream to *Hnt-jrt pr-wr pr-nw*.

Pyr. 1262b they place thee (O Osiris) before *jrt pr-wr pr-nw* of the souls of On (Osirian text).

Pyr. 1297e (= 1369bc and 2017bc) *jrt pr-wr* in Upper-Egypt (*šm'*), *jrt pr-nw* in Lower Egypt (*mh'-t*)—Osirian text.

Pyr. 1345b Osiris *m hnt jrt pr-wr pr-nw* (comp. *pr-wr* alone 2572b).

Pyr. 1362c (comp. another variant 2010a) *q' ddbt pr-wr pr-nw pr-nw* (the latter in the dual) *Grgw-b'k*² (comp. 719a). Osirian text; comp. 288b and 1064cd.

Pyr. 1369bc = 1297cd = 2017bc, Osirian text (see above).

Pyr. 1541b (Osiris) *m jrt pr-wr pr-nw j'ht* (comp. 1862b, and 1992a).

Pyr. 1552b *Hnt-mnt-f* offers to *jrt pr-wr* (with two strokes, meaning *pr-wr* and *pr-nw*); comp. 1551a (*ph-t pr-nw* hymn to Osiris-Nile).

Pyr. 1830cd (Osirian text) see above 577cd (and 645b).

Pyr. 1862b (Osirian text) he stands in *jrt pr-wr pr-nw j'ht* (comp. 1541b and 1992a). Comp. also 1867b (Anubis and *pr-wr*).

Pyr. 1978a (Osirian hymn) no mourning in *jrt pr-wr pr-nw*, see 1009a.

Pyr. 1992a see 1541b and 1862b; and comp. 1992b (throne of *Gb* before *jrt pr-wr*).

Pyr. 1998a thou standest on the top (or front, *hntj*) of the brotherhood (*šnwt*) of *pr-wr pr-nw* like Min. Comp. above 256a.

Pyr. 2005a comp. above 731c.

Pyr. 2017bc = 1297e and 1369bc (see above).

(b) *pr-wr* alone:

Pyr. 370b with *Nbtj* (= *Štš*, Seth).

Pyr. 627a *Išf-wr* (Osiris as the great sawer) of *pr-wr* in triumph over Seth.

² *Grgw-b'k* is probably *ερεωςερεως* in the Fayoum.

Pyr. 648d Osiris is named *pr-wr pr-wr* (phonetically and id.); folk-etymology with *wr* 'greater' than his enemy.

Pyr. 689c the god *Pr-wr* (only phonet., without ideogr.).

Pyr. 910b *Nhbt* of *Nhb-nw*, lady of *pr-wr pr-wr* (phon. and id.).

Pyr. 938a *m hnt jrt pr-wr wr(-x)-t* (comp. 1251d). The variant gives *pr-nw wr-t*.

Pyr. 1251d *m hnt jrt pr-wr wr-t* (comp. 938a) and god *Bdw*.

Pyr. 1288a *pr* (pl.) *wr* (pl.) *jmue jwn-nw* (On)—here meaning *pr-wr* and *pr-nw*; lit. the great houses.

Pyr. 1462c *pr-wr* (in a connexion which is obscure to me).

Pyr. 1867b like Anubis upon *x* (man with knife) *pr-wr* (comp. 1862b *pr-wr pr-nw*).

Pyr. 1992b *Gb* before *jrt pr-wr* (comp. 1992a *pr-wr pr-nw*).

Pyr. 2094b (Osirian text) standing in *pr-wr*, sitting with the two enneads.

Pyr. 2172b Nut bears thee like Orion,² she makes thy standing place before *jrt pr-wr* (comp. 1345b the variant *pr-wr pr-nw*, without the passage mentioning Orion).

(c) *pr-nw* alone:

Pyr. 244b 245a bull of Horus and the god *Jm-tpht-f* (i. e., he who is in his spring-fountain, or fountain-cavern, with det. *pr-nw*).

Pyr. 268d *hntj tpht* with det. *nw* three times repeated (comp. [] = *pr-nw*).

Pyr. 288d *m Dd-t* (det. of local name), var. *m Ddht* and det. *pr-nw*. Comp. 1064d and 1362c.

Pyr. 444b *tpht pr-nw* (charm-text, *sp' Hr*, and house of the bull of the fountain-cavern).

Pyr. 682a god *Jm-tpht-f* (here with det. *pr*, instead of *pr-nw*).

Pyr. 810c *tpht pr-nw wr. t jwn-nw* (var. ζ instead of *pr-nw*; comp. Kees, *Der Opferant*, p. 130).

Pyr. 852d *tpht pr-nw* are opened, var. ζ .

Pyr. 1078b *tpht pr-nw* (three times []) are opened.

Pyr. 1139b *hm pr-nw* of the goddess *Jmt-t* (comp. 1128c Osiris).

Pyr. 1438 *Pr nw* and id. *pr-nw* ([]); there the birth of the god *Wp-w'wt*, the standing jackal. *Wp-w'wt* must be here a name of the Nile.

Pyr. 1551d (hymn to Osiris-Nile) *tpht pr-nw* (=house of *pr-nw* of Osiris).

² Comp. R. T. 2, pl. XVI, No. 116 *pr-wr z'h*, and tomb of *Mtn* (Berlin) G X, (= E, 2 of the other edition) prince of *Pr wr z'h* (here a local name).

Pyr. 1557b (in the same hymn) *tph-t-f* (viz. of the Nile) with det. *Pr* instead of *pr-nw*.

Pyr. 1680b thou (o *Wr*) hast opened *tph-t* (det. \simeq instead of *pr-nw*).

In resuming, the following is remarkable: Though some times *Pr-wr* is specialized for Upper Egypt, and similarly *Pr-nw* for Lower Egypt (see above Pyr. 1297e),⁴ originally both sanctuaries belonged closely together and were situated in the neighborhood of Assuan, where the *tph-t* (the subterranean source of the Nile) and the *gbhw* had their home.

Both sanctuaries were connected with the corn god Osiris, especially the *pr-wr*, his holy sepulchre, on whose top his son Anubis was lying. Comp. *Royal Tombs*, 2, pl. XVI, No. 116, where the *pr-wr*, originally a granary with a ladder of three degrees, is clearly represented as a house with the lying jackal of Anubis, according to the ingenious interpretation of my son-in-law, Dr. Theodor Dombart. The three degrees of the ladder became here the two fore-legs and the nose of the jackal, and the two funnel-stakes became the two ears. Comp. also Pyr. 896c and 1867b.

Sometimes *pr-wr* is connected with Orion, with Seth Nubti, with Geb, with *Nhb-t* and with Min of Panopolis (Khemmu)—see above.

While *pr-nw*, the birth place of *Wp-w't* (here a symbolic name for the Nile?) is generally connected with the *tph-t*, the holy fountain-cavern of the great river of Egypt.

In *Royal Tombs*, 2, pl. VI A (1st Dyn.) stands the symbol of the goddess Neith before the *pr-wr*, and an ibis (?) upon the *pr-nw*,⁵ while a bull (in the net) is placed before it; comp. the double-ox by the side of the *pr-nw* on the slate-palette, and comp. above Pyr. 425c.

Old pictures of the *pr-wr* are found also in *Royal Tombs* 1, pl. X, No. 11=pl. XVI, No. 20 (king Den) and *Medum*, pl. IX (tomb of Ra-hotep) and pl. XVII (tomb of Nofer-ma't). Comp. also the seal cyl. of Negadeh, *Aeg. Z.* 34 (1896), p. 160, Abb. 4: three fishes, tree and *pr-wr* (?); the tree is the sycamore of the tomb of Osiris (Pyr. 1485-1491). In later times we find (e. g., in How, 7. nome of Upper-Egypt) the sycamore by the

⁴ And comp. the Palermo chronicle, rev. 3. 1.

⁵ Comp. the great mace of Ner-met, where we also find the picture of a *pr-wr* with an ibis therein (see e. g., Capart, p. 241).

side of *pr-nw* (instead of *pr-wr*), which is a secondary confusion.

B. That Dr. Lutz is right in saying: 'the pre-dynastic Egyptian dome-structure ultimately goes back to Babylonia', is proved by a series of important discoveries which were published in my '*Beiträge zur morgenländischen Altertumskunde*', pp. 17-32 (II. 'Die beiden ältesten babylonischen und ägyptischen Heiligtümer'), Muenchen, 1920, Franz'sche Buchhandlung (Hermann Lukaschik). Compare especially my remarks on *é-nunna* = *kummu* (variant *kūpy*, dome-structure, German 'Kuppel') in connection with the *naqab apal* or fountain-spring, and Egyptian *é-nw*, in connection with the *tph-t*, the fountain cavern of the Nile (see above).

BRIEF NOTES

Representation of tones in Oriental languages

A Note on the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages appeared on pp. 453ff. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1920, and, at the risk of appearing egotistical, I venture to draw the attention of the Members of the American Oriental Society to the proposals contained therein. I believe that all Orientalists who have anything to do with the Far East have long felt the need of one universal system of representing tones for all languages, instead of the varying systems and confusion that exist at the present day. I in no way assume that the system proposed by me is the best possible, and, if a better and more convenient is suggested, I shall be the first to welcome it. Anyhow, perhaps it may be taken by American Orientalists as a starting point for the consideration of the subject.

The Note is the outcome of a Committee held in London, of which the principal members were Mr. Lionel Giles, of the British Museum, Sir Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, and Dr. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office, and was drawn up at their request, but on my own responsibility. It was laid before the Joint Meeting of Oriental Societies held in Paris in July 1920, at which were present representatives of the American Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Société Asiatique. The Proceedings of that Meeting were published in the *Journal Asiatique* for July-September 1920, and on page 192 there will be found, under the heading "Rapport de la Commission des Transcriptions," the following recommendation:

Le Comité donne son approbation cordiale au système de représentation des tons exposé par Sir George Grierson dans un article qui a été communiqué en manuscrit à la Commission (et publié ultérieurement dans le *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* octobre 1920).¹

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

Camberley, Surrey, England

¹ *Editorial Note.*—The Editors commend to the thoughtful consideration of the members of the Society and readers of the *JOURNAL* Sir George Grierson's illuminating study of a system for representing tones. We hope in the near future to be able to publish an article by a well-known American authority illustrating the use of the proposed system.

Persian Words in the Glosses of Hesychius

1. ἄρξιφος

Our glossographer defines ἄρξιφος as a Persian loan word signifying 'eagle' (ἄετός). It is doubtless the Younger Avesta *ərəzifra*, 'darting straight down,' Sanskrit *rjīpṛga*, an epithet of *śyena*, 'falcon', in Rig Veda 4. 27. 4; 38. 2. The *prīus* of the compound may have appeared in Ancient Persian as **ardī* (I.E. *r̥hī*, Ar. *r̥hī*), the sound representing Ar. *z* being shown in the cuneiform syllabary regularly as *d*, sometimes as *z*. This distinction involves the mooted question of dialects within the ancient language itself (cf. Meillet, *Gram. du Vieux Perse*, 3-9; Johnson, *Hist. Gram. of Anc. Pers. Lang.*, 157, 158) as well as phonetic influence and formulaic usage (cf. Stonecipher, *Graeco-Persian Proper Names*, 6-8). Without doubt the more correct transliteration of the Persian word would be ἄρξιφος < ἄρξιφιος reproducing as it does the exact form of the original. If we accept the dialect hypothesis it seems that the forms with *z* predominate in the Greek transference even where the Ancient Persian shows the regular *d*, e.g. Ἀριοβαρζάνης < *ariya* + *vardana*, Μιθροβαρζάνης < *Mithra* + *vardana*.

2. βίσταξ

An Ancient Persian word which has not survived is βίσταξ described as ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ Πέρσαις. We may conjecture that it was a royal title and not the word for 'king.' The *prīus* I connect with the Ancient Persian *viθ*, 'royal house,' Avestan *vis*. Its application to the reigning dynasty is clearly shown in the following passages: Behistan Inscription of Darius the Great, I, 70-71, *hamatazāiay vaīnā auramazdāha yaθā Gaumāta hya moguš v'θam tyām amātam naiy parābara*, 'I labored by the grace of Ahura Mazda that Gaumata the Magian might not take away our dynasty;' Persepolis Inscription of Darius, c. 23-24 *šiyātiš azšulā hauvrey aurā nirasdīy abiy imām viθam*, 'Welfare undisturbed will descend through Ahura upon this dynasty;' Nakš-e Rostam Inscription of the same monarch, a, 52-53, *mām auramazdā pātuv hacā ga[stā] utāmaiyy viθam utā imām dahyāum*, 'may Ahura Mazda protect me from evil and my dynasty and this country.'

The same problem is presented in the Greek transliteration of Ancient Persian *θ* < I.E. *k̑*, as in the case of Ancient Persian

$d < I.E. \tilde{g}$. Here again we find σ often representing θ , e.g. $\text{Μασιόσσης} < \text{maθiśta}$, $\text{Σαράσσης} < \text{θata} + \text{aspa}$.

The *posterius* may be connected with the Middle Persian *tak*, 'strong,' seen as the *prius* in the Ancient Persian proper name *taxmaspāda*, 'possessing a hero-army.' If our conjecture be correct, in addition to the formulaic phraseology of the 'king of kings,' (*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*) we restore another epithet of despotic arrogance, *βίσταξ*, 'hero of the royal race.'

3. ὁπαστόν

Hesychius notes ὁπαστόν τὸ ἐφόδιον. Πέρσαι (MS., not Περγαῖοι, *Philol.* 12. 616; Herwerden, *Lex. ὁπάζειν*). The Ancient Persian word seems clearly to be compounded of the prefix *upā*, 'unto' and the root *stā*, 'stand.' In the sense of 'stand by, aid' the word *upastā* occurs twenty-four times in the Achaemenidan inscriptions and in a special application would convey the meaning contained in *ἐφόδιον*, 'supplies for the road, support, assistance.' As shown in the related Sanskrit *upasthāna* the meaning 'approach' would flow easily from the etymology even if the compound is not found with this signification either in the inscriptions or in the Younger Avesta, and in that sense it would approximate the Greek *ἐφοδος*.

4. ἀμαζακάραν

A curious formation is ἀμαζακάραν defined as πολεμεῖν. We are reminded of the oft recurring *hamaranam cartanaiy*, 'to make battle' and are tempted to regard ἀμαζα- as an incorrect transference of ἀμαρα- (Anc. Pers. *hamarana*, 'battle' from *ham*, 'together' + *ar*, 'come'). To defend the ζ one must posit **hamaza* (*ham*; + **aza*, cf. Avesta *az* 'drive'). The *posterius* *καραν* < Ancient Persian *kar* 'make' is clear.

H. C. TOLMAN

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

Acting under Article IV, Section I, of the Constitution, as amended at the last annual meeting, the Executive Committee has, by unanimous vote, elected the following to membership in the Society:

Rabbi Harry H. Mayer,
Prof. H. B. Reed,
Mr. A. K. Schmajonian,
Prof. Jacob Wackernagel.

Rev. Dr. Frank K. Sanders, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City, has accepted the chairmanship of the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources, made vacant by the resignation of Prof. Julian Morgenstern.

At the meeting recently held in Baltimore, the Directors voted that foreign societies and individuals, who were receiving the JOURNAL in 1914, should be permitted to continue or renew their subscriptions, and to fill lacunae in their files since 1914, at pre-war rates of exchange (\$5.00 = 1 Pound = 25 francs = 20 marks, etc.). Notice is hereby given of this ruling, which goes into effect at once. The Executive Committee was empowered by the Directors to apply the principle thus laid down to individual cases at its discretion.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, hitherto in charge of an Executive Committee affiliated with the Archaeological Institute, the Society of Biblical Literature and the American Oriental Society, has been incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia as the American Schools of Oriental Research. This action was approved at a meeting of the Managing Committee (consisting of the Contributors, etc.) held in New York, June 3. Its purpose, as set forth in the Articles of Incorporation, is: "To promote the study and teaching and to extend the knowledge of Biblical literature and the geography, history, archaeology, and ancient and modern languages and literatures of Palestine, Mesopotamia and other Oriental countries, by affording educational opportunities to graduates of American Colleges and Universities and to other qualified students, and by the prosecution of Oriental research and excavations and exploration." The new incorporation will thus include the proposed School at Baghdad and any similar undertakings in the Near Orient. The Trustees number fifteen, three of whom represent the affiliated societies, the remainder being elected by the Contributors in groups of four for three years. The first board of Trustees consists of: James C. Egbert (President of the Archaeological Institute), Warren J. Moulton (Society of Biblical Literature), Wilfred H. Schoff (American Oriental Society), Cyrus Adler, Benjamin W. Bacon, George A. Barton, Howard Crosby Butler, Albert T. Clay, A. V. Williams Jackson, Morris Jastrow, Jr., James A. Montgomery, Edward T. Newell, James B. Nies, James H. Ropes, Charles C.

Torrey. Most of these gentlemen, with John B. Pine, Esq., were the incorporators. The first meeting of the Trustees was held in New York on June 17. The following officers were elected: James A. Montgomery, president; James C. Egbert, vice-president; George A. Barton, secretary and treasurer; Wilfred H. Schoff, associate secretary. Dr. W. F. Albright, present acting director, was appointed director of the School for the coming year.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has appointed a committee to inquire into the feasibility of compiling a catalogue of the Biblical manuscripts in this country. The committee consists of Prof. C. C. Edmunds (General Theological Seminary), Prof. A. Marx (Jewish Theological Seminary), and Prof. H. P. Smith (Union Theological Seminary), chairman. A brief questionnaire has been issued inquiring as to the location of manuscripts and the willingness of owners to participate in the catalogue. It is especially intended to obtain knowledge of manuscripts in private hands. Information should be sent to the chairman.

The Palestine Oriental Society held its sixth General Meeting in Jerusalem on May 4. The program of papers consisted of: 'A Year's Work in Palestine,' Prof. J. Garstang; 'Un hypogée juif à Bethphagé,' Le Rev. Père Orfali; 'Solomon as a Magician in Christian Legend,' Dr. C. C. McCown; 'Origine du pluriel simple dans les langues sémitiques,' Mr. Israel Eitan; 'Methods of Education and Correction among the Fellahin,' Mr. E. N. Haddad; 'Sites of Ekron, Gath and Libnah,' Dr. W. F. Albright. It is requested by the secretary, the Rev. Herbert Danby, that newcomers to Palestine who are interested in the Society, should communicate with him.

The name of the École Biblique de St. Étienne of the Dominican Convent in Jerusalem has been changed to l'École française archéologique de Palestine. The change of name is significant of the recognition of the School by the French government.

PERSONALIA

Prof. H. ZIMMERN, of Leipzig, has succeeded Prof. Friedr. Delitzsch at the University of Berlin.

Dr. H. F. LUTZ, of the University of Pennsylvania, has accepted the newly established chair of Egyptology and Assyriology at the University of California.

Prof. JOHN P. PETERS was the lecturer this year on the Bross Foundation of Lake Forest College. His subject was "Bible and Spade."

Prof. OTTO BARDENHEWER, of Munich, professor of the New Testament and Patristic scholar, editor of *Biblische Studien*, died March 19.

Dean ALFRED E. DAY, of the American University of Beirut, has published a circular giving a system of transliteration of Arabic, with primary regard to the usage of that University.

MR. W. E. STABLES, of Victoria College, University of Toronto, has gained the Thayer Fellowship in the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for 1921-22.

Professor FRANK CUMONT has been visiting this country. He came to deliver the Silliman Lectures at Yale University, his subject being the Astral-Cults. These he repeated at Union Seminary, and he also lectured at the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Wisconsin, and the Pacific School of Religions, Berkeley, Calif.

Professor MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, died suddenly at Jenkintown, Pa., on June 22, at the age of fifty-nine years. He had been a member of the Society since 1886, had served it as President, and at the time of his death was a Director.

THE ANTIQUITY OF BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION

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SOME YEARS AGO it was suggested that the scribe of Nabonidus (555-538) made a mistake in stating that Naram-Sin lived 3200 years earlier; that instead, he should have written 2200 years. This would make the date of Naram-Sin about 2750 B. C. Although there were reasons for reducing the older figure, many Assyriologists, including the writer, felt that until conclusive evidence was forthcoming it was inadvisable to lop off 1000 years. Recent discoveries have shown that the date 2750 B. C. is not far from correct.¹ The date of Sargon, the founder of Akkad, following the chronology given in the dynastic tablets which are discussed below, would then be about 2847-2791 B. C.

About twenty-five years ago, when some European savants regarded Sargon and Naram-Sin as legendary characters, Haynes at Nippur was digging through the pavement which was laid in the temple peribolos by one of these kings. Beneath the pavement of Naram-Sin he found thirty feet of accumulations of debris. Everything that was discovered belonging to the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin, letters, legal documents, temple administrative archives, and the art, indicated a highly developed state of civilization. But what is more to the point in this connection, everything which was found in the strata beneath Naram-Sin's pavement, and everything found elsewhere which belonged to the period prior to Sargon, pointed to a long antiquity for the culture represented by what was discovered. The character of the earliest script belonging to this age seemed, on palaeographical grounds, to carry us back to a time many centuries prior to the days of Sargon. The signs of even the earliest known writing are so far removed from the original hieroglyphs that it is only by the help of the values which we know the signs possess that we can make reasonable guesses as to what the original pictures of some of them might have been, while the majority are con-

¹ While there are no data at present to connect the V Uruk dynasty with that of III Ur, the number of kings in the lists given us by the Babylonian historians does not permit a large gap, if any.

ventionalized to such an extent that even this is not possible. The work of the sculptor in stone and bronze had been developed to such excellence that we can only infer that it required a long period to lead up to what had been produced. The artistic ingenuity displayed by the lapidary in metamorphizing a bit of stone into a beautiful gem, an art which even before Sargon's age was greatly conventionalized and at its very height, also forces one to conclude that a long period in the development of this art preceded.

There was a time when it seemed justifiable to take comparatively little notice of the history that preceded Sargon; but so much has recently been brought to light that we are now in a position to clarify our views concerning this earlier period.

During the past two decades a number of tablets and fragments have been found presumably all dating from the third millennium B. C., which have proved to be chronological works by ancient Babylonian historians. In the reconstructed list which follows, this material is marked A to E.

(A) In 1906, Hilprecht published the reverse of a fragmentary tablet which had been found in the Nippur Library, giving the names of kings and the years they ruled, of the Ur and Nisin dynasties.² This was republished by Poebel, in 1914,³ who, with the help of other texts, succeeded in reading also the obverse of the tablet, which contained the earliest dynasties.

(B) In 1911, Père Scheil published a very important tablet, in the possession of Mr. Bernard Maimon, which, although fragmentary, gives the six dynasties between Akshak and Gutium inclusive, with the names of rulers and number of years they reigned.⁴

(C) In 1912, Thureau-Dangin published an important tablet of Utu-begal, king of Erech, in which he tells how he terminated the rule of Gutium over Babylonia.⁵ This enables us to restore what is now known as the V Uruk dynasty to its proper place.

(D) In 1914, Poebel published several tablets, discovered in the Library at Nippur, one of which was written by a scribe in the fourth year of Ellil-bani, of the Nisin dynasty, i. e., about

² *BE* XX, 1.

³ *HGT* V, 5.

⁴ *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1911, 606 ff.

⁵ *RA* IX, 114 ff.

2200 B. C. These texts give the names of 134 kings who ruled Babylonia prior to his time. Another historiographer, who wrote during the reign of Damiq-ilishu, the last king of the same dynasty, had given a similar list. A summary informs us that there were eleven 'cities of royalty,' one of which had enjoyed five different dynasties, and the others, one, three, and four dynasties respectively; this covers 139 kings who ruled Babylonia. The date of the later scribe brings us close to the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, about 2123 B. C. Unfortunately these tablets⁶ have come down to us in a fragmentary condition, most important parts being missing.

(E) An important fragment of a similar list from the same source, has recently been published⁷ by M. Léon Legrain, in which the three missing cities of the eleven are given, namely, Hamazi, Adab, and Mari, making the list complete.

Several attempts have been made at reconstructing the summary given at the close of the tablet published by Poebel, representing these 'cities of royalty', in the order in which they first became seats of the dynasties.⁸ With the aid of the additional light furnished by the fragment published by Legrain, I offer in the following a new attempt at reconstructing the summary, as well as the list of dynasties.

- 4 kingdoms of Kish
- 5 kingdoms of Uruk
- 3 kingdoms of Ur
- 1 kingdom of Awan
- 1 kingdom of Ha[mazi]⁹
- [2 kingdoms of Adab]
- [1 or 2 kingdoms of Mari]
- [1 or 2 kingdoms of Akshak]
- 1 kingdom of Akkad
- 1 kingdom of Guti
- 1 kingdom of Nisin

⁶ For these texts see Poebel, *HGT* Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

⁷ *The Museum Journal*, 1920, 175 ff.

⁸ Poebel, *HT* 87 ff. Ungnad, *ZDMG* 1917, 162 ff. Hommel in Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 205 ff. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920, 23 ff.

⁹ In answer to an inquiry Doctor Legrain informed the writer after collating the tablet published previously (see *HGT* 2.25), that the character which is preserved is *Ha*. This unquestionably shows that the tablet read *Hamazi*.

RECONSTRUCTED LIST OF ROYAL CITIES

D	{	I Kish	23 kings	18,000+	years
		I Uruk	11(?) "	2,171+	"
		I Ur	4 "	171	"
		Awan	3 "	356	"
E	{	II Kish	4(?) "	3,792	"
		Hamazi	1(?) "	7	"
E	{	I Adab ^{a*}	2(?) "		
		II Ur ^{b*}	4(?) "	108	"
		II Adab	1 "	90	"
		Mari	3(?) "	30+	"
		I(?) Akshak ^{c*}	1(?) "		
		III Kish ^{d*}	3(?) "		
		II Uruk ^{e*}	3(?) "		
B	{	II(?) Akshak	6 "	99	" 3007(?) B. C.
		IV Kish	8 "	106	" 2978(?) B. C.
		III Uruk	1 "	25	" 2872(?) B. C.
		Akkad	12 "	197	" 2847(?) B. C.
		IV Uruk	5 "	26	" 2650(?) B. C.
		Gutium	21 "	125	" 2624(?) B. C.
C	V	Uruk	1 "	25(?)	" 2499(?) B. C.
A	{	III Ur	5 "	117	" 2474(?) B. C.
		Nisin	16 "	225	" 2357(?) B. C.

^{a*} This dynasty is proposed to account for the kings whose inscriptions were found by Banks at Bismaya.

^{b*} The number of years for this dynasty is obtained by subtracting the number of kings and the years of the first and third dynasties from the total given for all three. On the two known kings assigned to this dynasty, cf. *HT* 196.

^{c*} The existence of two Akshak dynasties rests upon slender grounds. Zuru of Akshak, whom Eannatum conquered (*SAK* p. 20), may only have been an ally of Mari.

^{d*} It would seem as if Eannatum had founded this dynasty and that Eabi-Ashtar was the last king of it.

^{e*} The three kings are only tentatively assigned to this dynasty.

I Kish Kingdom

9	Kalumum	900 years
10	Zugagib	840 "
11	Arwû, son of a <i>mushkenu</i>	720 "
12	Etana, the Shepherd	625 "
13	Baliquam, son of Etana	410 "
14	En-men-nun-na	611 "
15	Melam-Kish	900 "
16	Bar-sal-nun-na, son of Melam-Kish	1,200 "
17	Me-za-mug(?), son of Bar-sal-nun-na	
18	En-gis(?)-gu(?), son of Bar-sal-nun-na	
19	En(?)-. . .	
20	. . .-za(?)	
21	En(?)-. . .	
22	. . .	900 "
23	Ag(?), son of En(?)	625 "
23 kings		18,000 + x years

Eanna or I Uruk Kingdom

1	Mesh-kin-gasher, son of Shamash	325 years
2	En-mer-kâr, son of Mesh-kin-gasher	420 "
3	Lugal-Marda, the Shepherd	1,200 "
4	Dumu-zi (or Tammuz), the Hunter(?)	100 "
5	Gilgamesh, son of the Highpriest of Kullab	126 "
6	. . .-lugal, son of Gilgamesh	
11(?) kings (about 5 missing)		2,171 + years

I Ur Kingdom

1	Mesh-anni-pada	80 years
2	Mesh-kiag-nunna, son of Mesh-anni-pada	30 "
3	Elulu ¹⁰	25 "
4	Balulu ¹⁰	36 "
4 Kings		171 "

¹⁰The new fragment published by Legrain makes it possible to restore the names E-lu[-lu] and Ba-lu[-lu]; *Museum Journal*, Dec. 1920, p. 179.

Awan Kingdom	
3 kings	356 years
II Kish Kingdom	
Mesilim	
Lugal-tarsi	
Ur-sag	
4(?) kings	3,792 years
Hamazi Kingdom	
1 . . . -ni-ish	7 years
I Adab Kingdom ²⁶	
Lugal-dalu	
Me-igi- . . .	
2(?) kings	
II Ur Kingdom ²⁷	
Annani	
Lu-Nannar, son of Annani	
4(?) kings	108 years
II Adab Kingdom	
Lugal-anna-mundu ²⁸	
1 king	90 years
Mari Kingdom	
Ansir	30 "
. . . -gi	
I-[sh]ar-Shamash	
3(?) kings	30+ years
I(?) Akshak Kingdom ²⁹	
1 Zuzu	
III Kish Kingdom ³⁰	
1 Eannatum	
Lugal-tarsi	
3 Enbi-Ashtar	
3(?) kings	
II Uruk Kingdom ³¹	
Enshagkushanna	
Lugal-kigub-nidudu	
Lugal-kisalsi	
3(?) kings	

²⁶ See Probel, *BE* VI 2, 130, and *HT* p. 128.

II(?) Akshak

1	...-zi	30 years	3077(?) ¹¹
2	...-dalulu	12 "	3047(?)
3	UR-UR	6 "	3035(?)
4	BĀ-ŠA-Sahan	20 "	3029(?)
5	Ishu-il	24 "	3009(?)
6	Gimil-Sin, son of Ishu-il	7 "	2985(?)

6 kings

99 years

IV Kish Kingdom

1	KU-Bau or Bau-ellit	14 years	2978(?)
2	BĀ-ŠA-Sin, son of Ku-Bau	25 "	2964(?)
3	Ur- ^d Zababa	6 "	2939(?)
4	Zimutar	30 "	2933(?)
5	Uzi-watar, son of Zimutar	6 "	2903(?)
6	El-muti	11 "	2897(?)
7	Imu-Shamash	11 "	2886(?)
8	Nania, the Jeweler	3 "	2875(?)

8 kings

106 years

III Urak Kingdom

1	Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukush	25 years	2872(?)
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¹¹ The dates from Utu-begal backward are uncertain, because the 25 years assigned that ruler are conjectural and also because it is not known whether any other kings intervened between his time and the reign of Ur-Engur of Ur. The date 2123 B. C., usually accepted for the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, is used as a starting point. Thureau-Dangin, using his conjectural reading of 14 years for *MI* 32 : 15, makes the last year of Larsa 2123 - 29 (43 - 14) = 2094 B. C. as the close of Rim-Sin's reign. As he ruled 61 years, the beginning then would be 2155. Assuming that Rim-Sin overthrew the dynasty of Nisin when he captured the city of Damiq-ilishu, Thureau-Dangin decides that the last year of Nisin was 2132 B. C. This makes the Nisin and Larsa dynasties begin in the same year, 2357. The date recently published by Dr. Grice (*Chron.* p. 20), namely, 'The year he smote with his weapon the army of Elam and Zambia, king of Nisin,' which she conjectured refers to Sin-idinnam, since this king of Larsa used the title of 'King of Sumer and Akkad,' would seem to show that this is at least approximately correct. It is to be noted, however, that according to these dates Zambia reigned one year after the close of Sin-idinnam. Moreover, it is not impossible that the Nisin dynasty came to a close when the Nisin era began. If this should prove correct it will require a modification of the synchronisms, and will probably make Sin-igisham the contemporary of Zambia.

Akkad Kingdom

1	Sharru-kin ^{12a}	55	"	2847(?)
2	Uru-mush, son of Sharru-kin	15	"	2792(?)
3	Manishtusu, son of Uru-mush	7	"	2777(?)
4	Naram-Sin, son of Manishtusu	50	"	2770(?)
5	Shargali-sharri, son of Naram-Sin	25	"	2714(?)
6	...			
7	Igigi			
8	Imi			
9	Nanum	3	"	2689(?)
10	Ilulu			
11	Dudu	21	"	2686(?)
12	Gimil-Dur-x, son of Dudu	15	"	2665(?)

12 kings

197 years

IV Uruk Kingdom

1	Ur-nigin	3 years	2650(?)
2	Ur-gigir, son of Ur-nigin	6	" 2647(?)
3	Kudda	6	" 2641(?)
4	BĀ-ŠA-ili	5	" 2635(?)
5	Ur-Shamash	6	" 2630(?)

5 kings

26 years

Gutium Kingdom

1	Imbia	5 years	2624(?)
2	Ingishu	7	" 2619(?)
3	Warlagaba	6	" 2612(?)
4	Iarlagarum	3(?)	" 2606(?)
8	[]-gub ^{12b}		
9	[]-ti		
10	[]-an-gub		
11	[]-bi		

Arlagan

E-ir-ri-du-pi-zi-ir

^{12a} Legrain has quite recently discovered an additional fragment of the tablet published which determines the relationship of the first five kings of the dynasty and the years they ruled. See *Museum Journal*, 1921, p. 75.

^{12b} The same fragment found by Dr. Legrain furnishes the traces of the eighth to the eleventh names of this dynasty.

La-si-ra-ab
Si-ù-tum
21 Tirigan

21 kings¹¹

125 years

V Uruk Kingdom

1 Utu-hegal

25(?) years 2499(?)

III Ur Kingdom

1 Ur-Engur

18 " 2474

2 Dungi, son of Ur-Engur

58 " 2456

3 Amar-Sin, son of Dungi

9 " 2398

4 Gimil-Sin, son of Amar-Sin

7 " 2389

5 Ibi-Sin, son of Gimil-Sin

25 " 2382

5 kings

117 years

Nisin Kingdom

1 Ishbi-Urra, a man from Mari

32 years 2357

2 Gimil-ilishu, son of Ishbi-Urra

10 " 2325

3 Idin-Dagan, son of Gimil-ilishu

21 " 2315

4 Ishme-Dagan, son of Idin-Dagan

20 " 2294

5 Libit-Ishtar

11 " 2274

6 Ur-Enurta

28 " 2263

7 Bur-Sin, son of Ur-Enurta

21 " 2235

8 Iter-plsha, son of Bur-Sin

5 " 2214

9 Urra-imitti

7 " 2209

10 Sin(?)

$\frac{1}{2}$ " 2202

11 Ellil-bani

24 " 2201

12 Zambia

3 " 2177

13 ...

5 " 2174

14 Ea...

4 " 2169

15 Sin-magir

11 " 2165

16 Damiq-ilishu, son of Sin-magir

23 " 2154

16 kings

225 $\frac{1}{2}$ years

Like similar lists of other ancient peoples, the years of the early rulers are given in fabulous numbers. Leaving these out of consideration and allowing only an average of fifteen years for each

¹¹ Poebel's text as well as the photograph read 21. Legrain's fragment confirms this.

reign, we have a list of rulers extending beyond 4000 B. C. Ungnad's conjectural date for the beginning of the first dynasty of Ur, that is exclusive of the first two dynasties containing thirty-four kings, is 3927 B. C.¹⁴ Meissner also fixes the beginning of this dynasty at about 3900 B. C.¹⁵ The minimum date, therefore, for the I Kish dynasty would be several centuries earlier.

It seems proper in this connection to inquire whether it is reasonable to assume that the early Babylonian historians had adequate data at their disposal upon which to base these chronological lists. Although some progress has been made in excavating the mounds of the land, it can properly be said that this work has only been begun. While in a few of the mounds excavations have been systematically conducted, only the surface of others has been scratched, while hundreds of mounds are practically untouched. Yet, in spite of this fact, we have in our possession the original inscriptions of many of the rulers whose names are given in the lists, as well as a vast amount of material, by the help of which much that has been handed down by these historians can be fully verified. We are justified in concluding, even from the imperfect work as yet done on the mounds, that the historian in the advanced civilization of the Sargon and Nisin eras, as well as centuries earlier, had abundant data at his disposal from which to give us this skeleton of history; and that, except for the longevity of some of the rulers, we may look upon the data as being of a comparatively trustworthy character.

The period in which we are especially interested in this connection is that which is covered by the list of kings prior to Sargon, and which is represented by the thirty feet of accumulations of debris beneath Naram-Sin's pavement at Nippur, and by material found at such sites as Adab, Fara, Tello, etc.

Going backward from the time of Sargon, let us briefly note some of the verifications of the reconstructed list. Sargon's predecessor, named Lugal-zaggisi, who is well known through his own inscriptions, conquered Western Asia from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.¹⁶ Other inscriptions inform us that Sargon conquered him¹⁷ and gained title to his territory. Ku-Bau, or Bau-

¹⁴ *ZDMG* 1917, p. 166.

¹⁵ *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920, p. 28.

¹⁶ *ÖBI* 87, 36 ff.

¹⁷ *HGT* 34 L. 23 ff.

clit, as her name is written elsewhere,¹⁸ is known from an omen text, according to which she subdued the land.¹⁹ The names of rulers mentioned in the reconstructed list, such as Eannatum (of the III Kish kingdom), who had been a Patesi of Lagash, and who conquered Mari, Akshak, and Kish, and became the mighty possessor of the whole land, is also a well known figure in Babylonian history.²⁰ While excavations in Mesopotamia proper have not yet been begun, we can verify the statement that there were one or more Mari dynasties. A headless statue of a king of Mari, whose name, perhaps, following Ungnad,²¹ is to be restored I-[š]ar-Shamash, is in the British Museum; and in the inscription engraved on it he calls himself *patesi-gal* of Enlil; from which it may be inferred that he ruled Babylonia.²² An-an-ni (of the II Ur kingdom), the builder of the *giš-sar-mah* of the temple at Nippur, is known through an inscription found in that city, as is also that of his son and successor Lu-Nannar. They are tentatively assigned to a dynasty of Ur, because the latter's name is compounded with that of the god Nannar, the patron deity of that city.²³ We have inscriptions referring to Lugal-anna-mundu²⁴, as well as to Lugal-dahu, Me-igi . . . , kings of Adab. In this city, as also at Lagash, inscriptions have been found belonging to Mesilim, king of Kish.²⁵ The Elamite city, Hamazi, we know figured in the early history of Babylonia, for, as already mentioned, it had been conquered by an early patesi of Kish, named Utug.²⁶ Awan, also an Elamite city, mentioned as a royal city in the dynastic lists, is known to have paid tribute to Sargon.²⁷

In previous years Gilgamesh of the earliest Erech dynasty, the hero of the epic which bears his name, was regarded as a mythical personage; but from a number of sources it is now definitely known that he was an important king of Erech; that he built the *shutummu* of the temple and the wall of that city;²⁸ and that he

¹⁸ VR 44 I. 19.

¹⁹ CT 28. 6.

²⁰ SAK 22. 21 f.

²¹ CT V. 2 (12146).

²² Poebel, *HT* p. 190; Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 104.

²³ See Poebel, *HT*, p. 128.

²⁴ BE VI. 2. 130; and HGT 75.

²⁵ Banks, *Bianiya*, p. 201.

²⁶ OBI 102 and 109.

²⁷ Poebel, *HT* p. 128.

²⁸ Cf. SAK p. 222.

also built a part of the temple at Nippur.²⁹ Besides the epic, still other traditions of Gilgamesh have been handed down. Tammuz, about whose name are gathered the wide-spread myths connected with him and Ishtar, was also a king of Erech. The Historical Epic published by Poebel shows that there was an invasion in the time of Tammuz by Elam.³⁰ Sin-idinnam of Larsa informs us that Tammuz built the wall of Dur-Gurgurri.³¹ While the religious literature is full of mythological references to Tammuz, the Babylonian historian, in his list of kings, simply names him as a ruler, stating that he was a hunter, and that he came from the city HA-A.³²

Going still further back, the dynastic lists inform us that Lugal-Marda, a prominent deity of later times, preceded Tammuz as king of Erech, and that he conquered and destroyed the city HA-A, and conducted wars 'with Elam below, Halma above, and Tidnum in the West.'³³ The lists also show us that Etana, the hero of the epic which bears his name, who was subsequently also deified, was the twelfth king of the earliest known dynasty, that of Kish.

We thus find in Babylonia a process analogous to what took place in Greece; epics were directly based on historical personages. Many deities turn out to be deified kings or queens. It is not improbable that even the goddess Ishtar may prove to have been originally some notable human figure; at all events the facts at our disposal assure us that the Babylonian historians, with temple libraries and archives of many cities at their disposal, with royal letters and votive inscriptions in great numbers (of which some have already been recovered), have in these lists furnished us with the names of historical personages and not with fictitious characters. We, therefore, may confidently claim that Sargon was far from being the first ruler to build up a great nation in Western Asia, reaching from Elam to the Mediterranean;³⁴ and we must reject the statement that the earliest emergence of the Sumerian

²⁹ Poebel, *HT* p. 123.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

³¹ *CT* 13.18.

³² *HT* 116 ff.

³³ Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 122; Wells, *Outline of History*, p. 191, etc. P. V. Myers in his *Ancient History* is more guarded in the presentation of this subject, p. 51.

city-kingdom was in the thirty-first century B. C.²⁴ The writer feels, on the basis of the new material, that he is justified in declining to modify his view on the antiquity of Babylonian civilization. Moreover, it is still an open question whether the 'first rise of civilization anywhere on the globe' was in Egypt, as is claimed,²⁵ or even in Babylonia.

It is not possible to give even the barest outline of a history of Babylonia without considering that of Elam, the neighboring country to the east, because the history of the two lands is inseparably connected. A tablet dealing with the reign of Lugal-Marda, king of the I Uruk dynasty, the second known in Babylonian history, informs us of an invasion of a city Ezen+Azak²⁶ by the Elamites. This was the second time that they 'came forth from the mountains'.²⁶ But what is more important, as pointed out, the dynastic lists show that the Elamite city Awan was the fourth of the ruling cities, and that later on Hamazi, another Elamite city, held the hegemony. Utug, one of the early patess of Kish, tells of his having conquered Hamazi.²⁷

M. de Morgan, a trained archaeologist, employing modern methods, spent more than ten years in excavating at the Elamite city Susa, and at Mussian, about 93 miles west of Susa. At Susa he cut through no less than 25 metres of accumulation, and was able to trace strata which represented a period from the Neolithic to the present time. He noted here two distinct strata in the prehistoric period. The first of these was distinguished from the second by a fine, wheel-made, red pottery which was polished, and decorated with black bands. It was also decorated with designs laid on in brown color. The freely-painted patterns included geometric, spherical, and herring-bone designs. Animal and vegetable forms also were used in these designs. Since no Neolithic period has been noted for Babylonia we scarcely expect to find pottery of this sort in that land; although at Eridu, Thompson, who excavated during the war for the British Museum, informs us he found fragments similar to this Elamite pottery. M. de Morgan

²⁴ Breasted, *Scientific Monthly*, 1920, p. 200.

²⁵ *Chicago University Record*, Oct. 1920, p. 242. It is interesting, however, to note that Wells says: 'At Nippur evidence of a city community existed there at least as early as 5000 B. C., and probably as early as 6000 B. C., an earlier date than anything we know of in Egypt.' *Outline of History*, p. 184.

²⁶ Poebel, *HT* 122.

²⁷ *OB* 108 and 109.

has shown that the pottery he discovered in Elam has great similarity to that belonging to pre-historic Egypt.³⁸ Attention has been called by Sayce to its resemblance to pottery found in Cappadocia, in Turkestan, and in Syria.³⁹

The second pre-historic period of Susa represents a retrogression in development, for the pottery is porous and coarser; but near the close of this period, stone cups and vases appear. The writing found in the early historical period, known as the proto-Elamite, which has no connection with the Sumerian system, appears to have had a long development prior to the earliest known; for the signs have already lost their pictorial character. In the period when Babylonian viceroys ruled at Susa, which is coincident with what we call the age of Sargon, it seems that the Semitic syllabary and even the Babylonian language displaced the early Elamite script and language, although the latter continued to be used for accounts, inventories, and other ordinary purposes. At this early period, therefore, Semites exerted such an influence upon Elam that their language and system of writing were adopted by that land, for we find the native princes using the system in their memorial and monumental records.⁴⁰

The results at Mussian were somewhat different for the Neolithic period, this city apparently having been established at an earlier date than Susa. In this period crude pottery made by hand was used. This was followed by the period of the delicately made pottery, characteristic of the earlier period at Susa; and by a third of a still higher character, when copper was extensively used and displaced the flint and obsidian tools and weapons.

There is no trace of a Neolithic period in Babylonia, although Taylor in his excavations at Eridu found flint implements,⁴¹ as did also Thompson at the same site.⁴² In fact they have been found lying on the surface of other mounds,⁴³ doubtless indicating that in certain periods they were imported as cheap material for the poorer population. It seems that copper was also used in Babylonia at a very early time. Haynes reported having found some of the metal in one of the lowest strata at Nippur. At Fars,

³⁸ *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie*, 1907, p. 410 f.

³⁹ See Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ See King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 289.

⁴¹ *JRAS* 15, p. 410, plate II.

⁴² See Wells, *Outline of History*, I, p. 188.

⁴³ Banks, *Bisnaya*, p. 103.

the pre-diluvian city of Shurippak, one of the most ancient known in the valley, copper was also found in the earliest strata.⁴⁴

The indications are that in Elam with its valleys so well adapted for agriculture, with its hills for grazing, its quarries for stone, its mines for metal, and its forests, man thrived long before the time when through intelligence, skill, and labor it was possible for him to live in alluvial Babylonia. Moreover, the indications are that Elam developed its civilization as early as Babylonia, if not earlier. From these considerations it becomes apparent why the present writer cannot follow the view that a so-called Egypto-Babylonian culture 'brought forth the earliest civilization in the thousand years between 4000 and 3000 B. C., while all the rest of the world continued in Stone Age barbarism or savagery,' and that the diffusion of civilization from this so-called Egypto-Babylonian culture centre began after 3000 B. C. to stimulate Europe and inner Asia to rise from barbarism to civilization.⁴⁵

What is true of the antiquity of Elam's civilization, to the east of Babylonia, is also true of the antiquity of her western neighbor; it is also impossible to write a history of Babylonia without including that of Amurru. In the light of the material which the present writer assembled from cuneiform and other sources, there can be no doubt whatever that the civilization of Mesopotamia and Syria not only synchronized with the earliest known in Babylonia, but also that these are the lands whence the Semitic-Babylonians came.⁴⁶ Not only do the antediluvian kings of Babylonia bear West Semitic names, but also the first five known rulers of the Kish dynasty. Lugal-Marda, one of the kings of the early Erech dynasty, conquered Tidnum or Tidnum, an early name of Amurru.⁴⁷ This is the land of Humbaba, with whom Gilgamesh fought.⁴⁸ Mari, on the Euphrates, was the capital of I-shjar-Shamash, (previously read . . .-um-Shamash), who called himself *patesi-gal* of Enlil.⁴⁹ In the time of Eannatum this city was allied

⁴⁴ King, *Sumer and Akkad*, 24 ff.

⁴⁵ Breasted, *Scientific Monthly*, 1919, p. 577.

⁴⁶ Clay, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, and *The Empire of the Amorites*.

⁴⁷ Poebel, *HT* 117.

⁴⁸ See the *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 87, and Jastrow-Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *CT* 5. 2.

with Akshak against him;⁴⁰ and Sargon informs us that he captured Mari.⁴¹ In a paper published more than a decade ago on the study of the names of the Nisin rulers, the writer advanced the view that Nisin was ruled by Western Semites.⁴² A few years later Barton published an inscription which confirmed this conjecture, showing that Ishbi-Urra, the founder of the dynasty, was 'a man from Mari.'⁴³ In other words, like Eannatum of Lagash, who made Kish the seat of his Empire, Ishbi-Urra of Mari made Nisin his capital. Then followed the suggestion, since Ishar-Shamash, king of Mari, called himself *patesi-gal* of Enlil, that possibly Mari may well have been the seat of a Babylonian kingdom.⁴⁴ Such a view is now confirmed by Legrain's fragment of a dynastic list referred to above.⁴⁵ The fragment shows beyond doubt that Mari was the capital of Babylonia centuries before Sargon's time; and that it was one of the eleven capitals of early kingdoms. Amurru thus steps upon the scene as an actual Empire in the fourth millennium B. C.

In this connection still another discovery recently made should be mentioned. In a text published by Schroeder, the city Mari is equated with *shadu erinu*, 'cedar mountain', and with *mātu hattī*, which seems to imply that the land of the Hittites and very probably the Lebanon region were at one time dominated by the city Mari.⁴⁶

Legrain's tablet not only conclusively shows that the history and culture of Amurru had a great antiquity, settling this matter beyond any further cavil, as well as the fact that the Amorite civilization was already ancient when it is claimed Arabs first began to pour into Syria and Mesopotamia,⁴⁷ but also the fact that

⁴⁰ RA III. 106 ff.

⁴¹ HGT 34, col 5, and 6. 4.

⁴² JAOS 28: 142.

⁴³ Barton, *Babylonian Texts*, 9: 2.

⁴⁴ See Poebel, *HT* 101; and *The Empire of the Amorites*, pp. 104, 107.

⁴⁵ *Museum Journal*, Dec. 1920, 175 ff.

⁴⁶ See *MDOG* 35. 183 : 11. The writer's attention was called to this passage by Dr. W. F. Albright.

⁴⁷ See Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, 27 ff. Winckler's thousand-year periodical disgorging theory, to account for the Semites in Syria and Babylonia, which has been adopted by so many, finds no support as investigations proceed. The ultimate origin of the Semites may be Arabia, Abyssinia, or Armenia, as certain scholars have maintained (see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, and *JAOS* 35, 214 ff.; Noëlske, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVI, p. 640, etc.), but historical

the city Mari, played such an important rôle in Babylonian history furnishes proof for a very important link in the writer's theory concerning the Amorite origin of the Semitic Babylonian culture.⁴⁷

The idea that the Semitic Babylonian was the language brought by the Arabs with them from the desert into Babylonia, and that it there developed, under certain influences, into what was later called Akkadian, finds no support in a study of the language. The close affinity of the Semitic Babylonian to the Hebrew and Aramaic, as against the Arabic, has been fully demonstrated. But what is more to the point in this connection is the fixed character of the grammatical peculiarities of the language in the earliest inscriptions, so distinct from the other Semitic groups, which makes it appear reasonable to infer that it had a long development under Sumerian influences prior to the earliest known period. And what is true of the language is also true of the script. The study of the phonograms used in the inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty, those used in the Semitic inscriptions of the same era found in Elam, and those belonging to the period of the Ur dynasty,⁴⁸ especially in view of the fact that the Semites employed many phonetic values which the Sumerians did not have, permits us to

or archaeological data do not show that a wave from the desert furnished Babylonia with its first Semites, in the dynasty of Sargon, about 2500 B. C., nor Syria and Mesopotamia with Arabs, called Hebrews, Amorites, Moabites, and Edomites about 1500 B. C. (Luckenbill, *Biblical World*, 1910, p. 22, and *AJSL* 28, p. 154); nor that the Hebrews represent one of these 'wild hordes from the Arabian wilderness,' whom a wave of migration brought into Palestine between 1400 and 1200 B. C. (Breasted, *Ancient Times*, pp. 102, 104, 200 f.). For other recent references to the theory see Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 2, p. 6; Macalister, *Civilization in Palestine*, p. 27; King, *History of Babylon*, p. 125, etc.

⁴⁷ In Legrain's discovery support is also found for the idea advanced by the writer that the deity of the city Mari is *Mar*, which is also written *Mar*, *Mar*⁴⁸, *Mer*, *Me-ir*, *Mi-ir*; with the common interchange of *mem* and *nean* written *We-ir*, also 𐎠 (see *Empire*, p. 71 f.). And since *Mar-tu* = *Amurru*, which interchanges with *Mar* (see *Empire*, p. 68), it follows that like *Anu* and *Antu*, which apparently were the deities of the city now called 'Anah and Anathoth, below the city Mari on the Euphrates, *Mar* and *Martu* were identified with that city. Further, this discovery supports the view that the name *Amurru*, which was also written 𐎠𐎵 or *Uru* (see *Amurru*, p. 102), was very probably given to the geographical extension of *Amurru* into Babylonia, doubtless at the time the Amorites held sway over that land; especially because the same cuneiform ideogram *BUR-BUR* stood for *Uri* (later called Akkad) as well as *Amurru* (or *Ari*) (*Amurru* p. 104).

⁴⁸ Ungnad, 'Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache,' *MVAG* 1915, 2.

conclude also that while the Semitic syllabary goes back to the Sumerian, its wide divergence already in this early age implies that it had been adopted long anterior to the period to which the earliest Semitic inscriptions belong.

It must be regarded as unfortunate that such Semitic centres as Opis and Akkad, which did not flourish in later periods, not only have not been excavated, but are not even definitely located; and that only a little work has thus far been done at Kish. Genouillac in 1912 spent some weeks excavating at El Ohemir, the mounds covering that ancient city; but the material he discovered remains unpublished in Constantinople. A Semitic inscription on stone, however, belonging to the archaic period, apparently found at Kish or Delehem, was published by Nies.³⁹ It is a list of sales of certain pieces of land, and is one of the earliest Semitic inscriptions known. From paleographical evidence, it appears to have been written many centuries before the time of Sargon. But the Semitic inscription which the ancient scribe copied from a statue of Lugal-zaggisi at Nippur⁴⁰ would be sufficient to show that the Semitic language was written before Sargon's time.

Certainly those who hold that the Semitic inhabitants in Babylonia and Amurru owed their presence there to successive waves from Arabia will find little justification for their views in a study of the Semitic Babylonian syllabary; and especially for the claim that after the conquest of Sargon, his nomad tribesmen from Arabia dropped their unsettled life, forsook their tents, and took up fixed abodes, when 'a Semitic language began to be written for the first time'.⁴¹ Such views must be abandoned.

The glimpse that the early historians give us into the earliest known period in Babylonian history enables us to determine not only that the tribal state had long since passed, and that the days of independent city-states were over, but that imperialism was already well established. We find North and South united, and governed by a central authority. We find the Semite ruling the Sumerian. While, as already mentioned, the first known rulers of the Kish dynasty bear Semitic names, those of the last ten of the twenty-three are written in Sumerian. En-me-nun-na, the first bearing a Sumerian name, is not called the son of Baliqam

³⁹ Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, No. 2.

⁴⁰ See HGT 34, col. 10, 4 ff.

⁴¹ Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 123.

(who was the son of Etana), which may mean that he was an usurper. It is not improbable also, although his name was written in Sumerian, that it was Semitic. We find the temple Eanna at Erech, so prominently mentioned in the literature and history of the land, not only already in existence in this early period, but that it gave its name to the second known dynasty. How much earlier Eanna had been established, and how many other of the well-known temples were then in existence, we cannot surmise at present. And it should be added that several of the kings of the earliest two known dynasties had made such an impression upon their age by their powerful deeds that they have been immortalized in literature and art, not confined to the history of Babylonia.

The glimpse we get into this early chapter of Babylonian history not only affords material for reflection, but it is suggestive of many questions that we should like to see solved. We ask ourselves what was the impelling force in the political development which brought about the formation of this Empire? Was this hegemony due to one race or religious centre, desiring power and tribute after having triumphed over the other? Had the open and defenceless character of the country anything to do with the union of the city-states? Was the desire to have a central authority due to prudential reasons, so that their irrigation system could be properly regulated; for we know that in this land, where the rainfall is so small, life is dependent upon the rivers? As investigations proceed and other sites are excavated, more light upon the situation may be expected; but with it more problems to be solved will arise.

It has been assumed by Poebel that the ascendancy of Kish followed the deluge. It is not improbable that the inundation which made such an impression upon the ancient Babylonians did shortly precede; although it is also probable that the list simply marks the beginning of the first hegemony, or the first one of the postdiluvian period. Of course no one would attempt to assert that there was not a period when the settlements of people gradually developed into cities, and existed as independent principalities. Babylonian civilization did not rise like a *deus ex machina*.

In the fragmentary creation myth found in the Nippur library, and published by Poebel, it is said that the creator 'founded five cities in clean places.' All but one²² of these cities are known or identified. Larak, the Larancha mentioned by Berosus as the city

²² Bad + nagar-dis, HT 43.

in which three of the antediluvian kings ruled, does not seem to have been mentioned in the postdiluvian periods, except in the contracts of the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. In one of these texts we are informed that the city was on the bank of the 'old Tigris'.⁸² Shurippak, another of the cities, was the home of the Babylonian Noah. Fara, on the Shatt el-Kar, which was once the Euphrates, is identified as that city.⁸³ The excavations at this site by Koldewey and Andrac have yielded inscribed material of a very archaic period.⁸⁴ The other two cities, Eridu and Sippar, are well known; the creation stories prominently mention also Nippur and Erech. Naturally, these myths are based upon late impressions concerning the antiquity of these cities.

Nippur is, doubtless, one of the earliest cities of the plain. The legend connecting Lugal-Marda, a king of the second dynasty, with the theft of the tablets of fate from the palace of Enlil;⁸⁵ the reference in the early Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epic in which Enkidu tells the hero, 'Enlil has decreed for thee the kingship over men';⁸⁶ as well as references to Nippur and her deity, would seem to imply that the position of Enlil as 'the lord of lands' was established, doubtless, long before the hegemony of Kish was created. We know that when Babylon secured the hegemony in Hammurabi's time, the latter endeavored to rob Enlil of his position. Nippur was so well established long before the ascendancy of Kish as the chief sanctuary of the land, that it had maintained its position until the time of Hammurabi. At present there is nothing known upon which even a plausible conjecture can be based as to why Nippur and her deity came to occupy this unique position in Babylonia. Moreover, when we reflect upon the discoveries made by Haynes in the strata beneath Naram-Sin's level, in connection with other discoveries made elsewhere, we begin to realize that two thousand five hundred years is an extremely low estimate for the period represented by the thirty feet of accumulations below that ruler's pavement.

Whether prior to the establishment of this urban civilization there was a tribal state in Babylonia remains to be determined.

⁸² Clay, *MesDra*, II, 181. 7.

⁸³ Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 264.

⁸⁴ See *MDOG* 15: 9 f., 17: 4 f.

⁸⁵ See *KB* 46 ff.

⁸⁶ See Jastrow and Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 68.

Certainly prior to the time when Kish secured the dominancy of the land there must have been a long period, at the beginning of which the Semites entered the country. With their knowledge of irrigation, they gradually harnessed the rivers and made it possible to establish the first settlements in the alluvium. It was during this period that the land was entered by the Sumerians, who, according to the belief of certain scholars, assimilated the civilization of the conquered by adopting their Semitic gods, and imposed upon them at the same time their own advanced culture,⁶² which had its origin and development elsewhere, perhaps in Central Asia.

Egyptian archaeologists inform us that pre-historic man lived in the terraces along the Nile; and that the alluvium was formed only about six to eight thousand B. C. It is not improbable that this was about the time the alluvium of the Tigro-Euphrates valley was ready to receive man. Prior to his entrance upon this deposit it is reasonable to hold that he occupied the regions further up the two rivers. Above Hit, where the alluvium begins, there are natural agricultural districts, not only close to the rivers, but also over widespread areas. For example, Willcox, who has studied the rivers in the interests of his engineering undertakings, was so impressed with agricultural possibilities of the region south of 'Anah that he has attempted to locate 'the Garden of Eden' in this region. Five or six thousand years ago, before the 'degradation of the cataracts', he tells us, in this country there was a free flow for irrigation purposes.⁶³ It was here that the Semite who

⁶² See Edward Meyer, *Sumerian and Semites*, whose chief argument is that the bald and beardless Sumerians pictured their gods with hair and beards after the manner of the Semites. This position seems to be verified more and more as we become acquainted with the material from the early period.

⁶³ *From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan*, 3 ff. The statement has recently been made that agriculturally this country could not support a kingdom. This observation must be due to the fact that the road which the observer took is for the greater part far removed from the river. Sir William Willcox's description of this country is: 'Garden succeeds garden, orchards and date-groves lie between fields of corn or cotton, and life and prosperity are before us wherever the water can reach. Though to-day, owing to the degradation of the cataracts—a degradation whose steady progress was noticed by the writers of the Augustan age,—water-wheels are necessary to irrigate gardens, the benches of river deposit above the highest floods of our time prove that in days not very remote the water led off from above the cataracts irrigated with free flow gardens situated a little down-stream of them and out of reach of the floods. Such was the Garden of Eden of the Bible.' 'In the tract stretching from this reach of the Euphrates to Damascus wild wheat, too, has its home.'

moved into the plain of Shinar very probably learned the art of irrigation.

The first people who moved into Babylonia had little or no chance to develop large settlements, because each year the floods would drive them away. The rivers had to be harnessed and the floods controlled before permanent settlements were possible. This involved the intelligent and united effort of many, having considerable knowledge of natural laws, and a people who were amenable to regulations upon which they had agreed. It was necessary not only for the individual to cooperate with his neighbor, but also for the urban communities to cooperate with each other in their effort to control the floods. This being true, no other conclusion can be reached than that civilization had its dawn in a remoter period; nor may we assume that there was a period in Babylonia when people lived in a state of savagery.

The important work that lies immediately before us, besides deciphering and publishing the tens of thousands of records already recovered, is the excavation of a certain number of well-selected sites in Western and Central Asia; so that we can gradually recover knowledge concerning their lost civilizations.⁷⁹ Of the

⁷⁹ In Babylonia there are thousands of square miles of territory which have not even been explored. Captain Bertram Thomas, an Assistant Political Officer, who had been stationed at Kalat Sikar on the Shatt el-Hai, informed the writer that on a journey through the vast territory east of that river he found the dry beds of four great canals paralleling the Shatt el-Hai, the shores of which were lined with hundreds of tells; and yet only three ancient sites are recorded on the maps of that entire region; namely, Tello, Surgul, and El-Hibba. Four expeditions have been conducted at Nippur, lasting a little over five years. With as large a force as has been used, it will require nearly a century to complete the excavations at that site. Erech, Ur, and many other sites will require as much time. While Hall was digging at Ur, two years ago, he sent a gang to attack a small mound several miles north of that city, called Tell Obeid, too small to have been recorded on the maps. Almost at once they came upon bronze objects of the early period, which are more remarkable than any yet found in Babylonia. The country is literally covered with larger and smaller tells. The same is true of ancient Assyria. Some work has been done at a few major mounds, but hundreds remain unrecorded in any form. In digging graves a native found some bronze objects in a low and insignificant mound south of Nineveh, called Balawat, which when later excavated proved to be a palace of Shalmaneser III, where the now famous bronze gates were found. East of Assyria the country is covered with thousands of tells representing ancient civilizations; in one or several of these we may discover the oldest traces of the Sumerian civilization.

thousands of mounds in Western Asia outside of Babylonia and south of Carchemish, systematic excavations have been conducted only at two in Elam; and excepting Palestine, at not a single one in Syria and Mesopotamia proper.

It is the opinion of the writer that when such sites as Aleppo, or some of the many tells in its vicinity, Byblos, Haran, Werdi (the ancient Mari),¹¹ 'Anah, and other sites on the Euphrates, are excavated, we shall find that the ancient culture of Syria and Mesopotamia, known as Amurru in ancient times, synchronized with the earliest found in Egypt, and that it was indigenous, and not dependent culturally upon what happened to drift in from the so-called Egypto-Babylonian group.

¹¹ Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 116.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA-VEDA, BOOK EIGHT

EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

IN EDITING this eighth book of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda the material is presented in the manner used in editing Books 5 and 7 (published in volumes 37 and 40 of this JOURNAL). The transliteration (in italics) is not given line for line but is continuous, with the number of each line in brackets. About forty per cent of the ms has now been published. When the numerous unsolved passages are contemplated, little satisfaction can be felt in publishing these successive books; but in the larger aspects, when the Pāippalāda is compared with other texts, the work appears more worth doing and it seems possible that some valuable results will ultimately be attainable.

The abbreviations employed are the usual ones, except that 'S' is used to refer to the AV of the Śāunakīya School, and 'ms' (sic) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms are fairly represented by the vertical bar (=colon) and the 'z' (=period); the Roman period is used for *virāma*; daggers indicate a corrupt reading; asterisks indicate lacunae.

Of the ms.—This eighth book in the Kashmir ms begins on f104b1 and ends at f111b20—seven and one half folios. There is no defacement of any consequence; most of the pages have 19 or 20 lines, the 3 have 18 lines and one has 21.

Punctuation, numbers, etc.—Within the individual hymns punctuation is most irregular: the colon mark is a few times placed below the line of letters rather than in it. At f110a, lines 11 and 12, accents are marked on two pādas. The hymns are grouped in anuvākas, of which there are four with five hymns in each: anu 1 no 5 has no kāṇḍa number after it but only anu 5 (sic), and similarly after anu 4 no 5 there is written only anu 5. There are only a few corrections marginal or interlinear. At the end of hymn no 9 stands some prose which does not seem to be a part of the hymn: the ms however gives no indication of this. After the numeral stands 'apnūpavrahmasūktam.1 zz' and in the left margin is a star and the words 'vrāhmasūktam kāraṇam.' At

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The Yale Syllabary or Bilingual Dictionary in the
Sumerian and Babylonian Languages

From "Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection."

FOREWORD

YALE UNIVERSITY has for many years been known as a center of Oriental research. In recent years increased activity in this field has been made possible because of the foundation in 1910 by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan of the William M. Laffan Professorship of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature. Since the establishment of this chair a large Babylonian Collection has been secured for research in the Semitic field, consisting of some 10,000 original tablets. These, together with two loan collections deposited at Yale, those of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and of Dr. James B. Nies, belong to the various periods in Babylonian history from about 4000 to 150 B. C., and include literary texts, liturgies, syllabaries or dictionaries, mathematical treatises and different kinds of exercises from temple schools, divination texts, legal and business transactions, administrative documents from the archives of temples, personal and official letters and records of various kinds, seal cylinders, inscribed bricks, votive objects, reliefs, royal building inscriptions, incantation bowls, *et cetera*.

In order to make these, as well as the Salisbury and Landberg Collections of Arabic manuscripts, accessible to the scholar, and also in order to present researches bearing directly or indirectly upon them, the Yale Oriental Series of Texts and Researches was instituted. To aid in the publication of such works, several funds have been generously given. In 1915 Mr. Ogden H. Hammond, of the Class of 1893 S., created a fund to be known as the Mary Stevens Hammond Memorial Fund for the publication of volumes in the Babylonian field of research. In the same year the Alexander Kohut Memorial Fund was established by members of Dr. Kohut's family, to publish monographs in the Semitic field. In 1918 the Kingsley Trust Association (Scroll and Key Society of Yale College) established a fund for the publication of works in Assyriology and Babylonian Literature. Funds for the publication of the Morgan Library and the Nies Collection have been provided by Mr. Morgan and Dr. Nies.

In addition to the volumes in these series, others of texts and researches, as well as separate monographs in the field of Oriental study, have appeared and are planned for publication under the imprint of the Yale University Press. These are listed in the following pages, together with the two journals now issued under the auspices of the Press: the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and the *Journal of Biblical Literature*.

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the bottom of f107b in smaller characters and in parentheses is written a variant of hymn 10 st 12 which is given in lines 17 and 18 of f107b.

Extent of the book.—This book contains 20 hymns of which 2 are prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is clearly 11; 17 hymns are edited as having 11 stanzas each, tho in 5 or 6 of these there is some slight chance for doubts. Assuming the correctness of the stanza divisions as edited below we make the following table:

17 hymns have 11 stanzas each	= 187 stanzas
1 hymn has 12 stanzas	= 12
2 hymns have 13 stanzas each	= 26

20 hymns have 225 stanzas.

New and old material.—There are 11 hymns of this book which may be called new, tho two of them embody material appearing as complete hymns in Ś, and others contain some stanzas or pādas already familiar. The number of essentially new stanzas is 114 and the new pādas are approximately 467.

Of the hymns of Ś appearing in this book 2 are in Ś 4, 4 in Ś 5, 1 in Ś 6, and 2 in Ś 19; and 2 hymns of the RV appear here. Ś 6.25 is used as part of our hymn 16 and Ś 19.2 as part of our hymn 8.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ

BOOK EIGHT

1

(Ś 5.11)

[f104b1] athāṣṭaman likhyate z z om̐ namo nārāyaṇāya z om̐
 namaḥ śivābha-2[2]gacatyāi z z om̐ kayā diva asurāya pravāmaḥ
 kathā pitre harayes tve-3[3]sunṛmṇaḥ | pr̥ṣṇir varuṇa dakṣiṇām
 dadāvān punarmaghatvaṁ manasā cikitsē | 4[4] na kāmēna punar-
 magho bhavāmi san̐pr̥ṣṇi kam̐ pr̥āchim etām upājet. | kena 5[5] ma
 tvam atharvaṁ kāryena kena jātenāsi jātavedāḥ satvasam̐ gabhīran
 kāryena satvaṁ 6[6] jātenāsmi jātavedāḥ ma me dāso nāryo
 mahitvaṁ vratar mīmāya yad aham̐ ha-7[7]nizya na tvad anyah
 kiritaro na vedhā anu dhvrataro varuṇa svadhāvah team aṅga viśvā
 8[8] janmāni vettha mataṁ na tuj jano mām̐ vibhāgyah z tvam̐ hy
 aṅga varuṇa svadhāvo 9[9] viśvā vettha janmā śraddhadanī te | kim̐

enā rajasaṣ paro sti kim avareṇā [10] avaram asūra | ya ekam enā
 rajasaṣ paro sti parekena dūḍāhyam tyajanyat. [11] tatve vidvān
 varuṇaṣ pravṛāṁ adhovacasaṣ paṇayo bhavantu nīcīr māsā [12]
 yā upa sarpantu viprā tvam hy aṅga varuṇa vraviṣi | punarmagheṣv
 avadyāni bhū-[13]ri so kha pāṇvad bhyavatlāvacā bhūr mā tvā vocaṁ
 arādhassam janāsaḥ ā mā vo-[14]caṁ arādhassam janāsaḥ punas
 te prṣṇim janabhīr dadāsi | stotraṁ meṣvam ā yā-[15]hi janeṣv antar
 deveṣu mānuṣeṣu viprā | yā te stotrāṇi bandhanāni yāni de-[16]hi
 tam mahyam yaditatvam asti | yadyo nas saptapadaṣ sakhāsaṣ
 samāno ba-[17]ndhur varuṇaṣ samā jāḥ veda vāitad samānā samā
 jā dajāni tubhyaṁ yaditva-[18]m asti | devo devāya grāte vayodhā
 vipro viprāya stuvate sumedhāḥ a-[19]jijano hi varuṇa svadhāvam
 atharvaṇam pitarām viśvadevaṁ tasmā urvā-[f105a]yuṣ kṛṇuhi
 praśastam sakhā no sti varuṇaṣ ca bandhuḥ z 1 z

For the introductory phrase and invocation read: athāṣṭamāṁ
 likhyate z z om namo nārāyaṇāya z om namaḥ śivābhagavatyaḥ z

For the hymn read: om kathā divyāyāsurāya prāvadaḥ kathā
 pitre haraye tveṣaṁṇaḥ | prṣṇim varuṇa dakṣiṇām dadāvān
 punarmaghatvaṁ manasā cikīrse z 1 z na kāmēna punarmagho
 bhavāmi saṁproche kaṁ prṣṇim etām upāje | kena sa tvam
 atharvan kāvyena kena jātenāsi jātavedāḥ z 2 z satyam aham
 gabhīraṣ kāvyena satyam jātenāsmi jātavedāḥ | na me dāso
 nāryo mahitvā vrataṁ mīmāya yad aham dhariṣye z 3 z na tvad
 anyāḥ kavitaro na vedhā anyo dhīrataro varuṇa svadhāvaḥ |
 tvam aṅga viśvā janmāni vettha sa cin nu tvaj jano māyī bibhāya
 z 4 z tvam hy aṅga varuṇa svadhāvo viśvā vettha janmā
 śraddhadanīte | kim enā rajasaṣ paro 'sti kim avareṇāvaram
 amūra z 5 z yad ekam enā rajasaṣ paro 'sti para ekena tūḍāhyam
 cid anyat | tat te vidvān varuṇaṣ pra vraviṁy adhovacasaṣ
 paṇayo bhavantu nīcīr dāsā ya upa sarpantu viprā z 6 z tvam
 hy aṅga varuṇa vraviṣi punarmagheṣv avadyāni bhūri | mo ṣu
 pāṇv abhy etāvato bhūr mā tvā vocaṁ arādhassam janāsaḥ z 7
 z mā mā vocaṁ arādhassam janāsaḥ punas te prṣṇim jaritar
 dadāmi | stotraṁ me viśvam ā yāhi janeṣv antar deveṣu mānuṣeṣu
 vipra z 8 z yā te stotrāṇi bandhanāni yāny antar deveṣu mānuṣeṣu
 vipra | dehi tan mahyam yad adattam asti yuiyo nas saptapadaṣ
 sakhāsaḥ z 9 z samā nāu bandhur varuṇa samā jā veda vāitad
 tvamānā samā jā | dadāmi tubhyaṁ yad adattam asti yuiyas te
 saptapadaṣ sakhāsmi z 10 z devo devāya grāte vayodhā vipro
 viprāya stuvate sumedhāḥ | ajijano hi varuṇa svadhāvaṁ athar-
 vaṇam pitarām viśvadevaṁ | tasmā urvāyuṣ kṛṇuhi praśastam
 sakhā no 'sti varuṇaṣ ca bandhuḥ z 11 z 1 z

In st 1a the correction *prāvadaḥ* is very uncertain; the ms points rather to a form of *brū*. Edgerton suggests *bravāma*. In 5b it is possible that the ms has only a corruption of the *Ś* form *supraṇīte*: and in 6b perhaps *durṇaśam* as in *Ś* is intended. As the hymn is very unclear it is hard to edit the Pāipp text with any confidence.

2

(Ś 5.13)

vṛṣā me ravo [2] *rabhasā nī tanyatur ugreṇa tam vacasā bādhai tu te* | *ahan̄ tam asya grabhir agrabha rasam jyo*-[3]*tiṣṭeva tapasod ayatu sūryah* |

With *na* for *nī* *pāda* a can stand, tho *rabhasā* is suspicious; in b read *bādhe*: in c *gr̥bhīr agrabham* seems good, in d *etu*.

yat te modaka viṣam tat tōbhīr agrabham gr̥hṇāmi madhya-[4]*m utāvasam bhiyasā neśad ātu te* |

In a *modakam* would not seem good; read 'podakam with *Ś*; in b *tat ta etābhīr*: in c I would supply from *Ś* and read *madhyamam uttamam rasam*; for d read *utāvamam* ° *neśad ād u te*.

balena te balaṁ harmi tarmā sanmi te tañnū | *r*-[5]*reṇa harmi te viṣam ahe marisṭā mā jivī pratyag arbhetu tvā viṣam* |

In a read *hanmi*, for b (which may be a gloss) *tanvā hanmi te tanūm*, in c *viṣeṇa hanmi*: in d I would suggest *marisyā*, and *jivih*; in e read *abhy etu*.

asitasya [6] *tayimātasya babhror upodakasya ca* | *mātrāhastava manyor jyām ugrasyava dhanyano vi mu*-[7]*ñcāmi rathān iva* |

In a read *tāimātasya*: in c probably *sātrāsāhasya*, in d *ugrasyeva dhanyano*. *Pādas* ab occur Ppp 1.44.1ab.

kālāt pr̥ṇir upatarnī babhūv me śrutāsitalikā | [8] *mā naś cakṣuṣ kāmam apr̥sthātāśyāvayādvāu varṣe ramadhvam* |

Probably the reading intended here is that of *Ś* with slight variations; we might read then: *kāirāta pr̥ṇa upat̥r̥ṇya babhrav ā me śrutāsītā alikāḥ* | *mā naś sakhyas athāmānam api śthātāśrāvayanto varṣe ramadhvam*.

As given here *pāda* d lacks one syllable; *Ś* has *nī viṣe*.

alakā ca vyacalu ptvā [9] *yas te mātā ca vidma te vidvato baddhato bandhus sa rasaḥ kin̄ karisyasi* |

For *pāda* a I can get nothing; read *pitā* in b: for c read *vidma te vidvato bandhu*, in d so 'rasaḥ.

udakāla-[10]*yā duhi jāta jāsvabaghnyā pratamgarta druhaśin uśāhīn arasān akah*

In a read duhitā, for b probably jāta dāsyā asiknyāh as suggested by Whitney: if the first word of pāda c is pratanākaṁ, as in Ś, the rest of the pāda might be dudruhuṣīr tho the gender of this does not go smoothly with the next pāda.

kaṇvā [11] śrāvid aravāid gired avacarantikā yāh kāṣyemā khanitramās tāsām ara-[12]matamaṁ viṣam |

Possibly pāda a can stand: Ś has karṇā śvāvit tad; in b read girer, in c kās cemāh khanitrimās, in d arasatamaṁ.

tāvucam na tāvucam naḥer asiktam tāvucendrasam viṣam

With nāher and a colon after asiktam this may stand. Ś has tābuvam na tābuvam na ghet tvam asi tābuvam; the naḥer asiktam of our ms, however, is probably only a corruption of na ghet asi tvam.

tastuvam naha-[13]r isiktam trastuvam tastucendrasam viṣam. z

It would seem possible to read tastuvam nāher asiktam tastuvam. rasam te he viṣam iyaṁ kṛnotv oṣa-[14]dhiḥ trāyamāṇām sahamānām sahasvatīś ahātāyad gor aśvāt puruṣād vi-[15]ṣam z 2 z

Read: arasam te he viṣam iyaṁ kṛnotv oṣadhiḥ | trāyamāṇām sahamānām sahasvatīm śahātāyad gor aśvāt puruṣād viṣam z 11 z 2 z

Our pāda c is Ś 8.2.6c but there iha huve follows: if the words in c were nominatives I would read in d sā ghātayad.

3

(Ś 4.9)

[f105a15] yad āñjanam trāikankudam jātam himavatāḥ pari | yāffnā ca [16] sarvān jambhaya sarvās ca yātudhānyāḥ uterāsi paripāṇam yātujambha-[17]nam āñjanāḥ ulāmṛtatresyesīśa uterāsi pitubhojanam. parimāṇam [18] puruṣāṇām parimāṇam rakām asi | aśmānām sarvatām pari- [f105b] mānāhi tastīś | parimāṇam pari naḥ priyam pari naḥ pāhy ad dhanam rātiram no mā tā-[2]rīn mā taraḥ kim canā mamat. na tam prāpnoti śapattho na kṛtyā nābhīśocanam. nānam ni [3] niṣkandham aśnute yas tvām bībharty āñjanāḥ āsamartnyā duḥvapnyā kṣettriyās cṇpathād ula | dra-[4]hadeś cakṣuḥ ghorāt tasmān naḥ pāhy āñjana | trayo caśmāñjanasya takmā balāsā-[5]d ahe varṣiṣṭhāḥ pakṣatānām trikakun nāma te pitā | vṛtrasyāśya kanīnikā parva-[6]tasyāśy akṣau devebhis sarvāi proktaṁ paridhir nāma vāsi | vedo hi veda te nāma gandha-[7]rīvāparivācanam | yātāñjana prajāyase ta tehy ariṣṭatāyase z yadi [8] vāsa trāikakudam yadi vāsanum ucyase | ubhaya te bhadrī nāmnīs tābhyan na-[9]ḥ pāhy

*añjana yasyañjanah | prasarpasy añgam añgam paruṣ paruḥ tasmād
yakṣmaṁ vi [10] bādhadhvam ugro madhyamaśir iva | nāino ghnantu
paryāyaḥ na manvā iva gaśchati | [11] jane ma na pramīyate yas
tvām bibharty añjana | idam vidvān añjanas satyam vakṣya-[12]
mī nānṛtam : saneyam aśvam gām vāsā ātmānam tava pūruṣah z 3 z*

Read: yad añjanam trāikakudaṁ jātani himavatas pari |
yātūṁś ca sarvān jambhaya sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ z 1 z utālvāsi
paripānam yātujambhanam añjana | utāmr̥tatvasyeśiṣa utāśaṣ
pitubhojanam z 2 z paripānam puruṣānām paripānam gavām
asi | aśvānām arvatām paripānāya tasthiṣe z 3 z parimām pari
naṣ priyam pari naṣ pāhi yad dhanam | arātir no mā tārā mā
tārāt kim canā mamat z 4 z na tam prāpnoti śapatho na kṛiyā
nābhīśocanam | nānam viṣkandham aśnute yas tvām bibharty
añjana z 5 z asmanmantryād duṣvapnyāt kṣetriyāc chapathād uta |
durhārdaś cakṣuṣo ghorāt tasmān naṣ pāhy añjana z 6 z trayo
dāśā añjanasya takmā balāsa ād ahiḥ | varṣiṣṭhaḥ parvatānām
trikakun nāma te pitā z 7 z vṛtrasyāsi kaninikā parvatasyaśy
akṣyāu | devebhīḥ sarvāḥ proktaṁ paridhir nāma vā asi z 8 z
vedo hi veda te nāma gandharvapariivādanam | yad añjana
prajāyase tad ehy ariṣṭatātaye z 9 z yadī vāsi trāikakudaṁ yadī
vāmanam ucyaṣe | ubhe te bhadre nāmni tābhvām naṣ pāhy
añjana z 10 z yasyañjana prasarpasy añgam-añgam paruṣ-paruḥ |
tasmād yakṣmaṁ vi bādha tvam ugro madhyamaśir iva z 11 z
nānam ghnanti paryāyino na sannān ava gaśchati | jane sa na
pramīyate yas tvām bibharty añjana z 12 z idam vidvān añjana
satyam vakṣyāmi nānṛtam | saneyam aśvam gām vāsā ātmānam
tava pūruṣa z 13 z 3 z

In st 2d Whitney reports the Pāipp reading as pitubhojanam, which is much better than pitu^c; the latter is not strong, if indeed possible. Our st 4 is nearly Ś 2.7.4 where prajāṁ stands for our priyam; parimām is probably correct and the difficulty in priyam. St 9 here is new, and perhaps the whole first hemistich should be enclosed in daggers; pāda b is certainly not satisfactory. St 11 is a variant of RV 10.97.12; the reading of our ms. bādhadhvam, may be due to influence of RV; if so we might do well to follow Ś more closely. St 12ab appears Ś 6.76.4; 13cd appears RV 10.97.4.

4

(Ś 5.16)

[f105b13] ya ekavṛṇṇo si ṣṭāvṛṇṇo si yo dvivṛṇṇo si | yas trivṛṇṇo si yas
catvṛṇṇo-[14]ṇṇo si yas pañcavṛṇṇo sa yad ṣaḍvṛṇṇo si yas sapṭavṛṇṇo si yo

aglavr-[15]so si yo navavršo si | yo dašavršo si | yūpodako si srjāraso
[16] si z 4 z

Read: ya ekavršo 'si srjāraso 'si z 1 z yo divvršo 'si ° ° z 2 z
yas trivršo 'si ° ° z 3 z yaś caturvršo 'si ° ° z 4 z yaś pañcavršo
'si ° ° z 5 z yaś ṣadvršo 'si ° ° z 6 z yas saptavršo 'si ° ° z 7 z
yo aṣṭavršo 'si ° ° z 8 z yo navavršo 'si ° ° z 9 z yo dašavršo 'si
° ° z 10 z yo 'podako 'si srjāraso 'si z 11 z 4 z

5

(Ś 5.15)

[f105b16] ekā ca me daśa cāpavaktrāroṣadhe yadicāda da-[17]tāvari
madhu tvā madhulā karat. | dve ca me viṣāntiś ca tisaś ca me triṇśa-
[18]ś catasraś ca me catvāriṇś ca | pañca ca me pañcāś ca | ṣaṭ
ca me ṣaṭtiś ca | [19] sapta ca me saptaś ca | aṣṭa ca me aṣṭiś ca |
nava ca me navatiś ca | da- [f106a] śa ca me śataś ca | śataś ca
me sahasraṁ cāpavaktrāroṣadhe yadicāda dhatāvari ma-[2]dhu tvā
madhulā karat. z anu 5 z

Read: ekā ca me daśa cāpavaktāra oṣadhe | ṛtajāta ṛtāvari
madhu tvā madhulā karat z 1 z dve ca me viṣāntiś cāpavaktāra
° | ° ° z 2 z tisaś ca me triṇśa cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 3 z catvāraś
ca me catvāriṇś cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 4 z pañca ca me pañcāśaś
cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 5 z ṣaṭ ca me ṣaṭtiś cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 6 z
sapta ca me saptaś cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 7 z aṣṭa ca me aṣṭiś
cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 8 z nava ca me navatiś cāpavaktāra ° | ° °
z 9 z daśa ca me śataś cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 10 z śataś ca me
sahasraṁ cāpavaktāra oṣadhe | ṛtajāta ṛtāvari madhu tvā madhulā
karat z 11 z 5 z anu 1 z

In Ś the end of the stanzas runs madhu me madhulā karat.

6

(Ś 4.20)

[f106a2] ā paśyasi prati paśyasi parā [3] paśyasi paśyasi | dyām
antarikṣam ād bhūmim tat sarvaṁ devī paśyasi z tiro diva-[4]ś
tiraś pṛthivī ṣaṭ cemas eūdiśo mahī | tathāham sarvā yātṛn apaś-
yāmi [5] devy oṣadhe | suparyasya diryasya tasya hāsi kanīnikā |
sā bhūmim āro-[6]her mahyam kṛantā vadhūr ira | tāraṁ me sahas-
rākṣo devo dakṣiṇe hastādadat. | [7] tenāham sarvaṁ paśyāmy
adbhūtaṁ yaś ca bharyam | yathā śvā caturakṣo yathāśva syāvo
raa-[8]tām yathāgnir viśvotaś pratyañ evā tvam aśy oṣadhe | kaś-
yapasya caturakṣas nyamnyā-[9]ś caturakṣā | vidhre sūryam iva
sarpanṭam mā piśācam tiraś kara | darśaye [10] mā yātudhānān
śavaya yātudhānyah | āpaspry eva tiṣṭhantam darśaya mā [11] kimī-

dinam tad agrabham paripāyam yātudhānt kimīdina | tenāham sarvaṁ pa-[12]*śyāmy uta sūdrām utāryam | yathā sūryas candramasyā viśvā bhūtā vipāśyata ||* [13] *evā vipāśyatā team aghāyur mopagād iha | yo antarikṣeṇa patati bho-*[14]*mīś copasarpati | divam yo manyate nātham tvaṁ piśācam dr̥ṣe kuru | āviṣkr̥ṣu-*[15]*ṣva rūpāṇi mātmanam api rūhatā | evā sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paśyā-*[16]*my āyata z 1 z*

Read; ā paśyasi prati paśyasi parā paśyasi paśyasi | dyām antarikṣam ād bhūmim tat sarvaṁ devī paśyasi z 1 z tisro divas tisraṣ pṛthivīḥ ṣaṭ cenāṣ pradīṣo mahīḥ | tathāham sarvaṁ yātūn paśyāmi devy ośadhe z 2 z suparnasya divyasya tasya hāsi kanīnikā | sū bhūmim āroher vahyaṁ śrāntā vadhūr iva z 3 z tāvan me sahasrākṣo devo dakṣiṇe hasta ā dadhat | tenāham sarvaṁ paśyāmi yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam z 4 z yathā śvā caturakṣo yathāśvaś śyāvo 'rvatām | yathāgnir viśvatas pratyāñi evā tvam asy ośadhe z 5 z kaśyapasya caturakṣas śunyāś ca caturakṣyāḥ | vidhre sūryam iva sarpantham mā piśācam tīras karaḥ z 6 z darśaya mā yātudhānāṁ darśaya yātudhānyah | āpassprg eva tiṣṭhantaṁ darśaya mā kimīdinam z 7 z ud agrabham paripāyam yātudhānāt kimīdinaḥ | tenāham sarvaṁ paśyāmy uta sūdrām utāryam z 8 z yathā sūryas candramās ca viśvā bhūtā vi paśyataḥ | evā vipāśyatāt tvam aghāyur mopagād iha z 9 z yo antarikṣeṇa patati bhūmyā yaś copasarpati | divam yo manyate nātham taṁ piśācam dr̥ṣe kuru z 10 z āviṣkr̥ṣuṣva rūpāṇi mātmanam apa gūhathāḥ | evā sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paśyāsy āyataḥ z 11 z 1 z

In 4a tan would rectify the meter. Stt 5 and 9 are new, also 7cd.

7

[f106a16] *śūkṣejāns tvodāns tumalāṁ patiṣṭhāma upārṣa-*[17]*lām ahīnām sarveṣām viṣam arasam kṛṇe ośadhe |*

In the first two pūdas I can get nothing more than the division of the words; the second hemistich is correct.

aśvakrandasya vāṇḍasya [18] *pradākor gonuṣer uta | śvitrāṇām sarveṣā viṣam arasam kṛṇe ośadhe |*

In ab we might read aśvakrandasya baṇḍasya prdākor gonaser uta; the lexicons give gonasa (sic) as the name of a snake: read sarveṣām in c.

dyāmpā-[19]*kaśya gavakasya godhāpiṣṭher aher uta | asilānām etaj jātam ariṣṭe* [f106b] *rasam kṛdhi |*

In pūda a jambhākasya seems possible, and we might possibly accept the next two names as they stand; in d read 'rasam.

*etaḥ jātaṁ svajānāṁ tad a babhro rasam kṛdhi | sarvasya babhro
bheṣajyasīya* [2] *viśadūṣaṇī* |

In b probably the best correction would be tad u babhro 'rasam'; in c read bheṣajī: pāda d probably begins jyasya (cf st 11d) but no good suggestion comes to me; perhaps it is connected with jyā 'overpower': read viśadūṣaṇī.

trāyamāṇā praravitu sarvaṁ rājño mahinām tiraścārājāir asitā-[3] *n
athopasayās ca ye* |

In b ahinām would seem more probable; in c then we would read tiraścārājāir asitād (= Ś 7.56.1a), and in d athopasayās. But we might also read sarvān rājño ahinām, and then in c tiraścārājān asitān.

sānsān yātudhānaṁ sahasa yātudhānyah sahasvān sā-[4] *saha mān
hānāma jagrabha | mahasmākaṁ pāidvenogreṇa vacasā mama* |

The following tentative reconstruction is offered: sahasvān yātudhānaṁ sāsaha yātudhānyah sahasvān sāsaha | saṁ ha nāma jagrabha mahasmākaṁ pāidvenogreṇa vacasā mama. Perhaps māsmaṁ would be good.

andhāyān-[5] *ś ca hūdayānś ca śapathānś ca ratha vṛihah sāmā uta
padyatām sarvān arasaṁ a*-[6] *kaḥ*

Probably the first pāda can stand, tho the names(?) are new; for b śapathān saratham vṛihah would be fairly good. For c read samā uta padyantām, and in d arasān.

*asitasya vidradhasya harito yasya vidradha | imakkṣī vidradhānām
yo* 17-[7] *jām tvayī tā ajijānat.*

In a read vidradhasya, in b yaś ca vidradhaḥ; for the rest I have no suggestions. Pada a = Ppp 1.90.1a.

ya svajānām nilagrīva ya svajānām harir uta | [8] *kalmāṣapuścam
oṣadhe jambhayāmy arundhatī* |

Read yas in a and b, harir in b; in c read °puccham, in d jambhayāsy arundhatī. This stanza appears NilarU 21, which has in a and b svajanān, with variant svajanānām; in d it has jambhayāśv.

*māyaṁ sala*a jahī jaṣṭah* [9] *pitarasmāt sad viṣaṁ | imā hy amā
oṣadhim āharāmy arundhatīm* |

For ab I can suggest nothing: in c read imām, in d arundhatīm. *etaḥ jā-*[10] *taṁ prādākūnām arasaṁ jivale kṛdhi | indrasya bhadrikā
vīruj jyasi*-[11] *ya viśadūṣaṇī* 2 2 2

Read: etaḥ jātaṁ prādākūnām arasaṁ jivale kṛdhi | indrasya bhadrikā vīruj jyasya viśadūṣaṇī 2 11 2 2

8

(Stt 7-11 are Ś 19.2.)

[f106b11] śatam arvāk prasyandante prasyandante śa-[12]śam para
 śatam vṛtrasya kāṇḍāni tebhya āpo vidhāvataḥ antarikṣe pathayi-[13]
 ślavo nabhasas pari jajñire | āpo hiranyavarṇās tās te bhavantu śam
 hṛ-[14]de śam te santu hṛdayāya śam te hṛdayābhyah | śam te aka
 klosadbhyaś cam u te [15] yamneṣtebhyah | yad aṅgār apa saṣprṣe
 yaś chīrṣṇā yaś ca prṣṭibhiḥ āpas tat so-[16]rvaṁ niṣ karan tvaṣṭā
 riṣṭam ivānaśat śam hṛdena hṛdayam opasena sam opa-[17]śah
 adbhīr muñcāpas sitam tārṣṇebhyo tas sam etu te | ācarantīṣ par-
 vatebhyo de-[18]vīr devebhyas pari | āpo yam adya prāpaṇ na sa
 riṣyāt pūruṣaḥ śam tāpo hāima-[19]vatīś śam te santūśchā śa te
 sanīsyadāpaḥ śam u te santu varṣyāḥ san tāpo dha- [f107a] nvinyāś
 śam u te santanyapyā śam te khanītramāpaḥ śam yāś kumbhebhīr
 āvṛtā anabhrayaḥ [2] khaṇamānā viprā gambhīrepsā bhiṣagbhyo
 bhiṣaktarāpo vatsā vadāmasi z [3] apām aha divyānām māśrodas-
 yānām apām aha prapejane śvā bhavata vā-[4]jinaḥ tāpaś śivāpo
 awayakṣmanakaraṇīr apah athāiva dṛśyate mayas tvābhyā-[5]tvā-
 bheṣajī z 3 z

In 1e the ms corrects to (kā)nvā(mi); also to śam ta in st 3,
 and to °dya in 5d.

Read: śatam arvāk prasyandante prasyandante śatam paraḥ |
 śatam vṛtrasya kāṇḍāni tebhya āpo vidhāvantaṁ z 1 z antarikṣe
 pathayīṣnavo nabhasas pari jajñire | āpo hiranyavarṇās tās te
 bhavantu śam hṛde z 2 z śam te santu hṛdayāya śam te hṛdayā-
 yāpaḥ | śam te aha klomabhyaś śam u te anuveṣtebhyah z 3 z yad
 aṅgār apaś pasprṣe yac chīrṣṇā yac ca prṣṭibhiḥ | āpas tat sarvaṁ
 niṣ karan tvaṣṭā riṣṭam ivānaśat z 4 z śam hṛdayena hṛdayam
 opasena sam opasah | adbhīr muñcāpa sitam tārṣṇebhyo 'tas
 sam etu te z 5 z ācarantīṣ parvatebhyo devīr devebhyas pari
 āpo yam adya prāpaṇ na sa riṣyāt pūruṣaḥ z 6 z śam ta āpo
 hāimavatiś śam u te santūtayāḥ | śam te sanīsyadā āpaś śam u
 te santu varṣyāḥ z 7 z śam ta āpo dhanvanyāś śam u te santv
 anūpyāḥ | śam te khanītrimā āpaś śam yāś kumbhebhīr āvṛtāḥ
 z 8 z anabhrayaḥ khaṇamānā viprā gambhīre 'pasah | bhiṣagbhyo
 bhiṣaktarā āpo acehāvadāmasi z 9 z apām aha divyānām apām
 srotasyānām | apām aha prapejane 'śvā bhavata vājinaḥ z 10 z
 śam ta āpaś śivā āpo ayakṣmanakaraṇīr āpah | athāiva dṛśyate
 mayas tās tvābhiyantu bheṣajī z 11 z 3 z

In 1d vidhāvata would be nearer the ms. In 2a patayīṣnavo
 might be better. In 3d anuveṣtebhyah is a conjecture. Most

of 5cd is somewhat in doubt. In 8d Ś has ābhṛtāḥ which is better, but āvṛtāḥ seems entirely possible. In 9b our ms reading seems to indicate the form given by the Ś mss, which can stand as Whitney points out. In 11a our ms is in the same condition as the Ś mss, and I have adopted the amended text of Roth-Whitney; but in cd have tried to keep close to our ms.

9

[f107a5] *brahmapṛṣṭhās sambhṛtā vīryāṇi brahmāgre jyeṣṭham* [6] *dīvam ā tatānaḥ bhūlānām brahma prathama dhi jajñe tenārhati brahmaṇā* [7] *spardhattiṃ kaḥ*

In a read °jyeṣṭhā, in b ā tatāna, in c 'dhi, in d spardhitum. This is Ś 19.22.21 and 23.30; the Roth-Whitney text has by emendation in c prathama ha.

brahmeme dyāvāpṛthivī brahmeme sapta sindhavaḥ brahmeme sarvada- [8] *dityā brahma devā upāsate* |

Read brahmeme in c.

brahma brāhmaṇo vadati | *brahma rātri nivasate* | [9] *sāvitre brahmaṇo jātam brahmaṇāgnir virocate* |

In a brahmāṇo vadanti might be better: the ms perhaps reads vadatiṃ.

brahma oṣadhayo na tiṣṭhanti vra- [10] *hma varṣantu vṛṣṭayaḥ brahmedaṃ sarvaṃ ātmantad yāvat sūryo vi paśyati* |

For a read brahmāuṣadhayo ni tiṣṭhanti, in b varṣanti, in d sūryo. For c cf Ś 10.8.2e and 11.2.10c.

brahma hotā [11] *brahma yajño brahmaṇā suro mitā* | *adhvaryur brahmaṇo jāto brahmaṇe tirate* [12] *haviḥ*

In b read svaravo mitāḥ; probably d can stand tho brahmaṇot tirate might be considered. But this stanza occurs Ś 19.42.1 where the mss have brahmaṇo antarhite, which Roth-Whitney have emended to antarhitam; this is a somewhat easier reading.

brahma mṛco gṛhṭavātir brahma ṛṣabho bhadraretā brahma gāro haviṣṭ- [13] *ta* | *brahma rathosya devasya yujje yāti svaranikṛtā* |

Read sruco in a, bhadraretāḥ in b, haviṣṭrāḥ in c, dāivasya in d; for e probably we may read yuje yāti svaranikṛtam. Pāda a = Ś 19.42.2a. The ms corrects to (yā)te in e.

brahmaṇā sādām vanati vra- [14] *hmaṇā yujyate rathah brahmaṇā puruṣo bhy apānam ryathate caran*

In c read 'bhy, in d caran.

vrahmaṇo jātaḥ r-[15]ṣayo vrahmaṇo rājanyā uta | vrahmedaṁ vrahmaṇo jātaḥ vrahmaṇo viṣyanṇaṁ |

In d I would suggest viṣyanṇam annam.

vrahma [16] śūdrā rājanyānām vrahmāṣām uta cikṣataḥ vrahmāṣām bhadrām sādanaṁ vrahmaṇāi-[17]ṣām sabhā sadā |

In a śūdrā does not seem good and I would read śubhā; in b possibly śikṣitam; possibly d can stand, but consider also sabhāśadām.

vrahma dāsād vrahma dāsād vrahmese kitavā uta | strīpum-[18]sāu vrahmaṇo jātāu strīyo vrahmotha vāvanā |

In a we might read ca sad and cāsād, but this does not fit very well with the rest; in b vrahmeme, in d vrahmota vāvāna.

vrahmobhyato nivato vrahma śarva [19] sarvato vānaspatyā parvatā vīrudhaḥ vrahmedaṁ sarvam antā

Read: vrahmodvato nivato vrahma * * sarvataḥ | vānaspatyāḥ parvatā vīrudho vrahmedaṁ sarvam antarā z 11 z 4 z

The ms has several light strokes over śarva seeming to intend its deletion; in the indicated lacuna a verb might well have stood. The ms does not indicate the end of the hymn at this point, but what follows does not seem to me to be a part of the hymn.

utānām antarā dyā- [f107b] vāpṛthivī ubhe | vrahmāivābhavad uttaram jātavedo adad vajro yātudhānaṁ ma-[2]hābalam. bhavakarsvāu upuṣyaṁ hetim asmāi nayaṣitāu visrjatāḥ va-[3]dhāya z 4 z apnūpavrahmasūktam. 1 z z

Read bhūtānām antarā, bhavāśarvāu tapuṣīm and possibly nayiṣṭhāu; with these corrections we seem to have a fair reading. In the colophon the transliteration should perhaps be aprūpa°; possibly aparūpavrahmasūktam is the correct title. In the left margin at the top of f107b is a star and also vrāhmasūktam kāraṇam.

10

[f107b3] *yad aśvinā oṣadhī-[4]ṣv ā siktam puṣkaraśrajā vīrudho madhu bibhratīnaḥ tinaham asya mūrdhāna-[5]m abhiṣiñcāmi nāryāḥ |*

In b read siktām; in c probably bibhratī (omitting naḥ); for de tenāham asyā mūrdhānam abhiṣiñcāmi nāryāḥ. For b cf Ś 3.22.4f etc., for de cf Ppp 4.10.7de.

aśvinā puṣpād adhi māksikam madhu sambhṛtaḥ | [6] anne lavanena madhuma tena |

In a read yad aśvinā °; for c I would suggest anne 'lavane madhumat; read de as in st 1.

aśvinā guggūluḥ | āñjane madhu sambhṛtaḥ | [7] yad asmin madhugo madhu |

The transliteration at the beginning of b is not sure; the sign after the colon is that for medial ā, not initial ā.

In ab I would read yad aśvinā gugguluny āñjane °; in c madughe; supply de as in st 1.

yad aśvinā kṣa madhu goṣv aśveṣu yan ma-[8]dhu | surāyām sic-yamānāyām kilāle dhi yan madhu tena |

In a the letters kṣa are probably the remains of some word in the locative case, possibly makṣe; in b read goṣv, in d 'dhi: for ef read tenāham ° as in st 1.

yad aśvi-[9]nā govarcasaḥ hiraṇyavarcasaḥ hastivarcasaḥ aśvinā | tenāham aśyā [10] mūrdhānām abhiññāmi nāryāḥ

Read mūrdhānam in c; the omission of hiraṇya° would rectify the meter.

abhi nandam abhi mojam abhi ta-[11]lpam kṛṇomi te | yā te bhagaṇ vartayetām aśvinā puṣkarasrajā |

In a read modam; for c ā te bhagaṇ vartayetām; in d puṣkarasrajā.

yad apau [12] te varcoḥ subhage jihvāyām te madhūlaka | akṣāu na karaṇī tavaṭ putikam [13] madhumattaraḥ | āsitasya talāśeva vṛkṣāivāpatikaḥ pati |

It would seem best to omit te in pāds a; in b read madhūlakam. In c read akṣāu and tava, but for na karaṇī I have no suggestion; in d read pratikaḥ (the ms seems to make this correction). In e perhaps āsitāsi is possible; in f read vṛkṣa ivāpatikaḥ patiḥ.

tvam samagra-[14]bhūt puṁsaś śyena ivānyān patantriṇaḥ āyi te hārṣam udakam apo bhagā-[15]dizecanam |

In a read samagrabbhṛṣ, in b patatrinah; for āyi in c I can see nothing; read 'hārṣam, in d possibly bhagābhīṣecanāḥ.

yat te varco pakrāntam manasya praticakṣaṇaḥ punaḥ tad aśvina trayy ā [16] dattām puṣkarasrajāḥ

In a read 'pakrāntam, for b probably manas ca praticakṣaṇam; for d ā dhattām puṣkarasrajā.

abhi te carcasāsrajaḥ divyena payasā sahu | ya-[17]thā pativinsyaso deva ṛgbhyo manumattarā |

In a read °srjan; in c read pativañśyāso, in d devṛbhyo madhumattarā. Cf Ppp 4.2.7; Ś 4.8.6.

bhagam te mitrāvaruṇā bhagam [18] *divī sarasvatī | bhagam te aśvinobhā dattām | adattām puṣkarasraja z*

In a read *mitrā*°, in b *devī*; in c *aśvinobhā dhattām puṣkara-srajā*.

The line beginning with *divī* is the last line on f107b; but just below in the margin in a sort of parenthesis the ms has the stanza with some variants, thus: *bhagam te mitrāvaruṇāu bhagam divī sarasvatī bhagam te aśvināu devāu adattām puṣkarāsrajam. pāthah*. This marginal text agrees with RV 10.184.3 in having *aśvināu devāu* in c, where the text in the main body of our ms agrees with Ś 5.25.3c. Cf Ppp 5.11.6.

patī [f108a] *patī te rājā varuṇaḥ patim devo vṛhaspatiḥ patim ta indraś cāgniś ca patim dātā* [2] *dadātu te z 5 z anu 2 z z*

Read: *patim te rājā varuṇaḥ patim devo vṛhaspatiḥ | patim ta indraś cāgniś ca patim dhātā dadhātu te z 12 z 5 z anu 2 z*

With this cf as for last stanza, but particularly MG 2.14.6.

11

[f108a2] *catastas te khala saktir aho ma-*[3] *dhyam aham khala | dhārās catastas tosyāmi | vedim mānuṣyavardhanim z*

Delete colon at end of c and read probably *posyāmi*.

urjasva-[4] *tam ā rābhadvam sphātivantam punīti nah bījasyā-bhyāvodhā bhagātu puro-*[5] *gava |*

In a read *urjasvantām*, in b *punīta*, for d *bhaga etu purogavaḥ. bhagasya hanadvāhāu yanjāta rāśivāhanāu adhaḥ prthivyāḥ kilā-*[6] *tam ihā vahattam aśvinā*

In a read *hāna*°, for b *yujjāte rāśivāhanāu*; in c *adhaḥ*, in d *vahattām*.

abhikṛtaḥ parikṛto dhānena vibhuḥ prabhuḥ dharitā ma-[7] *nusyānām jajñe devānām ājyam khala*

In b *paribhuḥ* would seem better in meaning and rhythm; read *khalaḥ* in d.

arucā sampani sṛṅikā pa-[8] *riṣkṛta | kināśā sam no tāro bijadāsīd dhaviṣmatī*

The long i of "sid" in pāda d is not perfect.

For the first hemistich I can get nothing more than the transliteration; it lacks four syllables. In c *kināśas* and 'taro may be possible; in d read *dhaviṣmatī*.

ikendra mu-[9] *stir dhyā sṛjasva pūrṇāu ihā sāumanasaḥ sam rddhya-tām hotāro ye ca gandharvās ta* [10] *hi sphātīm mam ā vahaḥ |*

Read: *iḥendra puṣṭim vi śrjaśva pūrṇām iha sūmanasas sam
rddhyantām | hotāro ye ca gandharvās te hi sphātim sam
āvahan z 6 z*

The emendations are of course only suggestions.

*atipaśyo nrcāyakayaḍūkaḥ pakṣam ā bhara | [11] iśānā gandharvā
bhucanasya sa vahantu khale sphāti-[12]m iḥāsāunrtām ca |*

In the first hemistich I can make no suggestion. In *c ya iśānā* would be better but *ya* is not necessary; in *d* read *saṁ vahantu*; a fifth *pāda* is indicated which might possibly be reconstructed into *iha saṁ vahan ṛtām ca*, but this is mere guessing.

*ā paśād ā purastād uttarād adharād uta | indrā-[13]ya vasor iśānaḥ
khale sphātim sam dhān*

In *c indro 'yaṁ*, or *yo*, would seem better; the *ms* in the margin has a correction "dra". In *d* read *saṁ āvahat*; or *saṁāvahan*.

*sphātim indraḥ khale bahē-[14]m ihotprāṇam ut prṇat. | sphāti me
viśve devā sphātim somo atha bhogaḥ | [15]*

In *b* read *prṇāt*, and possibly *ihotpāraṇam* (= complete fulness) In *c* read *sphātim* and *devās*.

*sphātir me astu hastayoh sphātir yatra mā rārabhe | śatahastenam ut
prṇa sa-[16]mudrasyeve madhyataḥ*

In *b atra* would seem better; for *c* read *śatahastena mot prṇās*.

*iha me bhūyā bhara yathāham kāmaye tathā yatheyā-[17]m udyā
sphāyātāitrāiva hastinas saha z 1 z*

Read: *iha me bhūya ā bhara yathāham kāmaye tathā |
yatheyam adya sphāyate yatrāiva hastinas saha z 11 z 1 z*

Pāda d may need emending. The entire hymn is of course very uncertain, but it is clear that it belongs in the sphere of Ś 3.24.

12

[f108a17] *śvadeviyaṁ tā aśvinā [18] sure kṛṇutām puṣkarasrujā | yām
asiñcan sūdhanvinā viśve devā maru-[19]dgaṇā yām aśvināsiñcatām
mā munā bahu dhāvatu |*

In *pāda a* we may probably read *svādvīm tvāśvinā*; in *c* *asiñcan sūdhanvanā*, in *d* *marudgaṇāḥ*; in *f* *sā surā*.

*śvādo śvādī- [f108b] yamī bhara madhor madhutarā bhava | atha
rṣyesyayavamārṣyesāktyaṁ sūbhage bhava |*

In *a* read *svādoḥ svādīyasī*: in *cd* I can get nothing satisfactory.
*abhrā jātām [2] sarṣā jātām atha jātām vidam pari | atha samudrāj
jātām tat surādagaṇam bhava |*

In a read abhrāj and varṣāj, in b divas; in d probably surā-dharaṇam.

*nā-[3]dīnām āsi januṣā sū surādharanī bhava | sakhā hi bhadraśthāsī
vrkṣa sū-[4]du vikāṅkataḥ |*

Read āsi in a, śākhā and °sthāsi in c, and for d probably vrkṣaḥ svādūr vikaṅkataḥ.

*asuras ta ūrdhvanabhasaś cakāra prathamā sware | sure dāsaś ci
teā gr-[5]he siraś cāndhasya cakratu |*

Possibly pādas ab can stand; in c I can get nothing out of dāsaś ci; for d possibly we may read sūraś cāndhaś ca cakratuḥ.

*niṣ puspakam kaśikāyā nir dhārāyā surām uta | u-[6]d īhi vājīnīvati
kim aṅkatīṣv icchati |*

Read dhārāya in b, ehi in c, and aṅkatīṣv icchati in d.

*kim etam janyāśate gusti-[7]r abhidhṛṣṇava | sure devi pariprehi
mādayanti janam janam |*

In a read janyā āsate, in b 'gastīr abhidhṛṣṇavaḥ.

*asyā grhṇā [8] sthālena gām āśvam dhānyam vasu sū surā bahu
dhāvatu*

In a read grhṇāmi and perhaps yasyā: if the stanza ever had a fourth pāda I would suspect that it stood as pāda e.

*ācarantiḥ parvate-[9] bhyaḥ khaṇamānā anabhraya | yāsām samudre
samsthānam yāsām nāsti niveśanam | [10] tās te dadatu vudbudam
idam kuru cemām surām*

In b read anabhrayaḥ, in e budbudam: for ab see above no 8.6a and 9a.

*yām hṛdā kāmayāmahe tāva-[11]n ma bhagas tām ośvinā tāvan mā
vañ sarasvatī | ayaṁ devo mayūlaśaś iśaśurā-[12]d aranam dadat. |*

At the beginning of b and e tāṁ mā would seem to be the correct reading; in c possibly vahat for vañ: for mayūlaśaś I have no suggestion but madhūlakaś.

*saṁsraṇānt parīsravaṇā giribhyas paryābhṛtaḥ ma-[13]dhye śatasya
mapsiṣko naḍvān ima mehatu z 2 z*

Read: saṁsraṇāṇḥ parīsravaṇā giribhyas paryābhṛtāḥ | madhye śatasya †mapsiṣko 'naḍvān imā mehatu z 11 z 2 z

In a prāsraṇā would be somewhat better. [In c sarpiṣo?—F. E.]

13

(RV 4.58)

[f108b13] *saṃudrād ūrmī* [14] *madhumān ud ārad upānśunā saṃ*
amṛtatvam ānat, ghṛtasya nāma guhyam [15] *yad asti jihvā devānām*
amṛtasya nābhīḥ hṛdayam nāma prā vravāmā [16] *ghṛtasyāsmiṇ*
yajñe dhārayāmā navobhīḥ | *upa vrahmāś śṛṇvāś chasya-* [17]
mānam catuṣśṛṅgo vamiḍ goru etat | *catvāri śṛṅgas trayo asya pādā*
 [18] *dve śirṣe sapta hastāso asya* | *tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho*
devo [19] *martyān ā viveśa* | *tridhā hi kam pañibhir guhyamānam*
gavi devāso ghr- [20] *tam ane avindan* | *indra ekam sūrya ekam*
jajāna venād ekam svadhayā ni- [f109a] *ś kṛtakṣuh* | *etā arṣanti*
hṛdyāt saṃudrās chatavrajā nipuṇā nāvacakṣe | *ghṛtasya dhārā* | [2]
abhi cākaśiḥ hiraṇyayo ritaso madhya āsām samyak sravanti sarito
na devā | [3] *antar hṛdā manasā sūyamānāḥ ete arṣanty ūrmayo*
ghṛtasya mṛgā iva kṣipāṇo- [4] *r iṣamānāḥ z om mrga iva kṣipāṇor*
iṣamānās sindhor ivam prādhvane sū- [5] *ghānāso vātah primayaś*
patayanti yāvān ghṛtasya dhārā arṣo na vājī kāṣṭhā- [6] *bhirmarty*
ūrmibhiḥ pinvamānāḥ abhi pravanti samaneva yozāś kalyāṇya
sayo- [7] *mānāso agniṃ* | *ghṛtasya dhārās samidho nasanti tā juṣāṇo*
haryati [8] *jātaredāḥ kanyā iva vātam atetavā u* | *anya jānā abhi*
cākaśīti | [9] *yatra somas sūyate yatra yajñō ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat*
pavante | *abhy arṣa* [10] *suṣṭutim gavyam ājam assāsu bhadrā*
draviṇāni dhatta | *īmam yajñam nayata* [11] *devatā no ghṛtasya*
dhārā madhumat pavanāte | *dhāman te vīśvām bhuvanam adhi ś-* [12]
tam antas saṃudre hṛdy antar āyuzi | *apām anikāt samidhād*
yābhṛtas tapa- [13] *śyāmi madhumantam kur ūrmim. z 3 z*

Read: *saṃudrād ūrmīr madhumān ud ārad upānśunā saṃ*
amṛtatvam ānat | *ghṛtasya nāma guhyam yad asti jihvā devānām*
amṛtasya nābhīḥ z 1 z vayah nāma prā vravāmā ghṛtasyāsmiṇ
yajñe dhārayāmā namobhīḥ | *upa vrahmāś śṛṇvāś chasyamānam*
catuṣśṛṅgo 'vamiḍ gāura etat z 2 z catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā
dve śirṣe sapta hastāso asya | *tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti*
maho devo martyān ā viveśa z 3 z tridhā hi kam pañibhir guhya-
mānam gavi devāso ghrtam anv avindan | *indra ekam sūrya ekam*
jajāna venād ekam svadhayā niś tatakṣuh z 4 z etā arṣanti hṛdyāt
saṃudrāc chatavrajā ripuṇā nāvacakṣe | *ghṛtasya dhārā abhi*
cākaśīmi hiraṇyayo vetaso madhya āsām z 5 z samyak sravanti
sarito na dhenā antar hṛdā manasā sūyamānāḥ | *ete arṣanty*
ūrmayo ghṛtasya mṛgā iva kṣipāṇor iṣamānāḥ z 6 z sindhor iva
prādhvane sūghānāso vītapramiṇyaś patayanti yāvān | *ghṛtasya*
dhārā arṣo na vājī kāṣṭhā bhindanty ūrmibhiḥ pinvamānāḥ z 7 z

abhi pravante samaneva yoṣṣ kalyāṇyas smayamāṇaso agnīm |
ghṛtasya dhārās samidho nasante tā juṣāṇo baryati jātavedāḥ
z 8 z kanyā iva vahatum etavā u aṅjy aṅjānā abhi cākaśīti | yatra
somas sūyate yatra yaṅjō ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat pavante z 9 z
abhy arṣata suṣtutīm gavyam ājīm asmāsu bhadrā draviṇāni
dhatta | imān yaṅjanān nayata devatā no ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat
pavante z 10 z dhāman te viśvaṁ bhuvanān adhi śritam antas
samudre hr̥dy antar āyusi | apām anikāt samithād ya ābhṛtas
tam aśyāma madhumantān ta ūrmīm z 11 z 3 z

In addition to RV this hymn appears in VS, KS; and parts elsewhere. In 4a all others read hitam, in 11e all others read anike samithe: other variants are not so striking.

14

(RV 1.95)

[f109a13] dve virūpa carata svarthe ā-[14]nyānyā vatsas upa dhā-
payete | harir anyasyām bhavati svadhāvān śukro anya-[15]nyām
dadṛṣe suvarcāḥ z daśemaṁ tvāṣtur janayanta garbham atandra-[16]
so yuvatayo vibhṛtaḥ | tigmānikam sujaśasam jāneṣu virocāmānām
[17] paridhīm nayanti | trīṇi jānat prati bhūṣanty asya samudra
ekam divy eka-[18]m apsu | pūrvām anu pradīṣam pāṛthivānām
jḥbhūn praśāsad vi dadhā- [f109b] z anuṣṭhu z ka imam vo nizyam
ā ciketu vatsa mātṛā janayati svadhāvān. | āviṣṭyo va-[2]vardhate
cārur āsu jiḥvānām ūrdhva vyaṣāṣam upasthe | ubhe tvāṣtur vi-
bhyanter jāyamā-[3]t praṭicim sīḥam prati joṣayate | ubhe bhadre
joṣayete na mene gāvo na vāgrā u-[4]pa lasthur evāi | sa dakṣiṇām
dakṣopatir babhūvāyuniṅjanti yam dakṣiṇato havirbhiḥ [5] ud yam-
yamī savitara bākū ubhe sama yajate bhīma ruñjan. | uś chūkram
asmad dhru-[6]m ajate samasmā navā mātṛbhyo nasana jāhāti | trezam
rūpaṁ kṛṇuta ullaram [7] yat sampr̥cānas sadanam gobhir addhīḥ |
kavir vadhvaṁ pari samjyate dhīmā deva-[8]tātā savitur babhūva |
uru te jrayaṣ pateṣu badhnam virocāmānām mahiṣava dhā-[9]ma |
viṣvebhīr āgne vyaṣaṣor iddho dadbhebhīḥ pāyubhiḥ pāte asmān. |
dhanvaṁ xro-[10]taṣ kṛṇate gārbham ūrmīm śukrāir ūrmibhir abhi
nakṣati kṣām | viśvā sanāni [11] jathareṣu dhatte tun navāsu carati
prasūṣu z eva no agre samidha ghṛṇāno [12] revat pāvakaś īravasā
vī bhāhi | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahanātām aditis sindhu-[13]
z pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 4 z

Read: dve virūpe caratas svarthe anyānyā vatsam upa dhā-
payete | harir anyasyām bhavati svadhāvān śukro anyasyām
dadṛṣe suvarcāḥ z 1 z daśemaṁ tvāṣtur janayanta garbham

atandrāso yuvatayo vibhrtam | tigmānikam svayaśasam janeṣu
 virocamānam pari śm nayanti z 2 z trīṇi jānā prati bhūṣanty
 asya samudra ekam divy ekam apsu | pūrvām anu pradīṣam
 pārhivānām rtūn praśāsad vi dadhāv anuṣṭhu z 3 z ka imam vo
 nityam ā ciketa vatso mātṛ janayata svadhābhiḥ | bahvīnām
 garbho apasām upasthān mahān kavir nīś carati svadhāvān
 z 4 z āviṣṭyo vardhate cārur āsu jīhmānām ūrdhvas svayaśā
 upasthe | ubhe tvaṣṭur bibhyatur jāyamānāi pratīcī śīhām
 prati joṣayete z 5 z ubhe bhadre joṣayete na mene gāvo na vāśrā
 upa tashur evāḥ | sa dakṣaṇām dakṣapatir babhūvāyujanti
 yam dakṣiṇato havirbhiḥ z 6 z ud yamyamīti saviteva bāhū ubhe
 sicāu yataste bhīma rūjan | uc chukram tasmad dhrum ajate
 simasmān navā mātṛbhyo vasanā jahāti z 7 z tveṣām rūpaṁ
 kṛṇuta uttarām yat samprīcānas sadane gobhir adbhiḥ | kavir
 budhnam pari marmṛjyate dhīs sā devatātā samitir babhūva
 z 8 z uru te jrayaṣ pary etu budhnam virocamānam mahiṣasya
 dhāma | viśvebhir agne svayaśobhir iddho dābdhebbhiḥ pāyubhiḥ
 pāhy asmān z 9 z dhanvan srotaḥ kṛṇute gātum ūrmīm śukrāir
 ūrmibhir abhi nakṣati kṣām | viśvā sanāni jāthareṣu dhatte ntar
 navāsu carati prasūsu z 10 z evā no agne samidhā grūṇo revat
 pāvaka śravasā vi bhāhi | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām
 aditis sindhuḥ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 11 z 4 z

The text presented here is in almost complete agreement with that of RV; from which our 4cd is supplied, the omission being due to a sort of haplography. In 6cd it may be unwise to retain *āyujanti where RV has āñjanti; in 11a RV has vṛdhāno.

15

[f109b13] *yo jāmadagnya iha kōṣika ātreya u-[14]ta kāśyapo yaḥ*
| bhāradvājā gāulamā yam vasiṣṭhās tebhyaḥ pravṛṇma iha ki-[15]
lviṣāni z

Read ye vasiṣṭhās and kilbiṣāni.

agastyā yaḥ kāyvaḥ kutsāpasravayā viśvarūpāḥ ga-[16]rgā mudgalā
ayaskāś śāunakāś samikṛtayo vrāhmaṇā ye na dugdhā-[17]s tadyāḥ
pravṛṇma iha kilviṣāni |

Read āgastyo, gārgā, and drugdhās tebhyaḥ ° ° kilbiṣāni. A colon should stand before gārgā. I suppose that ayaskāś is a proper name. Edgerton suggests yāskāś.

yo no tiṣṭhād vrāhmaṇo nā-[18]dhamānenātyena trpto uta dhairyena
viśve devā upadraṣṭāro tra tasmi-[19]n iṣam saninayām kilviṣyam |

I would suggest here 'tiṣṭhad and °ārthyena; read 'tra tasminn.

and at the end samnayan kilbiṣyām. A colon should stand before viśve.

yāropayan kilbiṣe vrāhmaṇasyāthā-[20]ni jīnāṁsi bahuvihā duṣkṛtāni
| anutiṣṭhaṁ proktātmā na tam nidhatte ta-[21]smāi tad devā uta
reṣayanti |

We might read yāropayan kilbiṣe vrāhmaṇasya yāni jīnāṁsi °; this assumes a form jīnas meaning "misery" or the like. Read anutiṣṭhan and tan nidhatte.

nāśniyām na pibeyam na śāita na niṣātibhu jā- [f110a] yām nota
putram vrahmakilbiṣe proktāud eva tiṣṭhesv aritasya panthā

The us in the margin corrects to (niṣāi) tu jā.

Read nāśniyām na pibeta na śāyita na niṣāita ° ° prokte; after a colon we might read something like ud eva tiṣṭhet sa ṛtasya panthāḥ.

śatarcino sādhyamā [2] ye maharṣayaḥ kṣudrasūktānām uta yā
prajeha | ṛṣiṇām yāni janimā-[3]ni vidmas tebhyah pravṛma iha
kilbiṣāni :

Read mādhyamā, in accord with the margin; vidma and kilbiṣāni.

sodaryānām pañcadaś-[4]nām śatānām trayastrinśad uta śiṣyantu
devāḥ ekasmin vidāhe sarve rupyanti ad vrā[5]hmaṇakilbiṣam
anv avindam |

At the beginning perhaps sodayānām would be a better reading; for śiṣyantu probably śikṣanti; colon after devāḥ. Read rupyanti tad, and probably avindan.

tasmāi tad druhyād didam nāyad yo no tiṣṭhād yo no jā-[6]tāsmīn.
| vrāhmaṇasya kilbiṣam nāthitasya sodaryatām iśchato vrāhmaṇe-[7]
su |

I would suggest druhyad; for didam we might think of didyan but it does not yield a very good meaning. Read 'tiṣṭhad and jāto 'smīn; also kilbiṣam and icchato.

uttiṣṭhad vrāhmaṇās sam vidadhram jītam yācamī punar āitu sarvaṁ
indrāgnī vi-[8]śve devās te me jītam punar ā varadhayantu :

For yācamī we might read yacchāmi; place colon after sarvam. Pāda c lacks several syllables; jītam is probable in d.

sa dīrgham āyus kṛṇoti supra-[9]jāye jīgiśchati | yo vrāhmaṇasya
vrāhmaṇo huto nmatu kilbiṣe |

Read suprajāyāi and probably jīgiśati in b; for d perhaps hūto 'nnam atti kilbiṣe.

nāṣya [10] *prajān jarro hanti na rudro hanti nāṣanī z yó vrahma-*
ndṣya vrāhmaṇas satyām [11] *vadati kilēṣe* |

In b read *nāṣanīh*, in c *vrāhmaṇasya*, in d *kilbīṣe*. The margin suggests *satye* in d.

tvām somapītho juguthe nṛcakṣād grāvakṣis saha yo vrā- [12]
vrāhmaṇasyāśtām hṛdas sūryāivāpālupat tamaḥ

In a we may perhaps read *taṁ* and *jughuṣe*, in b *nṛcakṣā*; in c *yo vrāhmaṇasyāstām*, supposing that *hṛdas* is a corrupted verb form. For d read *sūrya ivāpālupat tamaḥ*.

ya utthāya kilēṣe vrā- [13] *hmaṇasyānnam āśchamān avāyate utāinam*
dyāvāprthivī santaptām mathāitv aktasya [14] *panthām z 5 z anu 3 z*

Read: *ya utthāya kilbīṣe vrāhmaṇasyānnam ecchann avāyate*
| *utāinam dyāvāprthivī santaptām athāitv ṛtasya panthām*
z 13 z 5 z anu 3 z

The suggestions offered in this hymn will be recognized as tentative; the division into stanzas is not wholly satisfactory. The main outlines are fairly clear but many details are obscure,—at least to me.

16

[f110a14] *nava ca yā navatīṣ cārūdhā vakṣaṇānu* | *ya-* [15] *das tas sarvā*
nīṣyanty anuttāṣ pratthajño mayah

In ab read *cārūdhā vakṣaṇā anu*; for c probably *itas tās sarvā nāṣyanty* as in Ś; in d *ānuttāṣ* might be possible, and also *manyāb*, but *pratthajño* seems hopeless. Stt 1-3 here are similar to Ś 6.25 but vary widely in the b and d pādas.

saptā ja yas saptatīṣ cārūdhā [16] *vakṣaṇānu* | *yadas tas sarvā*
nīṣyanty ānuttāṣ pratthajño mayas

In a read *ca yās*; the rest as in st 1.

pañca ja yā pa- [17] *ñcaśaṣ cārūdhā vakṣaṇānu* | *yadas tās sarva*
nāṣyanty anuttāṣ pratthajño [18] *mayah*

In a read *ca yāh pañcāśaṣ*; the rest as in st 1.

ūrubhyām dveṣthivadbhyām paṇṇibhyām bhaṇsamah striyā jārāiva
putthagīna pra- [19] *mṛṇmasi* |

In a read *te* 'ṣthivadbhyām, in b *bhaṇsasah*, and cf Ś 2.33.5; for c we might consider *striyā jarāyva* *iva*, tho it is short; in d we might read *putthagīn* as an accusative plural, but I cannot deduce a satisfactory meaning for it. The form *pratthajño* of Stt 1-3 is probably a corruption of *putthagi*. Edgerton thinks of *jāra* in c.

anusṛptām ahaneṣu pūkṣṇām pāpīyām samidvatīm [f110b] *tām etām tasyūnām dāṣīm pradahataś cyukākaṇi* |

For a I suggest as a possible reading *anusṛptām dahaneṣu*, and for b *pūkṣṇām pāpīm samidvatīm*. In c read *dasyūnām dāṣīm*, in d *pradahetaś*.

prapatāti sukajñāti kuke-[2]ś kukitako yathā | *śrakve te tripun dhukṣamī sū naśigyaṣi putthagī* |

With *putthage pāda d* can stand; I can do nothing with the rest.

yadāsyā-[3]ś sukve dahebhyaḍā mūrdhānam agnīnā | *tām etā tasyūnā dāṣīm prathagena la-[4]yisyate* |

In the margin *dahebhyaḍā* is corrected to *dahed ya(dā)*.

In a read *śrakve dahed*; for c we should probably read the same form as in 5c: for *pāda d* the best I can offer is *putthage no laviṣyate*.

sahvatsaram ajaro surebhyas patam krimīl. | *yatra kṣetrasya dur-gandhi ut te* [5] *taṁ nyañcanam*

For *pādas ab* I can offer nothing beyond the division of the words. In c read *kṣetrasya*, and for d *tat ta etan nyañcanam*.

nāitat tava mātṛṇām sthām na te ta nyañcanam. asmākam etad sirebhyo [6] *devāṣ prajananaṁ kṛtam. z*

In a I would suggest *satṛṇām sthāma*, which would seem more probable if *te* stood for *tava*; for b read *na ta etan nyañcanam*. The rest seems correct.

girote smi pūtam udakam himavatsu tatropa proskadya [7] *nṛtu prajāmi yūthegā putthagī* |

In a perhaps we may read *karoti te 'smāi pūtam*; in b *tad udakam* would improve the rhythm. In cd we might possibly read *nṛtu prajāmi yūthegān putthagīn*.

sa tvam gobhir aśvāṣ prajāyā prajananaṁ bhava | [8] *yo mā tatra prāhīṣi yatra jīvanti bhadrayaḥ z I z*

Read: *sa tvam gobhir aśvāṣ prajāyā prajananaṁ bhava* | *yo mā tatra prāhīṣi yatra jīvanti bhadrayā z 11 z 1 z*

It is evident that the emendations suggested are based almost entirely on palaeography; the first four stanzas give a hint of the intent of the hymn, but uncertainty as to the word *putthagī* adds to the too numerous difficulties in the rest.

17

(§ 19.19)

[f110b8] mitras prthi-[9]vyodakrāmat tām puram pra ṇayāmi va |
tām ā viśat tām pra viśatu śrā va śa-[10]rma ca varma ca yaśchatu |
vāyur antaranarikṣeṇos sūryo divaś candramā nakṣatrāḥ-[11]
r u | soma oṣadhībhyt. yajño dakṣiṇābhyt. samudro nadībhyt.
vrahma vrahma-[12] cārībhyt. indro vīryenodakrāmat tām devā-
mr̥tenodakrāman tām puram pra [13] ṇayāmi va | te mā viśantu te
mā pra viśantu te | vaś carma ca varma ca yaśchatu | [14] prajāpatih |
prajābhir udakrāmat tām puram pra ṇayāmi va | tām ā viśa-[15]ntu
tā pra viśantu sā vaś śarma ca varma ca yaśchatu z 2 z

Read: mitras prthivyodakrāmat tām puram pra ṇayāmi vaḥ |
tām ā viśata tām pra viśata sā vaś śarma ca varma ca yacchatu
z 1 z vāyur antarikṣenodakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 2 z sūryo divodak-
rāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 3 z candramā nakṣatrāḥ udakrāmat tām
° ° | ° ° z 4 z soma oṣadhībhir udakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 5 z
yajño dakṣiṇābhir udakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 6 z samudro nadībhir
udakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 7 z vrahma vrahmacārībhir udakrāmat
tām ° ° | ° ° z 8 z indro vīryenodakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 9 z devā
amr̥tenodakrāmaṇs tām ° ° | ° ° z 10 z prajāpatih prajābhir udakrā-
mat tām puram pra ṇayāmi vaḥ | tām ā viśata tām pra viśata sā
vaś śarma ca varma ca yacchatu z 11 z 2 z

18

[f110b15] saryāñja-[16]ntaḥ prakṣanta yad vo devā upocire | tām
ebhyas satyā māśim indra khalvām [17] samyaddhayah.

For pāda a samvyañjantaḥ prakṣanto would seem good; pāda
b can stand; in c I am not sure of the division of words, but
have thought of māśim to match khalvām; in d read khalvām
samyaddhayah.

anadrāhas satyāvānas śram kṛnotu me vacah | atrāhita-[18]d vijāyate
tat parjanyo bhī vīryat.

Read kṛnotu in b; in c atra hy etad might stand; in d 'bhī
vīryat seems possible.

divyāpo va śakvarir anu mantu gahvare | [19] ūrjasvati ghṛtavarit
payasvatir dr̥ṣe bhavātha mā guhā |

For pāda a read divyā āpo vāi śakvarir, in b ramantu; in c
ūrjasvatir.

ud ehi [20] vājīnīcati pūrṇapātrā triṣṭimati duhānā pūṣa rakṣatā |
kā- [f111a] mam eṣām sam ā prṇah

Read *poṣaṁ rakṣathaḥ* in c; correct punctuation. Pāda a appeared above in 12.6c.

ahiṁsītā phalavāṁ śatavalśāṁ virohatu imāṁ saha-[2]śrabhogāsyā indra upāvatu |

Read *ahiṁsītā* in a, *śatavalśā* in b; in ed we might safely read *imāṁ sahasrabhogam asyā °*.

āsvinā phālaṁ kalpayetām upāvatu vṛhaspa-[3]tiḥ yathāmad bahu-dhānyam ayakṣmam bahupāuruṣam |

Read *phālaṁ* in a, *yathāmad* in c, and ° *pūruṣam* in d. This stanza occurs also in Kāuś 20.5.

yad vo devā upoṣire | [4] iha bhūyas syād iti | iha tām utprñāṁ vuyam devīm upahvayāmahe

In pāda a read *upocira* without following colon; if *utprñāṁ* is good pādas cd can stand: but cf above, 11.9b.

i-[5]dam va utprñād iti sphātīm va utprñād iti | rāśīm me vardhayād iti [6] sphātīm cakāro bahukāra sphirasphoṭāya māṁṣikāḥ

If the colon is left where it is, the first three pādas may stand, tho the change of person is sudden; for de I would suggest *sphātimkāro bahukāras sphirasphoṭāya māṁṣikāḥ*.

asmin dhām nupyate [7] yaro vrīhir atho tilaḥ tasya grhṇīta yat kṛtam parikṣāya catuṣṣatam

For pāda a read *asmin dhāman ny upyate*; in d perhaps *paricāyya*.

śa-[8]rkāryavan nayavaś ca krīyāt kiñca yad vṛṣe | tad vāi sphātir upāyati [9] sarvam evātiricyasi |

The following is a possible form for this stanza: *śakāravan nayavaś ca krīyāvat kiñ ca yad vṛṣe | tad vāi sphātir upāyati sarvam evātiricyate*.

sahaṁ jane parā jahi sahasrāpoṣamandaye | [10] bahvī noṣadhī bhava samudrasyeva saṁsrava z 3 z

Read: *sahaṁ jane parā jahi sahasrāpoṣamandaye | bahvī na oṣadhe bhava samudrasyeva saṁsravaḥ z 11 z 3 z*

19

[f111a10] ājyād ajaś sa-[11]mabharad deśebhya odanāya yenātīpaśyan vṛhaspatīś sa vāi pañcodano [12] bhavat. | catudhriyatām samabhava | odanas team vṛhaspate | aja jyāj jātāś sa [13] eṣām pañcamo bhava dhūmena divam āpnoty antyārikṣam adhoḥmanā | diśāpno-[14] tā cakṣuṣā ajaś pañcamodanasyavaḥ | yat te mātā yat te pitā bhrātaro

ya-[15]ś ca mesev | ajam pañcodanam paktvā sarve tam upajīvita | yat
te pārve [16] parāgatāpare pitarāś ca ye | tebhyo ghṛtasya kullītu
śatadhārām vīṇīm [17] ye sarvadā dadaty evāra caranty odanam te
vāi yamasya rājyād uttare lokāsa-[18]te | nātīrātrāpnōtu nāinam
āpnōty ukthyah nāgniṣṭomāpnōty ajam pañcāuda-[19]nam savam
daśarātreṇa samyato dvādaśāhena kalpate | dīrghamātreṇa [20] sam-
yato jaś pañcāudanas savah ya eśām barhiṣyam sarvam yan naṣṭam
yaś ca [f111b] sa | yataṁ yaś ca stenopāyati ya eśām pañcamo
bhava | yā pūrvam patim vitoṣa yathānnam [2] vindate param.
pañcāudanamdanam ca tāv atam pacato na vy ācetaḥ | samānaloko
[3] bhavati punarbhavāparaś patih ajam ca pañcodanam dakṣiṇya-
jyotiṣam dadat, [4] z 4 z

Read: ājyād ajas samabhavad deśebhya odanāya | yenātipsāyan
vṛhaspatis sa vāi pañcāudano 'bhavat z 1 z catuś śrīyatām sama-
bhava odanas tvaṁ vṛhaspate | aja ājyād jātas sa eśām pañcamo
bhava z 2 z dhūmena divam āpnōty antarikṣam athoṣmanā | diśa
āpnōti cakṣuśā ajas pañcāudanas savah z 3 z yat te mātā yat
te pitā bhrātaro yac ca te svasā | ajam pañcāudanam paktvā
sarve tam upajīvita z 4 z ye te pārve parāgatā apare pitarāś ca ye
| tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyāitu śatadhārā vyundati z 5 z ye sarvadā
dadati ye vāram caranty odanam | te vāi yamasya rājyād uttare
loka āsate z 6 z nātīrātra āpnōti nāinam āpnōty ukthyah |
nāgniṣṭoma āpnōty ajam pañcāudanam savam z 7 z daśarātreṇa
samyato dvādaśāhena kalpate | dīrghamātreṇa samyato 'jas
pañcāudanas savah z 8 z yad eśām barhiṣyam sarvam yan naṣṭam
yac ca samyatam | yac ca tenopāyati sa eśām pañcamo bhava
z 9 z yā pūrvam patim vittvāthānyam vindate 'param | pañ-
cāudanam ca tāv ajam pacato na vy ācetaḥ z 10 z samānaloko
bhavati punarbhuvāparaś patih | ajam ca pañcāudanam dak-
ṣiṇājyotiṣam dadat z 11 z 4 z

In 2a the emendation may not be wholly satisfactory as to form
but the intent seems fairly sure. St 5 is Ś 18.3.72, the reading
of which is adopted; Stt 10 and 11 appear Ś 9.5.27 and 28, with
variation in 10d.

20

[f111b4] sūryo mā varcasokṛtākṛtām asvinobhā | āditya ārdhva [5]
uttaram asū mā varcasokṛtatu | varcasā mām pitur agnir varcasā
mā vṛhaspa-[6]tīh surdyās śicyamānāyāś kilāla varcasenasā tena
māsaśeino-[7]bhā | ukṣatām puṣkarasraja | varcasān me sukham
astu rocamānam vīṇāsa-[8]hi | yo mā hīṇanyavarcasam kṛṇomi
paśyatā priyam | madhāv aham madhu-[9]taro madhumān mad-

humattarah | mām anu praviśantu varca ṛṣabho vāśītām iva | [10]
 yoda mām janamānam avarcasvasā kanikradam | yathā kanikradas
 ca-[11]rāṇi varcasā ca bhagena ca | varcasāgni mā dadhati varcaso
 yadati sū-[12]ryaḥ yāvad varco yod dhirhiranyas tāvan me varco
 bhūyāt. z yāvat tvam de-[13]va sūryodyann abhāva paśyasi | tāvan
 mā varcasābhy ava paśya pūrṇo bhagasyā-[14]ham bhūtvā ukṣam
 varcaso ratham | sa mā vahatu sarvadā | yuṣmantam suvarcasam
 bha-[15]bhagenāham parihito varcasā draviṇena ca | yathā carāṇi
 sarva-[16]dā rocamānam vibhāvasuḥ yavā mā bhagāgamad evā mā
 varcāgamat. [17] evā mā tejāgamad evā mā yaśāgamat. hiraṇyena
 cakreṇa bhaga-[18]syāpihato grhaḥ tam yugjāpi vrahmaṇā tasya me
 dattam aśvinā dattam me [19] puṣkarasrajā z anu 5 z ity athar-
 vanikapāippalādaśā-[20]khāyām aṣṭamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptah z z

Read: sūryo mā varcasokṣatūḥsatām aśvinobhā | āditya ūrdhva
 uttarann asṣu mā vareasokṣatu z 1 z varcasā mām ṭpitur agnir
 vareasā mā vṛhaspatih | surāyās śicyamānāyās kilālo varcasā
 yena | tena mām aśvinobhā ukṣatām puṣkarasrajā z 2 z varcasvan
 me mukham astu rocamānam viśāsah | yo mā hiraṇyavarcasam
 kṛṇomi paśyatām priyam z 3 z madhor aham madhutaro ma-
 dhumān madhumattarah | mām anu praviśatu varca ṛṣabho
 vāśītām iva z 4 z yadā mām janamānam favarcasvasā kanikradam ṭ
 | athā kanikradac carāṇi varcasā ca bhagena ca z 5 z varcasāgnir
 mā dadati varcasā dadati sūryah | yāvad varco gor hiraṇyasya
 tāvan me varco bhūyāt z 6 z yāvat tvam deva sūryodyann abhy
 ava paśyasi | tāvan mā varcasābhy ava paśya * * z 7 z pūrṇo
 bhagasyāham bhūtvā takṣan varcaso ratham | sa mā vahatu
 sarvadāyuṣmantam suvarcasam z 8 z bhagenāham parihito varcasā
 draviṇena ca | yathā carāṇi sarvadā rocamāno vibhāvasuḥ z 9 z
 evā mā bhaga āgamad evā mā varca āgamat | evā mā teja āgamad
 evā mā yaśa āgamat z 10 z hiraṇyayena cakreṇa bhagasyāpihato
 grhaḥ | tam ṭyugjāpi vrahmaṇā tasya me dattam aśvinā dattam
 me puṣkarasrajā z 11 z 5 z anu 5 z

ity ātharvanikapāippalādaśākhāyām aṣṭamaṣ kāṇḍas samāp-
 tah z

In at 2a ° mānnapatir might be considered as a possibility. All
 of 5ab seems unclear to me: in 11c yuñje api might be possible.
 The lacuna indicated in 7d is my conjecture.

THE ELEPHANT AND ITS IVORY IN ANCIENT CHINA

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FEW MAMMALS, probably, have so forcibly impressed themselves upon the imaginations of the peoples coming in contact with them as has the elephant. Living, he has not only been the noblest of big game animals, but has shown himself susceptible of taming and of utilization in a variety of ways for the purposes of peace, of war, and of religion. Dead, his ivory has been eagerly sought after, and from palæolithic times has formed one of the principal media for the expression of the aesthetic impulses of the artist. It would seem, in fact, that the ancient trade in ivory has not as yet had accorded to it the study which it merits. Trade of a sort, more often than not probably of an intermittent, tribe-to-tribe variety, has of course been going on the world over, from an extremely early period; and in the long run it has no doubt played a more important part in the diffusion of culture elements than any other agency. Early commerce, however, in the very nature of the case was always restricted to certain very definite classes of objects—those, namely, which combined in themselves the qualities of high value, of durability, and of easy transport. Among such were amber, jade, spices, and silk. Such, too, in a preëminent degree, was ivory.

In view of the really great importance of the ivory trade in all ages, it seems rather curious that so little attention has been paid hitherto to the distribution of the elephant in protohistoric and early historic times. It is the purpose of this paper to present a brief synopsis of the available data concerning the Asiatic elephant and the traffic in its ivory during the earlier historical periods in regions where it has now disappeared, and particularly in ancient China.

We are indebted for our first definite notices of the elephant in western Asia to the Egyptian monuments, and especially to those of the XVIIIth Dynasty. These not only mention ivory, both in the tusk and in the form of manufactured articles, among the items of tribute and booty brought to Egypt as a result of the Syrian expeditions of the Pharaohs; but the living animals themselves are spoken of more than once in the same connection.

Thothmes II, for example, received elephants brought to him by his Syrian tributaries, a fact which indicates not merely that the animal existed in western Asia but that it was already being tamed.¹ Again, a little later, Thothmes III is recorded as having slain no less than a hundred and twenty elephants, for the sake of their ivory, in a great hunt in the land of Nii, in northern Syria, not far from the great bend of the Euphrates; the killing of so large a number on a single occasion indicates that the creature must then have occurred in considerable herds.²

It may be suggested in this connection that perhaps the area under discussion was inhabited not by the Asiatic but by the African elephant. For we know that Egypt itself was the home of the latter in predynastic times;³ and it is comparatively but a short distance from the valley of the Nile to northern Syria. This suggestion, however, is definitely negatived by the manner of representing the Syrian elephant on the monuments, where it is clearly shown with the high concave forehead and small ears of the Asiatic type, as distinct as possible from the low convex skull and enormous ears of the African form.⁴

The Assyrian notices, dealing with a period somewhat later, tell much the same story. Tiglath-Pileser I (ca. 1100 B.C.) tells us that he killed ten elephants and took four alive in the Haran region, along the middle Euphrates, not so very far, in fact, from the scene of the great hunt of Thothmes III on the other side of the same river nearly four hundred years earlier.⁵ Again, in the first half of the 9th century, elephants are mentioned among the animals kept in the menagerie of Ashur-nazir-pal at Kalhu.⁶ Additional and extremely interesting information regarding the former distribution of the Asiatic elephant is also given by the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II, dating from about the middle of the same century. This monument enumerates among the articles of tribute received from the countries of Yakin and Adini, near the head of the Persian Gulf, both ivory and

¹ Dr. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 271.

² Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 304.

³ Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 130.

⁴ Cf. *Revue d'ethnographie*, No. 3 (1884), p. 281; also Gaston Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations* (London, 2nd edit., 1910), p. 235.

⁵ A. T. Olmstead, in *JAOS* 37. 177.

⁶ Olmstead, *JAOS*, 38. 250.

elephant skins.¹ These items, and particularly the latter, would suggest that the elephant was native to those regions; but on the other hand they might conceivably have been imported overseas from India, so that this evidence is not quite decisive for the former existence of the elephant there. About another statement upon this same monument, however, there can be little doubt. Among the various items of tribute from the land of Musri are mentioned living elephants. Now Musri has, it is true, been somewhat variously located; but in this instance it is apparently to be identified with a region lying somewhere to the northeast of the center of the Assyrian power, and not far from the southern extremity of the Caspian Sea. Most writers who have touched upon this question have taken it for granted that these elephants must somehow have been obtained ultimately from India, merely because that is the nearest land where elephants are now found. That this assumption is a wholly gratuitous one need scarcely be said. Fortunately we have independent confirmation of the Assyrian statements regarding the occurrence of elephants in the south Caspian region. Ancient Persian traditions embodied in the *Shāhnāma* speak of the hero Rustum killing numerous elephants in battle in Mazanderan, in the course of his war with the king of that country.² With the fullest possible allowance for the unhistorical character of these legends, yet, taken in connection with the Assyrian statements, they surely render it probable, if not certain, that, as Sir John Malcolm suggested long ago,³ elephants must once have abounded in the warm, humid, and well wooded country about the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.

Of the vast importance of the part played by ivory in the æsthetic life of the ancient peoples of Mediterranean and Mesopotamian regions it is unnecessary to speak here. Much of this ivory we know was drawn from Africa and from India; but part of it, at least in the earlier periods, was undoubtedly of western Asiatic origin, as in fact the monuments show to have been the case in Egypt.

¹ Cf. article by Rev. V. Scheil on 'The Inscriptions of Shalmaneser II,' in *Records of the Past*, N. S., No. IV., p. 79; also Rev. Wm. Houghton, 'On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures,' *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. V. (1877), p. 348.

² *Shāhnāma* (Trübner's Oriental Series), vol. 2, p. 73 sq.

³ Col. Sir John Malcolm, *The History of Persia* (2 vols., London, 1815), vol. I, p. 35 and note.

Exactly when the elephant finally disappeared from western Asia, although it had apparently done so well before the middle of the first millennium B.C., we do not know. We hear nothing more of its occurrence there for some centuries, until the battle of Gaugamela, in 331 B.C., when an Indian contingent from the west bank of the Indus is recorded to have brought with it fifteen elephants.¹⁹ As a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great, the custom of using elephants in war was borrowed for a season in western regions; but the animals thus employed were all drawn at first from India, and, later on, to some extent from northern Africa, where, although now extinct, the species still survived for some centuries after the beginning of the Christian Era. Indirect evidence of the fact that the elephant had entirely disappeared from those countries in Asia west of India in which it formerly occurred is afforded by the marches of Alexander himself; for as it happens, the route followed by him led through every one of those regions, and yet we hear nothing as to wild elephants being found by him in any of them.

The history of the elephant in India does not fall within the scope of this paper. It is worth remarking, however, that a people called the Seres are mentioned by classical writers as being great elephant users, while the same name was undoubtedly that by which the ancient Chinese were best known to the western world. Greek and Roman writers, from the time of Ktesias downward, mention the Seres repeatedly, in a large proportion of instances in such a way as to indicate conclusively that the people whom they had in mind were the Chinese. That the name was also applied to various Indian peoples, however, is beyond doubt; and it was the latter clearly who were the elephant users—not the Seres of China.

Of any occurrence of the elephant in ancient times in the regions north of India and Iran there is practically no evidence. As will presently appear, the creature once existed, and that well within the historical period, in western China, in an area adjoining what is now the arid Central Asiatic region. And as has been seen it was also in all probability once found at the opposite extremity of this desert belt, in the district around the southern end of the Caspian. Granted that former greater degree of humidity which seems to have prevailed in this now dry central zone, there is no

¹⁹ Arrian, *Anabasis*, Bk. 3, ch. 8.

reason apparently why the elephant might not then have extended from northern Iran right around to western China, through the basins of the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Tarim. But direct evidence that this was actually the case is wanting. True, there are various references to elephants in connection with this region, some of them legendary, others undoubtedly historical. In the *Shāhnāma*, for instance, we are told that one of the allies of Afrasiyab, the king of Ch'in (which has been conjecturally identified with the ancient Chinese state of Ch'in, occupying the modern Shen-hsi and Kan-suh),¹¹ made use of war elephants. Buddhist records of the post-Christian period also speak of elephants in these parts, while there are occasional references to their being sent by some of the petty Central Asiatic states as tribute to the court of China. All these statements, however, have to do with tame elephants; and in spite of the enormous difficulty of transporting such bulky animals over the passes between India and Turkestan it is perhaps the case that these animals were all originally obtained from the valley of the Indus. The Chinese writer, Ma T'uan-lin, it is true, speaks of the fauna of the land of the T'iao-chi (who were perhaps the people we know as the Tajiks) in such a way as to imply, apparently, that the elephant was native there; but the passage is too ambiguous to build upon.¹²

That the elephant ever existed during the historic period in any of the great Asiatic islands except Ceylon, Sumatra, and Borneo, where it still occurs, and in Sulu, where it was exterminated by the Moros about a hundred years ago,¹³ there is no reason to believe, although fossil forms occur in them as far north as Japan. In China, however, the case is far otherwise. Here once more we come upon distinct and indisputable references to the elephant, and that too within comparatively recent times.

Three or four thousand years ago, when the ancient culture of the country was taking form in the lower Yellow River Valley,

¹¹ *The Works of Sir William Jones* (London, 1807), vol. 3, p. 146.

¹² Quoted by Rémusat, *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*, 1, 206.

¹³ The elephants of Sulu are known to have been feral, and the same is perhaps true of those in North Borneo, although the evidence here is less conclusive. On the latter, see *The China Review*, 7, 3; upon the former, Dr. N. M. Saleeby, 'The History of Sulu,' in *Publications of the Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology*, vol. 4, part 3, Manila, 1908, pp. 150, 161, 163, 168; also Capt. Thomas Forrest, 'A Voyage to New Guinea,' pp. 320-335; Forrest visited Jolo toward the end of the 18th century.

China north of the Yangtse was a region of wide expanses of grassland, of rolling prairie and flat alluvial plain, with considerable forest, particularly in the hilly districts of the modern Shan-tung and Shan-hsi and western Ho-nan; there were, too, innumerable shallow lakes, reedy meres, and vast extents of swamp. The climate, though continental, was perhaps rather milder than now, and there appears to have been a somewhat greater degree of humidity.

The aspect of the country which we now call southern China was widely different. There, instead of wide alluvial plains, was a picturesque region of mist-veiled hills and quickening streams and blowing woodland, with a warm, moist climate and a very rich vegetation partaking throughout much of the area of a subtropical nature, while in the extreme south its character was, as it still is, genuinely tropical.

This distinction in the aspect of the two halves of the country and the type of their vegetation is reflected too in their fauna. According to Wallace, the bulk of China Proper belongs to the Manchurian subregion of the Palaearctic region, while the south is embraced in the Oriental region, the line between the two zoological provinces extending roughly along the southern border of the Yangtse valley.¹⁴ In ancient times, however, the boundary appears to have been farther to the north, for many at least of the larger mammalian forms of the Oriental region are found occurring then throughout the Yangtse valley and even to the north of it; among these were the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the tapir.

At the commencement of their true historical period, a little less than three thousand years ago, the ancient Chinese people formed a congeries of semi-independent feudal states located on both sides of the lower course of the Yellow River, under the sway of a ruler of rather primitive king-priest type, and possessing an archaic but very rich Bronze Age civilization.

This ancient culture has of late been attracting no little notice for its achievements in the realm of the aesthetic. Heretofore it has been best known for its splendid sacrificial vessels of bronze, decorated in a highly conventionalized and largely geometric symbolism and unsurpassed anywhere else for their barbaric

¹⁴ A. R. Wallace, *The Geographical Distribution of Animals* (London, 1876), vol. 1, p. 220 *sq.*, and map at beginning of volume.

grandeur and their monumental simplicity and majesty. For our knowledge of the development of Chinese art in other fields we have thus far been dependent upon surviving literary remains; for archaeological excavation upon any adequate scale has yet to be undertaken in China. But these written sources are sufficient to show that the high standards attained by the bronze-founder were equalled by the worker in wood, in jade, in silk, in leather, in featherwork, and notably in ivory.

Chinese ivory workers have always stood in the very front rank of their craft. For intricacy and grace of design, for complete mastery of technique, and for skill in execution, some of the modern products of the Canton shops have probably never been excelled. The ancient Chinese work in ivory, with its roots extending far back into prehistoric time,¹³ belonged to an entirely different school of art, with designs based primarily upon the same magico-religious symbolism displayed by the great bronze vessels.

The purposes for which ivory was used by the ancient Chinese craftsman, and his manner of using it, were practically the same as was the case in ancient Babylonia and Assyria and Egypt and the old Aegean lands. This parallelism, in fact, extends so far and in such detail, particularly in point of technique, that it is difficult not to feel that there must have been some interchange of ideas, in all probability along the line of the ancient trade route through Central Asia. For instance, in both regions ivory in early times was very extensively used as a decorative inlay on wood; and in both, as the supply became gradually less, the expedient was adopted of replacing it with mother-of-pearl.

Ivory is mentioned in the *Chou-li*, or 'Ritual of the Chou Dynasty,' as one of the 'eight raw materials.' One of the principal uses to which it was put was the adornment of woodwork of various sorts, including chariots of state, which were decorated with a richness hardly equalled in the cars of the warriors of Pharaoh or the heroes of Homer.¹⁴ It was used too in the manufacture of weapons—for bow-tips, archers' thimbles, and sword

¹³ The character for 'elephant' (No. 4287, p. 440, in Giles' Dictionary, edit. 1892) has the secondary meanings of 'ivory' and of 'figure' or 'image'; the latter, in spite of the fanciful conjectures of later Chinese scholars, undoubtedly point to the use of ivory for the carving of amulets and the like in very ancient times.

¹⁴ *Le Tchou-li, ou Rites des Tchou* (tel. Edouard Biot, 1851), Bk. 27. 4.

hilts. It also appears in the form of various articles of dress and the toilet, such as amulets, combs, and hairpins; for the Chinese noble of that day wore his hair long and done up in a knot on the top of the head.¹⁷ In the form of a spike, used for untying knots (the ancient Chinese used no buttons in fastening their garments), it was worn suspended at the girdle, its assumption being one of the tokens of maturity.¹⁸ Ivory goblets are also mentioned;¹⁹ and the tyrant Chou Hsin, last ruler of the ancient Shang dynasty, is said to have been the first to employ ivory as the material for his chopsticks. For the present the earliest extant specimens of Chinese worked ivory which we can even approximately date appear to be those accidentally unearthed some years ago at An-yang Hsien, in northern Ho-nan, on the site of one of the capitals of this same dynasty; these are probably of the latter half of the second millennium B. C., and consist of amulets and minor ornaments of very archaic type.

To meet such a demand the supply must have been both large and constant; and, in view of the conditions governing trade in ancient times, it must in all probability have been drawn from some source close at hand. Such, in fact, from the surviving records, we know to have been the case.

That the elephant formerly existed in ancient China Proper itself—that is, in what we know nowadays as North China—is more than probable.²⁰ But it appears to have become quite extinct there by the time of the earliest contemporary historical records that have come down to us—that is, by the beginning of the first millennium B. C.—and to have survived in popular recollection only as one of the dangerous and destructive wild animals of the region which were subdued by the mighty heroes of old. The story that the mythical emperor Shun had elephants to plow his fields and birds to weed the grain²¹ is of course pure folklore; but it suggests at least that in the days when the legend took form elephants were believed to have existed once upon a

¹⁷ *The Book of Odes* (Legge's translation), Pt. 1, Bk. 4. 3.

¹⁸ *Odes*, Pt. 1, Bk. 5. 6.

¹⁹ John Steele, *The I-chi* (London, 1917; Probstein's Oriental Series), 1. 131, 134, 158.

²⁰ Biot (*Journal asiatique*, Dec., 1843) in placing the northern limit of the elephant in ancient China at 28°, was undoubtedly in error, for it can be shown to have extended at least as far north as latitude 35°.

²¹ The legend is quoted in *The Chinese Repository*, 6 (1837), p. 131.

time in northern China. Better authenticated, perhaps, is the statement that the illustrious Duke of Chou, who is believed to have flourished about eleven hundred years before our era, drove away the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants which infested the land in his day.²¹ His success with the tigers and leopards, unfortunately, was only partial; but that the elephant, and perhaps, too, the rhinoceros, disappeared from northern China at about that time is probable enough.

This legendary evidence regarding the former existence of the elephant in northern China is confirmed in a measure by the extremely early occurrence of the written character denoting that animal; the importance of the creature in the life of the people is indicated by this very fact that it had devoted to it one of the extremely small number of primitive pictographs which constituted the Chinese system of writing in the days of its beginnings. Its failure however to pass into mythology as did the alligator and the rhinoceros (memories of which undoubtedly contributed to the later concepts of the dragon and the *k'i-lin*) suggests that so far as the ancient Chinese culture area proper was concerned, its extinction and consequent passing out of the popular imagination must have taken place rather early. The same conclusion must be drawn, too, from the relatively unimportant and scarcely recognizable designs to which it gave rise in the ancient symbolic art. The part which the elephant plays in the popular mythology and art of the present day is of course due to much later Indian and Buddhistic influences.

The written evidence, such as it is, is in entire harmony with the foregoing conclusion. Contemporary mention of the elephant as a native of any of the original Chinese states is wholly lacking. References to ivory, both as a raw material and as a worked product, are, on the other hand, very numerous; but these invariably point to southern regions then quite outside the ancient Chinese culture-area as the source of supply. The *Book of Odes*, one of the oldest of surviving literary remains, tells us that the wild non-Chinese tribes of the Hwai river region paid a tribute which consisted in part of ivory. The same is recorded, by the *Chou-li*, of the districts of Yang and Ching, which between them included pretty much the whole of the Yangtse valley below the

²¹ Legge, *The Life and Works of Mencius* (London, 1875) Bk. 3, Pt. 2, chap. 9.

famous gorges; this name 'Ching,' by the way, means 'the jungle,' and indicates something of the character of the country in those days; it was in this region, about seven or eight hundred years before our era, that the 'barbarian' kingdom of Ch'u arose. The *Yu-kung*, which in its present form probably dates from a time fairly early in the first millennium B. C., speaks of the 'Country of Docile Elephants' (Yu-hsiang Chou²³) in what is now southern Ho-nan; this name, if it means anything at all, rather suggests not only that elephants were found in this section of Central China then, but that they were actually tamed. It is perhaps significant that the non-Chinese state of Ch'u, already mentioned, where, as will presently appear, elephants were tamed, later occupied part of this same region. In the *Shan Hai Ching*, which, whatever the date of its present recension, undoubtedly contains very ancient elements, mention is made of elephants in the Min Mountains, in what is now central Sze-ch'uan, while the *Erh-ya* records them as being plentiful in the Liang range, in the north-eastern part of the same province.²⁴ The *Tao-ch'uen*, a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of Confucius, states that there is much ivory in Ch'u,²⁵ and it further tells us that there was a regular trade in ivory and hides—presumably those of the rhinoceros—between Ch'u and China Proper.

It is clear then that whatever may have been the case in pre-historic times, by the middle of the first millennium B. C. the habitat of the elephant in China had become restricted to the Yangtse valley, from Sze-ch'uan to the sea, and the regions still farther south and west, forming a continuous area with those Indo-Chinese lands, such as Burma, the Laos, and Siam, where it still occurs in a native state. It is apparent too that although no part of this vast region came under Chinese political dominance in any real sense of the word until about two centuries before our era, a brisk trade in ivory had long been going on with the more advanced communities of North China, precisely comparable to the old amber trade between the Mediterranean lands and the Baltic.

²³ Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Western Origins of the Ancient Chinese Civilization*, p. 186, note 756.

²⁴ For these and other references to the elephant in the ancient Chinese records, see T. de Lacouperie, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ See Legge's translation, under years 637, 607 B.C.

Although there is some reason to believe that this southern region was originally occupied only by a sparse and very primitive hunting population of negrito affinities, at the time when it begins to come within the purview of history it was inhabited by various Mongoloid stocks, mainly, it would appear, of the Mon-Khmer group. Already, however, the great T'ai, or Shan, race had come into evidence. Exactly where this people originated we do not know; but its strongest and most advanced branches were then located in the valley of the Yangtse.

The latter fact is not without its bearing upon the subject of this paper; for the Shan race has always been associated with the elephant in a peculiarly intimate way. This condition still holds, for nowhere, even in India itself, does this animal occupy such an important place in the life of the people as in the territories still inhabited by the members of the Shan race, such as Siam, for example, or the Shan States. The same, apparently, has been true from prehistoric times, when the center of gravity of the race was in what is now central China, far to the northeast of its present location. The few surviving instances of the taming of the elephant in ancient China refer to regions then under Shan influence. Even the very name used for the creature in many of the languages of eastern Asia is closely akin to, if not actually borrowed from, the Shan word. In Siam it is *chang*; in the British Shan States this becomes *tsang*; in northern China it is pronounced *hiang*; in Cantonese, *tsong*; by the Hakkas, *siong*; in Annam, *tong*. The modern Japanese name, *zô*, seems to have come from some form like *dzang*²⁸ and was in all likelihood borrowed from one of the Yangtse River dialects.

The earliest of all the states of the T'ai stock known to us historically was that of Ch'u, already referred to in connection with the ivory trade between the Yangtse valley and ancient China Proper. This state occupied a territory now comprised in the two provinces of Hu-peh and Hu-nan, embracing both banks of the middle Yangtse, and its principal capital was most strategically located not far from the present Ichang, just at the foot of the famous gorges. From the first it was aggressive and warlike, and at various times extended its annexations now northward, at the expense of the old purely Chinese states, now

²⁸ Cf. the Japanese 'Tô,' from the Chinese 'T'ang,' the name of the dynasty which ruled China, A. D. 618-906.

eastward, down the Yangtse, and again far to the south and west, into regions utterly unknown to the ancient Chinese themselves. One of its conquests in the last-named direction looks like a definite and well planned effort to get control of the key to the Indian trade route, the region between the upper waters of the Yangtse and those of the Irawaddy.

Among the various indications pointing to a connection between the ancient inhabitants of Ch'u and the modern peoples of the T'ai stock is the fact that elephants were tamed and kept at their court. Their motive for this does not appear; but we are perhaps justified in surmising that it had a religious basis. Many of the existing branches of the T'ai race believe that every animal has a guardian spirit with mysterious powers for good and ill. There is also a belief among some of the Indo-Chinese peoples that the spirits of deceased chiefs and medicine-men enter into various animals, such as the tiger and the elephant, and continue in these forms to exert their influence on behalf of their people. Ideas such as these occur throughout this region, and are undoubtedly at the back of the custom of reverencing white elephants, as in Burma and Siam. There the Buddhists with their usual syncretizing proclivities claim that the sacred animal is the incarnation of a Buddha;²⁷ but perhaps the Siamese notion that if the white elephant dies the king, too, will die within the year is a trace of an older belief,²⁸ for we are told that anciently the kings of Siam called themselves 'sons of the White Elephant,' and that the proper name of the latter was taboo.²⁹ At all events the peoples of Indo-China are unanimous that the white elephant is a necessary adjunct of royalty, and that the want of one at the court is most ominous.³⁰ Perhaps it was some similar idea that led to the custom of keeping elephants at the court of ancient Ch'u, although it is only fair to say that this is purely surmise. We do know, however, that the beasts were not kept confined, but were tamed, and taught to allow themselves to be driven or led by their keepers.

²⁷ Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (London, 1857), vol. 1, p. 471; Mrs. Ernest Hart, *Picturesque Burma, Past and Present* (London, 1897), p. 167.

²⁸ Bowring, *op. cit.* 1. 473 (quoting Père Bruguère, *Annales de la Foi*, XXV.)

²⁹ *Ibid.* 1. 473 sq.

³⁰ Mrs. L. J. Curtis, *The Laos of North Siam* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 95.

Toward the close of the sixth century B. C. Ch'u was invaded and for the moment overrun by the state of Wu, or, as the word was perhaps then pronounced, Ngu, another non-Chinese kingdom located lower down the Yangtse with its capital at the modern Soochow. Defeated in the field, the armies of Ch'u took refuge behind the walls of their capital; but these (doubtless of rammed earth) were overthrown by the invaders, who directed against them the waters of the Siang River. As a last resort, we are told, the king of Ch'u then took his elephants and tied torches to their tails and urged them against the intruding enemy, but to no avail.²¹

This is the sole reference, so far as I am aware, to the use of the elephant in war in ancient China. That such use was a customary one seems unlikely; for in the first place, had it been so we should almost certainly have heard of other instances of it, as for example in the great work 'On the Art of War,' by Sun-Tzū, written just about this time. Moreover, the defeated king would scarcely, in such case, have turned to his elephants only as a last resort; while the method of urging them against the foe by the use of fire seems rather a counsel of despair. It is curious to note that the general of another Shan state, Siam, in the course of a war with Cochin China, over two thousand years later, made use of precisely the same stratagem, attacking the enemy's camp with several hundred elephants to whose tails burning torches were tied; in this instance the device met with better success, and over a thousand of the enemy were destroyed.²²

The sole trustworthy reference that I have found to the use of the elephant in any of the arts of peace in ancient China relates to the construction of a tomb for a member of the royal family of Wu, the other non-Chinese state just mentioned as being at war with Ch'u; and here we are merely informed that these animals were employed in the execution of the work, no details being given, and no clue of any kind enabling us to learn whether the practice was a usual one or not.²³

All that we can be certain of then is that the ancient non-Chinese peoples of the Yangtse basin not merely hunted the ele-

²¹ P. Albert Tschépe, S.J., *Histoire du Royaume de Tch'ou* (Changhai, 1903), p. 263 and note 5.

²² Bowring, *op. cit.* 1. 221.

²³ Prof. E. H. Parker, *Ancient China Simplified* (London, 1906), p. 258.

phant for his ivory and perhaps his skin, but that they also caught and tamed him and kept him at court. This, however, seems to have been the extent of their practice, and in fact it is perhaps the case that the two instances just cited of the utilization of the creature in any way further than this have found a place in the records precisely on account of their exceptional character. That certain Indo-Chinese peoples did eventually learn to make use of the elephant in various ways, and notably in war, is true.²⁴ But this development did not take place until considerably later, and appears to have been connected in some way with the great expansion of Indian influence in the Bay of Bengal and adjacent regions, in times shortly preceding and following the commencement of the Christian Era. That it did not take place upon Chinese soil is certain, and although the use of elephants in war and pageantry was later introduced into China, it was only as an exotic custom, which no more took root there than it did in Mediterranean regions.

With the great increase of civilization in the Yangtse valley about the middle of the first millennium B. C. the elephant underwent a swift diminution in numbers. Its complete extinction there before the close of the 4th century B. C. may perhaps be inferred from a remark of a minister of Ch'u, who in the year 308 B. C. is recorded as speaking of the stag as the noblest of the beasts of chase;²⁵ and this he would scarcely have done had animals like the elephant and the rhinoceros still survived in the country.

In the regions farther to the west and south, however, the case was far otherwise. It is perhaps significant that the order in which the elephant disappeared in these various areas coincides exactly with that in which they were taken possession of by Chinese civilization. In the modern Sze-ch'uan, where, as we have already seen, elephants are noticed by the earlier Chinese records as numerous, they must have been found well into the period of the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.-220 A. D.), for we read that they were sent by the native chiefs as tribute to the Chinese

²⁴ MacGowan, *The Imperial History of China*, p. 210, mentions an instance in Cochin China in the 5th century A. D. The terror inspired among the Chinese soldiers on this occasion suggests that the elephant was quite unknown to them at that period.

²⁵ Tschape, *op. cit.* p. 318.

court, at Ch'ang-an (in the modern Shen-hsi), where they were kept in the Imperial menagerie.²² It is perhaps worth noting that it was under this dynasty that the elephant was first introduced into Chinese art in a naturalistic way, in distinction from the far more ancient symbolic and almost unrecognizably conventionalized designs to which it had given rise in the old hieratic art. After the Han Dynasty, notices regarding the elephant as indigenous to Sze-ch'uan apparently cease, and no doubt about that time it underwent there too the extinction which had already overtaken it in the lower portions of the Yangtse valley.

The 'Two Kwang' provinces (Kwang-tung and Kwang-hsi) though annexed long before, were not absorbed by the Chinese in any real sense until after the advent of the T'ang Dynasty, in the 7th century. Elephants had always been numerous in these tropical southern regions. It was no doubt because of this fact that the great Ch'in Shih Huang-ti gave to the province into which he erected the extreme southern portion of his vast dominions the name of Hsiang K'iu, or 'Commandery of the Elephants.' Under the Han Dynasty, just mentioned, which succeeded the Ch'in at the close of the 3rd century B. C., a portion of northern Kwang-hsi was known as Hsiang Chou, or 'District of the Elephants.'²³ The *Shuo-wên*, of the close of the first century A. D., defines the elephant as 'a large beast with long proboscis and tusks, occurring in Kiang-nan.'²⁴ The province of Kiang-nan under the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A. D.) consisted of the two modern provinces of An-hui and Kiang-hsi, lying athwart the lower Yangtse and representing roughly the old barbarian kingdom of Wu. But the Kiang-nan of the time of the *Shuo-wên* was undoubtedly literally the region 'South of the Yangtse,' as the name signifies. That this was so that work itself indicates in another place, where it states more specifically that the elephant occurs in Nan-Yüeh, a region now represented by the 'Two Kwang' provinces. Here, it appears, it long persisted, for it is said to have been numerous in southern Kwang-tung in the 7th century, while as late as the 10th we find elephants employed in putting to death criminals at Canton,²⁵ then the capital of a semi-independent kingdom.

²² A. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, II (1882), p. 113.

²³ Dr. S. Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1874), p. 792.

²⁴ Cf. Rev. Frank H. Chalfant, 'Early Chinese Writing' (*Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. 4, no. 1, Sept., 1906), plate I.

²⁵ See article in *The Chinese Repository*, 2 (1833), p. 151.

The evidence of place-names, so far as I have been able to trace it, confirms what we glean from the written records. Such names having to do with the elephant are, so far as my notes indicate, almost wholly absent in northern China, while in the south and west they are by no means unknown. Among such are Ta Hsiang Ling and Hsiao Hsiang Ling ('Great Elephant Pass' and 'Little Elephant Pass', respectively) in Sze-ch'uan, west of Mt. Omei; Hsiang Po ('Elephant Neck'), a hamlet in the extreme west of Yün-nan; and Hsiang Shan ('Elephant Hill'), near Canton. Many of these names now have attached to them explanations drawn from the exploits of Buddhist saints or popular heroes;⁴⁰ but in most instances, as is usually true in such cases, the names are doubtless far older than the explanations.

It was in Yün-nan that the elephant survived longer than anywhere else in the region now comprised within the boundaries of the Chinese Republic.⁴¹ It is barely possible, in fact, that it may still occur in the forests at one point just within the south-western border of that province.⁴² In Yün-nan there sprang up, shortly before the Christian Era, another center of Shan culture, which lasted, through various vicissitudes and changes of dynasty, until the 13th century, when it was swamped by the great Mongol flood which overwhelmed so much of Asia and Europe at that time. As in all Shan countries, so here too the elephant played an important part in the life of both rulers and people, in court pageantry, as a riding animal, and as a bearer of burdens.⁴³ That it was native to the region and not drawn from Burma or other Indo-Chinese regions, as was the case with the elephants used by the Chinese emperors in later times, we know from various historical references. It would appear from the statements of Marco Polo that the Shan people of Yün-nan did not employ

⁴⁰ See, e.g., R. F. Johnston, *Peking to Mandalay* (London, 1908), p. 421, note 14.

⁴¹ Cf. Navarette, 'Account of the Empire of China,' in Churchill, *Voyages* (London, 1744), vol. I, chap. 17 (p. 37): 'In the province of Jun-nan there are very good elephants bred.'

⁴² L. Richard, *A Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and its Dependencies* (Shanghai, 1908; transl. by M. Kennelly, S.J.), p. 17; A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chryse*, vol. 2, p. 65; Major H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, pp. 86, 134; Fred W. Carey, 'Notes of a Journey Overland from Saemao to Rangoon,' *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 36 (1905), p. 6.

⁴³ Prof. E. H. Parker, 'Early Laos and China,' *China Review*, Sept.-Oct., 1890.

the elephant in war; for he asserts categorically that the Mongols encountered war-elephants for the first time at the battle of 'Unciam' (Yung-ch'ang),⁴⁵ which they fought against the Burmese in 1277,⁴⁶ after they had completed the overthrow of the Shan kingdom in Yün-nan. That war-elephants were later used in that province, however, in the Ming Dynasty, we know; notably was this the case with the last scion of that house to offer resistance to the conquering Manchus in the middle of the 17th century; he, we are told, raised in Yün-nan, whither he had fled, an army of 200,000 men and 600 elephants; but the latter, the account goes on to state, did more hurt to their own side than to that of the enemy.⁴⁷ It must have been not long after this period that the elephant practically disappeared from this remote western province, its last refuge on Chinese soil; for the Manchu emperors were forced to draw for those which they maintained at their court in Peking upon regions outside of China Proper.⁴⁸

Thus the fate which overtook the elephant in both the eastern and the western extremities of its ancient habitat has been precisely the same. It would appear, indeed, that it can maintain itself in the presence of man only in regions which have not advanced beyond the hunting and planting stage of cultural evolution, and where the demand for ivory is purely local and relatively slight. Once true agriculture and intertribal commerce are introduced, the creature's fate is sealed. In China, just as in Mesopotamia and Syria, the growth of population and the ceaseless demand for ivory combined to bring about the extinction of this great animal, almost the last of the tribes of giant mammals that roamed over the globe during the Tertiary. While it existed, however, there can be no doubt that the ivory trade played a part in the diffusion of the Chinese type of civilization among the peoples of southeastern Asia quite comparable to the influence of the ancient amber trade in early Europe or to that of the modern ivory trade in Africa, where conditions are no doubt in many respects similar to those which existed in the protohistoric period in what is now South China.

⁴⁵ Colquhoun, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 277.

⁴⁶ Yule and Cordier, *Marcus Polo*, vol. 2, p. 104 and note 3.

⁴⁷ Navarrette, in Churchill, *Voyages*, I. 338.

⁴⁸ Cf. *The Chinese Repository*, vol. 9 (1840), pp. 453, 470.

THE TWO RECENSIONS OF SLAVONIC ENOCH

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THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH is known to us through an Old Slavonic version of which there are two recensions. One is represented by Codex Chludovianus, written in Southern Russia in 1679 and published by Popov in 1880, and Codex Belgradensis, written in Bulgaria in the 16th century and discovered by Sokolov in 1880. The other is found in Codex Belgradensis Serbius, written in the 16th century and published by Novaković in 1884; Codex Vindobonensis Slavonicus 125, written in the 16th century and collated by Bonwetsch; Codex Moscovitanus Barsovii, written in the 17th century; and a number of fragments published by Popov, Pypin, and Tichonravov, some of them as old as the 14th century. It has become customary to designate the former recension, which is longer, as A, and the latter as B. Of A an English translation was made by W. R. Morfill, which was provided with an introduction by R. H. Charles (*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Oxford, 1896). Nathanael Bonwetsch gave a German Version of both A and B (*Das slawische Henochbuch*, Berlin, 1896). Excerpts of A, of sufficient length to give a good idea of its contents, were rendered into Latin by Stephanus Székely (*Bibliotheca Apocrypha*, Freiburg, 1913); and both A and B were translated by Nevill Forbes in R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, Oxford, 1913.

Charles, Bonwetsch, and Székely agree in regarding B as a mere resumé of A, or as an incomplete and truncated text, while they consider A, aside from a few minor interpolations, as in the main a dependable rendering of the Greek original. This view has been adopted by Harnack (*Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, II, I, Berlin, 1897), Littmann (*Jewish Encycl.* V, New York, 1903), Bousset (*Die Religion des Judentums*, Berlin, 1903), and Schürer (*Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, III, 4th ed. Leipzig, 1909). Bonwetsch (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1896, p. 155) called attention to the fact that the question whether A and B already existed as independent recensions in the Greek had not been raised by Charles, but did not discuss it himself, though it may perhaps be inferred from his emphasis upon the substantial

identity of the two recensions in the parts they have in common that he regarded B as the work of a Slavonic excerptor. Bousset, on the other hand, is likely to have thought of two recensions, as he lays much stress upon the superiority of B's readings in a number of places.

On the assumption that A on the whole represents most faithfully the Greek original many passages and turns of expression have been cited to prove that the book was written in Egypt by a Hellenistic Jew. It is a significant fact, however, that all these passages, with a single exception, are wanting in B. From 1. 1 it has been inferred that the author used the Greek version of the Old Testament. A's statement that Enoch was 165 years old when he begat Methuselah no doubt came from this source; but B does not mention this irrelevant circumstance, and only refers to the fact that Enoch was 365 years of age when the story begins. In 1. 10 Gaidad is found among the sons of Enoch, as in the Greek version; he is absent in B, as in the Masoretic text. 50. 4 is said to be a close rendering of the Greek version of Deut. 33. 35. But the expression 'The avenger on the great day of judgment' is not found in any Greek manuscript or daughter-version. It seems to be a phrase coined from the general impression of the Old Testament passage, and may have been suggested by the Hebrew text, just as the paraphrase in Rom. 12. 19; Heb. 10. 30 was from the Greek. Five passages have been claimed to be quotations from the Greek text of Ecclesiasticus, viz. 43. 2, 3 from 23. 7 and 10. 20 ff.; 47. 5 from 1. 2; 51. 1, 3 from 7. 32 and 2. 4; 61. 2 from 39. 25; and 65. 2 from 17. 3, 5. But 47. 5 is not found in B; the 'good houses and evil habitations in the great aeon', mentioned in B (61. 2), are not referred to in Ecclus. 39. 25; in the other three places the language is nowhere closer to the Greek version than to the Hebrew text, and the expressions are of such a general character that it is not even necessary to suppose a dependence on the work of Siracides in Hebrew. An author may certainly affirm that 'none is greater than he who feareth God', counsel men to 'stretch out their (your) hand to the poor', and declare that God has given man 'eyes to see, and ears to hear, and the heart to think', without being suspected of having copied such phrases from some book that happens to be known to us. The suggestion has been put forth tentatively and dubiously that 65. 4 is derived from Wisdom of Solomon, 7. 17, 18. If such a dependence is extremely doubtful as regards A, it is wholly

improbable in the case of B. It cannot be proved that B shows any familiarity with the Greek version.

An important indication of Hellenistic influence in A is the derivation of the name of Adam in 30. 13 from the Greek designations of the four quarters of the world. All the more significant is the fact that this passage is not found in B. In 30. 3, A gives the Greek names of the five planets, Kronos, Aphrodite, Ares, Zeus, and Hermes, besides the sun and the moon. This passage is likewise absent in B. There are several statements concerning the calendar which seem to imply an astronomical knowledge more likely to have existed among Egyptian than Palestinian Jews; such as those referring to the Metonic cycle of 19 years (16. 8), the 28-year period (15. 4), the 532-year period (16. 8), and the length of the year as $365\frac{1}{4}$ days (14. 7). Charles at once suspected 16. 8 of being an interpolation in A; very naturally so, as the 532 years' cycle was established by Victorinus of Aquitania in the 5th century A. D. The shorter periods were not unknown to Palestinian writers. But none of these statements are found in B.

Certain doctrines supposed to be distinctive of the Hellenistic Jews of Egypt have been pointed out, such as the pre-existence of the soul (23. 5), the seven natures, or qualities, of man (30. 9), the possibility of seeing the angels (31. 2), the two ways, light and darkness (30. 15); evil being due to ignorance (30. 16), and the divine demand for purity of heart, rather than for sacrifices which are nothing (45. 3). Some of these conceptions were held by Palestinian Jews. But the passages in A in which they are presented are not found in B. The same is true of 30. 16 in which the influence of Platonic thought may possibly be seen. Only one doctrine that may be of Hellenistic origin is met with both in A and B. In 24. 2 both recensions state that God has created the existent from the non-existent, the visible from the invisible. This seems indeed closely akin to the thought of Philo. But whether the statement could not have been made by an Aramaic-speaking Jew in Palestine is by no means certain. It may have been only a protest against the notion that the world was created out of previously existing material, without any connection with Greek speculation. In 25. 1 the statement is wanting in B, but it appears in 25. 2. Influence of Egyptian mythology has been seen in ch. 25. The bursting of Adoïl and the coming forth of the great light remind us of the world-egg out of which the light

breaks forth. This egg-theory of the universe, however, is not limited to Egypt. It underlies the creation-story in Gen. 1. 1-3. Curiously enough, it is a great stone, according to B, that comes forth out of Idoil (*idu il*, 'divine fountain?'). If there is not a mistranslation, this may point to another form of the myth, in which the earth as a huge stone comes out of the watery chaos, 'the fountain of God'. Phoenixes and Chalkydries, serpents with crocodile heads, are mentioned by A (12. 11), but not by B. In 19. 6, however, Phoenixes occur in B; but so they do also in Ethiopic Enoch.

There is an interesting difference between A and B as regards Satan. In the former recension the angels fall 'with their prince' (12. 3) or 'with their prince Satanael' (18. 3); 'one of the arch-angels' falls (29. 4 ff.); and Satanael flees from heaven, enters the serpent, and deceives Eve. Of all this there is not a word in B. Finally, it should be mentioned that neither the prohibition of the oath (49. 1) nor the institution of the eighth day as the first-born, i. e. the chief day (33. 1), is referred to in B.

In view of the character of the material in A, not found in B, it is well-nigh inconceivable that the latter can be a resumé made by a Slavonic writer. How could a Christian Slav, living somewhere in Bulgaria, or even in Constantinople, in the 10th or 11th century, have possessed such a marvelous acquaintance with the peculiar tendencies of thought among the Hellenistic Jews of Egypt which distinguished them from the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Palestine? How could he have acquired such unerring skill as would have enabled him to detect and eliminate practically every expression that revealed the slightest touch of Greek influence? And what could have been his motive? It is, of course, equally impossible to imagine an Old Slavonic writer of that age adding, out of his extraordinary erudition, and to serve some doctrinal interest, all the plus of A. There were, consequently, two Greek recensions, probably translated at different times. B, no doubt, was the earliest version. A later scholar, finding a Greek manuscript containing a longer text, naturally followed the already existing version, except where there was an important divergent reading, and translated independently the additional passages.

As regards the Greek recensions it can scarcely be thought probable that an Alexandrian Jew should have gone to work deliberately to cut out everything that savored of Hellenistic thought, without ever revealing such a doctrinal position as

would make this procedure intelligible, e. g. by preaching the advent of the Messiah or the resurrection of the dead, or by some sign of an anti-Hellenic bias. Every consideration appears to lead to the view that the Greek manuscript used by the author of the Slavonic recension A represented an expanded text made by an Alexandrian Jew who felt that there were many things that could be profitably added to the book he had before him and was copying. This book itself, fortunately, was not supplanted, but found its way into the Slavonic church as well as the interpolated edition.

The peculiar character of the Greek original of B is probably due to its being a translation of an Aramaic or Hebrew work, written in Palestine before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. A Hebrew original of some parts of Slavonic Enoch has been suggested by Charles. He gives two reasons: the quotation of this book in six passages of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs which he regards as having been written in Hebrew, viz., Simeon 5, Levi 14, Judah 18, Dan 5, Naphtali 4, Benjamin 9, and the affinities between this book and a work extant in Hebrew called ספר חנוך and referred to twice in Zohar under the title ספר דחנוך רצין דחנוך. Schürer (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1896, p. 347 ff.) has convincingly shown that our Slavonic Enoch cannot have been the work quoted in the six passages, that there are three other passages, Levi 10 and 16 and Zebulon 3, where also the book of Enoch is quoted, but nothing even remotely like it is found in Slavonic Enoch, and that the description of the seven heavens differs so radically that there is not a single point on which they agree. The probability is that there are more Enoch books to discover. Charles does not deem it possible to indicate the parts that could have belonged to the Semitic original.

There is nothing that forbids the assumption that practically all of B represents the text written in Palestine. The absence of the Messianic hope has been cited against such a possibility. But there are other parts of the Enoch literature, and many other works besides, undoubtedly written by Jews in Palestine, in which that hope is not expressed. Nor is the peculiar conception of the life to come a valid ground of objection. There is no allusion to a resurrection; the souls of men go to mansions appropriate to their character immediately after death; yet there is a final judgment day. The doctrines of the future life are evidently fluctuating. There is a certain affinity to the Essene teaching;

yet the author was not an Essene. He believed in oaths, in sacrifices, and in visiting the temple three times a day, which would scarcely have been possible if he had not lived in Jerusalem. There are no signs in B of distinctively Christian influence. It is impossible to decide whether the book was written in Hebrew or Aramaic. The Greek version may have been made in the 1st century A. D. At any rate, it was earlier than Origen who, referring to the Shepherd of Hermas (*Mand.* 1. 1), says (*De principiis* 1. 3. 2): 'sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur'. That is true of Slavonic Enoch (24. 2; 47. 3), but not of Ethiopic Enoch. Harnack has rightly laid stress on the singular *libro*; Origen found, apparently, Slavonic Enoch as a part of his Enoch book. What this book contained at the time is difficult to determine. In *De principiis* 4. 35 he quotes from it 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum' and 'universas materias perspexi' which are not found in either Ethiopic or Slavonic Enoch; nor is there the slightest evidence that it contained Eth. Enoch xxxvii-lxxi, a book of which no trace is extant in Patristic literature, as the present writer has shown (*Original Language of the Parables of Enoch*, Chicago, 1908). The copy of the Enoch book from which the first Ethiopic version was made does not seem to have contained either Slavonic Enoch or Ethiopic Enoch xxxvii-lxxi.

The expanded edition underlying A may not be so late as the 5th century, as the reference to the 532 years' cycle may be one of the last interpolations. Additions were probably made at different times. Some of them are open to the suspicion of Christian origin, such as the condemnation of sacrifices (45. 3 A), the prohibition of oaths in very nearly the words of Jesus (49. 1. 2 A), and the statement concerning the establishment of the eighth, i. e. the first day as preëminent (33. 1. 2 A). Because Christian interpolations were sometimes very clumsy, as in *Oracula Sibyllina*, *Testamenta XII patriarcharum*, and other works, which probably Tertullian had in mind when he accused the Jews of removing expressions 'quae Christum sonant' (*De cultu feminarum*, 1. 3), it is not necessary to suppose that they must all have been of this character. A Christian hand may, here and there, have retouched very delicately, yet none the less effectively, a Jewish original which it copied. The fate of the two Greek recensions before the translation of B into Old Slavonic is wholly unknown; but much copying and further corruption from this source are not likely between the 5th and 10th centuries.

BRIEF NOTES

A new king of Babylonia

A small temple document, in the possession of Mr. C. C. Garbett, of London, furnishes us with the name of a new king, presumably of Babylonia. It is from the archives of the Temple of Nergal, in Udani. The writer knows of no other occurrence of this place-name in cuneiform literature. The provenance of the tablet is unknown. The name of the king, Marduk-bél-zêr, is also unknown. The general character of the tablet resembles some of those belonging to the ninth and eighth centuries B. C., which



have been published by the writer in *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, Part I. It is not improbable that Marduk-bél-zêr is one of the missing rulers of that period. The tablet reads:

88 *shaggullu*, including 1 . . . , and 1 *mashaddu*, the Temple of Nergal of Udani intrusts to Bélshunu of the Temple of Nergal of Udani. (It is dated) Udani, 9th day of Tebet, of the accession year of Marduk-bél-zêr, the king. Scribe: Nabû-abi-lûdâri, (who was the) officer of utensils.

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Huruppāti, 'betrothal gifts'

In the recently published Assyrian Code (Otto Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, 1920, Nos. 1-6; 143-144 and 193), there occurs in §§ 41 and 42 of Text No. 1 (pl. 8, col. 6, 14-39) a term *hu-ru-up-pa-a-ti* (col. 6, 17 and 20) in a context which makes it quite clear that 'betrothal gifts' of some kind are intended. I suggested this interpretation in my translation of the Code (*JAOS* vol. 41, No. 1, p. 39, note 61), but I did not recognize that an explanation of the term lay at hand in a Talmudic passage, Treatise Kiddushin (Talmud Babli), 6a: *ha-omer harupati mekuddešet*. 'If a man says (to a woman) my *harupāh*, she is betrothed'; and the text goes on to say, 'for in Judea they call the betrothed (*arūsāh*) *harupāh*.'

Dr. Siegmund Frey (of Huntingdon Park, California) was kind enough to call my attention to this passage which bears directly on the term *huruptu*, of which *huruppāti* is the plural form. Moreover, we have the Niphal form of the stem *harap* in Biblical Hebrew used in the sense of 'betrothed', in Lev. 19.20, *šiphāh neherepet lā-'iš*, 'A maid betrothed to a man'. Talmud Babli Gittin 43a (see Marcus Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, p. 500a) discusses the detailed circumstances involved in the term *šiphah neherepet* while in Talmud Babli Kerithoth 11b *neherpāh* is incidentally explained as synonymous with *b'ālāh* 'married'. The Talmud itself suggests two explanations for this use of the Niphal of *harap* in the sense of betrothed; (1) that the underlying stem means to 'grind' so that a *neherepet* is 'one crushed by a man' (Talmud Jerushalmi Kiddushin I, 59a top), or (2) that the term means to 'change one's condition' (Talmud Babli Kerithoth 11a). See Marcus Jastrow *ib.*, p. 505a.

It is questionable whether either of these explanations is correct, and I am inclined to believe that we come nearer to the association of ideas involved if we start from some such meaning as 'pluck, tear', for the stem. This meaning is vouched for in Assyrian *harāpu*, from which we get *harpu* 'harvest' as the plucking season; and similarly *hōrep* in Hebrew is primarily the autumn or harvest season and only by a natural extension applied to the 'winter'. In Talmudic usage, *tar'ah harupāh* is 'the market soon after crop' (Marcus Jastrow, *ib.* 505a).

The 'plucked (or "torn") maid' might be taken either in the sense of the deflowered or as the one 'gathered in' by a man—

the captive woman who would naturally be reduced to the position of serfdom in ancient society.

At all events, the comparison with the Biblical and Talmudical passage makes it clear that *huruptu* is to be connected with the idea of 'betrothed'. In § 41 of text No. 1 of the Assyrian Code, two ceremonies are described which make the agreement to marry a woman final. It is said that if *inu ūmi rāki* one pours oil on the head of a daughter or if one in a *šakultu* brings *huruppāti*, 'there can be no revocation'. The *ūmu rāku* must be 'the day of betrothal' (see my note 60, *l. c.* p. 38) and the pouring of oil would be an appropriate betrothal ceremony, performed as may be concluded from § 42, by the prospective father-in-law. The *šakultu* is apparently a receptacle in which the *huruppāti* are brought, like the *téne* (Deut. 26. 2, 4) or the *sal* (Jud. 6. 19; Num. 6. 75, etc.), in Hebrew, while the *huruppāti* are clearly betrothal gifts. They may have been fruits, as I suggested in the note to my translation referred to at the beginning of this article, though I would not now press this point. The analogy with the custom still prevailing among Moroccans as described by Westernmark, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 33, 43, 45, 47, etc., would suggest rather that the *huruppāti* consisted of a selection of provisions for the household, wheat, butter, flour and perhaps also meat. In § 42, the *ūmu rāku* and *šakultu* are omitted, but clearly only by way of abbreviation, for the same two ceremonies are referred to—the pouring of oil and the bringing of betrothal gifts—and as in § 41, it is assumed that either of these two ceremonies (*lu . . . lu* 'either . . . or') binds the father to give his son to a girl picked out to be his wife. The law says that if after either of these two ceremonies has been performed, the son dies or flees, the father is obliged to substitute another son as the husband for the girl.

It appears, therefore, that in Assyria and no doubt also in Babylonia, the betrothal, marked by some ceremony, was binding even before an actual marriage had taken place. In fact the betrothal was the marriage, as everywhere in primitive society and down to a late period of social advance. The single act of betrothal through some symbolical act fixed the status of the girl as a wife. The same, as we know, continued to be the case among the Hebrews in Old Testament times and underlies the marriage laws of the Jews in the Talmudic period. See Jacob Neubauer, *Zur Geschichte des Biblisch-Talmudischen* (MVAG Vol. 24, 1919), pp. 185-189. Even when a distinction between betrothal

(*erāḥin*) and marriage (*kiddūḥin*) set in, the betrothal act continued to be regarded as binding. The formal marriage was merely a fulfillment of the betrothal.

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Dr. Efros' Emendation of Jer. 4. 29

The emendation by Dr. Efros to Jer. 4.29, to read נְבִיִּים, 'into ditches', instead of בְּעֵצִים, 'into thickets', published in the JOURNAL, p. 75, is uncalled for. There is no difficulty in the text as it stands. His main objection is, that the term עֵץ is not used elsewhere in the Bible in the sense of 'thickets'. Is this the only word in the Bible that has no companion? Besides, the term נְבִיִּים as found in the Bible, denotes a well, cistern, or reservoir, where water is kept, and is not a fit place for hiding or protection (see 2 Kings, 3.16; Jer. 14.3.). The word עֵץ in Syriac, or אֶצֶב in Talmudic Aramaic, means a wood, thicket, or forest. Wherever is found in the Bible the word עֵץ, 'a wood', the Peshitto renders עֵץ, e. g., Ps. 96.12.

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The 'two youths' in the LXX to Dan. 6

At the Baltimore meeting of the Society Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt made an argument for the superiority of the Septuagintal form of Dan. 6 over the Massoretic. He found in the Hebrew an absurd midrashic expansion which penalized all the three presidents and 120 satraps with all their families by their condemnation to the lions' den, a hecatomb feast indeed! He pointed out that in the LXX the guilty conspirators are limited to Daniel's two fellow-presidents, and hence the carnage at the end of the story was moderate enough. Now the major premise of midrashic extravagance as necessarily secondary is precarious; midrash is often rationalized by a second hand, and this is often the case with the rationalistic Greek translators. Further, a close examination of the LXX text shows that Dr. Schmidt's preference for it is contradicted. He makes much of the δύο νεανίσκοι v. 4 (Mass. 5), but why should the co-presidents be called 'youths'? The word is appropriate to Daniel and the other three 'boys' in 1.4, and to the harem officials of Xerxes in Est. 2.2 = נְעָרִים, but not to those exalted triumvirs. The LXX does not repeat the absurdity; in v. 24 (25) they appear as 'those two men.'

The text of LXX vv. 3b, 4 is manifestly composite and syntactically disturbed, and 'the two youths' appear to be an arrant insertion. We read (I letter the successive sections for convenience of reference):

- (a) Then the king counselled to establish Daniel over his whole kingdom
- (b) and the two men (*ἄνδρες*) whom he established with him and 127 satraps.
- (c) And when the king counselled to establish Daniel over his whole kingdom,
- (d) then took counsel and decision among themselves the two youths

Evidently (b) in its position is absurd, and (c) is a doublet to (a). We have to omit (c). Now the present writer is convinced that the LXX to cc. 3-6 is a translation of a variant Aramaic text (Hebrew in the Song of the Three Holy Children), which accounts for the eccentricities of the LXX in these chapters. If this is the case, (b) contains the subject of the verb in (d). What was a nominative in the original the translator understood as an accusative, the doublet (c) having interfered with the construction. The change in construction having been made, he gratuitously brought in *οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι* as the subject to the verb in (d), itself marked as a gloss by its position at the end of the clause. His *νεανίσκοι* appears to be a reminiscence of the 'three youths' in 1 Esd. 3.4, where mention of them is made after listing the officers of the realm and 'the 127 satraps', which latter item he carried over into his form of Dan. 6.1. He had also probably in mind the rivalry of two of the youths against the third, there Zerobabel, here Daniel. The present passage originally read, 'And the two men whom he established with him and 127 satraps took counsel', etc. That is, the Semitic copy of the LXX made all those officials conspirators, but the Greek translator rationalized. Once again he followed his original contribution by adding '[those] two [men]' in v. 24 (25). The LXX is here, as in general, no authority for an earlier and better text. The earliest form of the story may have made the two men the sole conspirators and can possibly be recovered by a few excisions, but this was early obscured in the existing forms of the tradition.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

Philadelphia Divinity School

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee, acting under Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution, as amended at the 1921 Annual Meeting, has elected the following to membership in the Society:

MR. R. D. BANERJI	MR. FREDERICK MOORE
MR. EMERSON B. CHRISTIE	PROF. H. NAU
PROF. A. B. DHRUVA	PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE
MR. ABRAHAM I. ELKUS	MR. NAOTOSHI OGAWA
PROF. A. B. GAIENDRAGADKAR	REV. DR. THOMAS PORTER
MRS. H. P. GAMRON	MR. G. HOWLAND SHAW
PROF. SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA	PROF. V. V. SOYANI
PROF. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL	MR. J. F. SPRINGER
PROF. FLEMING JAMES	REV. THOMAS STENHOUSE
DEAN MAXIMO M. KALAW	FATHER M. VANOVERBERGH
PROF. L. H. LARIMER	REV. HORACE K. WRIGHT
PROF. JAMES C. MANN	

The Executive Committee has voted that the current volume of the *JOURNAL*, Volume 41, shall be dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

Notice has been received of the founding of a new periodical entitled *Mitteilungen zur germanischen Geschichte*, published at Vienna by Hölzel. The editors are Prof. Dr. Friedr. Kraelitz and Dr. Paul Wittek. Band I, Heft 1, has appeared.

Volume 1 (parts 1-4) of the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, published in Jerusalem, has appeared, under the editorship of Messrs. Dhorme, Danby, Yellin. It contains articles by Lagrange, Albright, McCown, Yellin, Worrell, Raffach, Deckerdt, Clay, Slonach, Peters, Eitan, etc. Subscriptions, at \$4.00, may be sent to Dr. E. M. Grice, Babylonian Collection, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.

The operations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum expedition at Beisan, Palestine, began June 20, under the charge of Dr. Clarence S. Fisher.

PERSONALIA

PROF. C. EVERETT CONANT, until recently connected with the University of Chattanooga, has accepted a position at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has left the United States. His address is 22 Carnac Road, Kalbadevi P. O., Bombay, India.



MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

In Memoriam

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

MORRIS JASTROW JR. AS A BIBLICAL CRITIC

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1916, Professor Jastrow formulated his conception of the fundamental task of Biblical Criticism and of the methods by which this task must be performed. He entitled his address 'Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament'.¹ This title suggests the main thesis of all his Biblical research. He held that Biblical Criticism must be constructive in the truest sense of the term. In this address he said,² 'Because of the bearings of both Old and New Testament criticism on some of the fundamental problems of religious thought, . . . the critic should feel the obligation to correlate the bearings of his results on traditional points of view, which in turn are so closely bound up with current doctrines and beliefs.' And again in the same address,³ 'Our endeavor in the critical study of the Old Testament needs to be directed . . . to a larger extent than heretofore towards determining the conditions underlying a document—if a legal document to the social status and the institutional ideas revealed by it, if a pure narrative to the relationship between the lives of the individuals and the events narrated, if folk-lore to the point of view—tribal or individual—from which the tradition sets out, and if in the domain of religious thought or emotion to the individual thoughts and emotions that called forth the production. The result will be in every case a stronger emphasis on the constructive elements to be extracted from a document or a purely literary production, supplemental to the critical analysis which must as a matter of course precede.'

¹ *JBL* 36 (1917). 1-30.

² P. 3.

³ P. 23.

Manifestly Jastrow was not content to follow mechanically the conventional path of Biblical Criticism. He seemed to feel that in present-day research there was too much sheep-like following in the beaten track which the pioneers of the modern school had marked out, a too unquestioning acceptance of earlier hypotheses and conclusions, a too pronounced tendency to regard the infinite mass of textual emendations and verse assignments as the be-all and end-all of scientific investigation, a too blind intolerance of new methods of investigation and of unorthodox hypotheses and conclusions. In the preface of his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*⁴ he said, 'One can readily understand how even learned and conscientious scholars through a determination to cling to certain views can acquire an attitude of mind which prevents them from weighing evidence judiciously and fairly. This observation applies particularly to those who deceive themselves by imagining that they are pursuing studies in an open-minded spirit, whereas in reality they are merely seeking a confirmation of views which they hold quite independently of their studies, and generally held antecedent to any investigation. But the observation may be extended also to scholars of a more scientific type who, in a spirit of reaction against views which they have come to regard as untenable, fail to penetrate into the depths of their subject because too much absorbed in the externalities—in textual criticism, or in investigations of special points without reference to the necessary relationship of even the infinitesimal parts of a subject to the subject as a whole.'

It is clear that Jastrow regarded the Bible as far more than a mere book, to be subjected to mere literary analysis and textual emendation; it was the remains of an ancient national literature, varied and noble; it was a precious document of the life, ideals and aspirations of a peculiar people and the record, or at least the earliest and most important part of the record, of their contribution to civilization. And the final aim of the study of the literature and history of any people, he held, must be the better understanding of the life and institutions of that people, their origins, evolutions, achievements and contributions to the world's culture.

Certainly this is no mean program for any science. And certainly Biblical scholars will not question the validity of Jastrow's main thesis. The measure, therefore, of Jastrow's work as a Biblical

⁴ P. x seq.

critic is the determination of the degree to which he adhered to his program and achieved constructive and worthy results.

Jastrow was not primarily a Biblical critic. Rather he was by natural interest and early scientific training a Semitist, particularly in the fields of Hebrew, Arabic and Assyrian languages and literatures. In addition, due largely to the fine influence of his learned father, Jastrow was acquainted with Jewish rabbinic literature, particularly the *Aggadah*, with its treasures of ancient tradition. For this reason undoubtedly he knew how to evaluate tradition, and steadily insisted upon its importance as one of the indispensable elements in the constructive study of the Bible.⁵ Nor were his interests in Semitic studies predominantly philological, although in this province, too, he showed himself again and again a complete master. The culture and institutions of the Semitic peoples attracted him most, and above all else Semitic religions in all their manifold aspects. But these very facts made it certain that he would in time concern himself with Biblical research, and that, too, upon a broad and varied scale. And these facts also probably explain why in most of his work in the Biblical field he was so decidedly unconventional both in aim and in method.

His earliest study in Arabic and Hebrew philology appeared in 1885; his first Assyriological study in 1887. But his first constructive investigation of a Biblical problem was not published until 1892,⁶ and even it was in character more Assyriological than Biblical. Other studies of similar nature followed in rapid succession during the next two years and at brief intervals thereafter. These Biblical-Assyriological studies reached their climax in his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (1914).

Not until 1894 did Jastrow's first specifically Biblical study appear.⁷ This, too, was speedily followed by several similar papers, largely philological in character, yet dealing directly with neither the so-called Lower nor Higher Criticism, but rather with important institutions of the religion of Israel.⁸

⁵ Note his fine use of a tradition recorded in *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* in his paper, 'Palestine and Assyria in the Days of Joshua,' *ZA* 7 (1892). 1-7.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ 'The Element "Bosheth" in Hebrew Proper Names,' *JBL* 13 (1894). 19-30.

⁸ 'Hebrew Proper Names Compounded with "Yah" and "Yahu,"' *JBL* 13 (1894). 101-127; 'The Origin of the Form "Yah" of the Divine Name,' *ZA* 16 (1896). 1-16; 'The Name Samuel and the Stem "Shu'al,"' *JBL* 19 (1900). 82-105, and others.

However, it must not be imagined that Jastrow had no sympathy with the tasks and methods of Lower and Higher Criticism. He merely regarded them and the conclusions which they established, not as ends in themselves, as so many Biblical scholars have done and still do, but only as means to a far greater end; yet they were for him important and indispensable branches of Biblical Science, in every way worthy of consideration and investigation. As might be expected, therefore, in these two fields also he made significant contributions. In the field of Lower Criticism several of his writings may be cited, such as *Note on a Passage in Lamentations* (2:6),⁹ *On Ruth 2:3*,¹⁰ *I Kings 18:2*,¹¹ and especially *Joshua 5:16*.¹²

In the field of Higher Criticism his research was of a far profounder character, and his contribution far more unique and significant. As he worked deeper and deeper into Biblical investigation he developed a theory of literary evolution that, in a way, modified materially the established hypothesis of a number of original independent documentary sources. Jastrow's variant hypothesis might perhaps be called appropriately the theory of systematic literary accretion. He argued that in general the various books or units of Biblical writing began with a single composition or document of a single, pronounced, obvious purpose and point of view; then, as generations passed and new ideas and doctrines developed, different writers in successive ages recast the original work in various ways, by internal changes of words or phrases, by omissions here and there, and above all else by insertions and additions of varying extent and character, which reflect a later and usually orthodox point of view, and which differ so markedly from the original book or document, that their secondary character is readily apparent.

Jastrow applied this hypothesis to Babylonian literature as well as to the Bible.¹³ But he made the most varied and far-reaching application of it to the books and documents of the Old Testament.

⁹ ZAW 15 (1895). 287.

¹⁰ JBL 15 (1896). 59-62.

¹¹ JBL 17 (1898). 108-110.

¹² JBL 36 (1917). 53-63.

¹³ Note his treatment of the Gilgamesh Epic in *The Religion of Assyria and Babylonia* (1898), 467-517, and 'Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature', *AJSL* 15 (1899). 193-214; 'On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story,' in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (1906) 2. 969-982; and 'Old and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi,' *JAOS* 36 (1916). 1-33.

Unquestionably the underlying principle of the hypothesis is sound and uncontrovertible in so far as it affects documents of small compass and manifestly single character and scope. Accordingly in some of his first writings in which he applied this theory to its fullest extent he made invaluable contributions to Biblical Science, notably in *Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes*,¹⁴ *The 'Nazir' Legislation*,¹⁵ and *The So-called Leprosy Laws*.¹⁶

But Jastrow carried this hypothesis much farther than this, and argued that the literary history of even entire Biblical books, as for instance *Joshua*¹⁷, can be reconstructed in quite the same manner. This is the dominant theme of his two late works, *A Gentle Cynic* (1919) and *The Book of Job* (1920). He endeavors to prove that both *Ecclesiastes* and *Job* began each as a document voicing decidedly unorthodox beliefs and questions that were current in certain free-thinking circles in post-exilic Judaism. Then each document was gradually and systematically recast and enlarged by internal emendations and additions of a pronouncedly pietistic character, which so changed, or seemed to change, the doubting, questioning, almost heretical character of the original books that they could be included eventually in the canon of sacred Jewish writings. A treatment of somewhat similar nature promises to underlie Jastrow's forthcoming, posthumous work on *The Song of Songs*.

Certainly the hypothesis is original and striking, and its application to *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* bold and unreserved, just as the conclusions based upon it are far-reaching and significant in the extreme. Whether this hypothesis and this analysis and reconstruction of the text of these books will stand the test of repeated investigation and application by other scholars, it is, of course, still too early to tell. But whatever be the outcome of this test, certainly it can not be gainsaid that far more than any Biblical critic before him, Jastrow has demonstrated that glosses and additions to the original text are not insignificant incidents, merely to be determined and then dismissed as of no importance. Rather, he has shown conclusively, additions, emendations and glosses are frequently, if not generally, purposed and significant, that they

¹⁴ *JAOS* 33 (1913), 180-192.

¹⁵ *JBL* 33 (1914), 266-285.

¹⁶ *JQR* (new series), 4 (1914), 357-418.

¹⁷ 'Constructive Elements in the Study of the Old Testament,' *JBL* 36 (1917), 23, note 24.

reflect the changing point of view and theology of later ages, and have a deep historical value.

And just in this insistence upon the historical significance of glosses, emendations and other accretions to the original text, and upon the importance of tradition as a historical source, Jastrow has promoted greatly the method of the scientific study of the Bible just as by his many investigations of the social and religious institutions of ancient Israel he has enriched our knowledge of the life and achievement of the Hebrew people. Surely this is constructive, scientific study of the highest type. And surely, therefore, we must acknowledge that Jastrow realized his ideal of what Biblical study should be, and that his work as a Biblical critic is of eminent and permanent value.

We are his debtors. We mourn his all-too-early loss, and especially when we think of all that he might have achieved, had he been permitted to fill out the traditional allotted span of human life, and in those remaining years develop his hypothesis and methods further, and apply them to other Biblical books and other problems of Biblical Science. Yet just we who labor in the Biblical field, with its uplifting message of hope and trust, have learned the lesson not to grieve too much for what might have been, but to believe with firm faith that what is, is for the best, and to be thankful for the rich blessings we have enjoyed. And so we shall ever cherish in loving, grateful memory the life, the friendship and the work of that 'gentle' scholar, Morris Jastrow, Jr.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MORRIS JASTROW JR. TO THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

BY GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

PROFESSOR JASTROW'S many-sided abilities were conspicuously manifested in his contributions to the historical study of religion. In this field no American scholar has done so much as he to stimulate an intelligent interest. His own contributions to the subject were of the greatest value, and, as Secretary for many years of the "American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions," and as Editor of a series of "Handbooks on the History of Religions", he became the moving spirit of undertakings which have greatly enriched the literature of the subject by the labors of others.

Before speaking of this more general work, it will be well to think of Professor Jastrow's own contributions to this discipline. In so doing we shall depart somewhat from chronological sequence and mention first his second important publication on the subject, his *Study of Religion*, published in the "Contemporary Science Series" edited by Havelock Ellis (Scribners, 1901). The book fulfilled a two-fold purpose: It was designed to serve as an introduction to the study of religion—an introduction in which a student could learn the limits and aims of the study—as well as to teach a scientific method of pursuing it. In accomplishing this aim Jastrow made an advance at many points over his predecessors and so contributed materially to the development of the science to which he aimed to introduce the student.

The book was divided into three parts. Part I treated of the "General Aspects" of religion. Under this head he gave a history of the development of the science from Alexander Ross's *Religions of the World* (1653) down to the great scholars of the nineteenth century—F. Max Müller, Tiele, Réville, and Pfleiderer. The classification of religions, the character and definition of religion, and the origin of religion were also discussed.

In Part II, Professor Jastrow discussed the relation of religion to ethics, philosophy, mythology, psychology, history, and culture. In these discussions the aim is to teach the reader a scientific method of pursuing the study. In Part III, where such topics as the treatment of sources, and the status of the subject in colleges and universities, and the function of museums in the study of religion are discussed, Professor Jastrow completes the setting forth of a right method and brings his readers abreast of the status of the subject at the time his book was written. It is a work which covers a wide field and reveals the versatility and the universal human interest of its author. Professor Jastrow was the last one to expect his fellow-workers to agree with every position which he took, but those who differed with him on minor points gratefully acknowledged that the book not only supplied a long-felt need by giving us an excellent handbook, but that in many ways its author had made real and permanent advance over his predecessors. Now, after the lapse of twenty years, the book is without peer in its special sphere.

Professor Jastrow's greatest contributions to knowledge were, however, made by his researches into the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Before he began his work the religion of these two

civilizations, which bear to each other the relation of mother and daughter, had never received adequate treatment. Brief sketches of it had been given in the general histories of these countries, but always in the briefest outline. Jeremias had given a somewhat more extended sketch in *Chantepie de la Saussaye's Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, but that was all too brief. Sayce had in 1887 published his *Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, but his treatment was too chaotic and at many points too unreliable to be of much service. To Professor Jastrow belongs the credit of having given the world the first scientific and adequate account of this religion when, in 1898, he published his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston: Ginn & Company) in the series of handbooks of which he was the editor. The aim of the book was to bring the knowledge of the subject up to date, to discuss contending theories and indicate the author's opinion on mooted points, but to refrain from speculating upon what was uncertain. This aim was so happily realized that the book was at once recognized in all countries as the one standard authority on its subject. The development of the extensive pantheon was traced from the earliest times through all periods of the history till Babylonia and Assyria disappeared, and in a series of chapters on the religious literature of the Babylonians, the reader was given an introduction, by means of translations, to the magical texts, the prayers and hymns, the penitential psalms, the oracles and omens, the cosmology of the Babylonians, the Gilgamesh epic, and to their myths and legends. By means of these translations the student was brought into the religious atmosphere of these ancient peoples as he could have been in no other way. Chapters were also devoted to the Babylonian views of life after death, and to the temple and cult in Babylonia. This last topic had scarcely been treated systematically by any previous writer.

The book placed Professor Jastrow at once in the front line of the world's Assyriologists. Every part of it was based on a first-hand study of the original sources.

A few years later Professor Jastrow was invited to bring out a German edition of this invaluable book. It was to be published at Giessen and to appear in "parts". He began the task and the first "part" was published in 1902. Between 1898 and 1902 a large number of new texts had been published, and, as the years went by, the volume of new material increased. True to his

scholarly instincts, Professor Jastrow made himself familiar with the whole of this as it was published, and incorporated in his book such contributions as it made to the knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian religion. The result was that the "parts" multiplied in number and continued to appear from 1902 to 1912. The volumes increased from one to two, and the second of these was double the thickness of an ordinary book. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* of 1898 had contained 780 pages; *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* of 1912 contains more than 1650 pages.

In the German edition knowledge of every part of the subject is advanced, but probably the greatest contribution made by the volume was Jastrow's discovery of the part played by hepatoscopy, or divination from the liver, in Babylonian life. That instinct which prompted him to go in all his work to original sources, led him not only to make a prolonged study of the cuneiform divination texts, but to accompany this study with the actual examination of the livers of sheep, the animal whose liver the Babylonians had employed. The result was not only the clearing up of many obscure passages in the divination texts, but the opening of a new vista in our knowledge of Babylonian customs. The work as a whole is monumental. America has had during the last thirty years four or five exceptionally productive Assyriologists, but, of all the works they have produced there is no other single one that compares with this work of Professor Jastrow in range, comprehensiveness, and importance. It will probably be a long time before a work treating of these religions will be written that will at all compare with this great book.

A by-product of Professor Jastrow's *magnum opus* was his *Aspects of Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, which appeared in 1911. It was Professor Jastrow's contribution to the "American Lectures on the History of Religion"—a series the inception of which was due largely to his vision and energy. As one who knew its author expected, this book contained a fresh treatment of Mesopotamian culture and religion, of the pantheon, of Babylonian divination and astrology, of the temple and cult, of ethics and the life after death. At the time it was written Jastrow was fresh from his discoveries in divination and so gave an enthusiastic and full treatment of this and kindred topics. His book is twice the thickness of the other volumes of the series. It is a most valuable compendium in English of the heart of the greater German work.

Professor Jastrow was possessed of a fine sense of humor. It kept all his work sane. He had spent much time on the divination and astrology of these peoples, but he realized that, except that astrology led to a certain degree of astronomical knowledge, the Babylonian systems led to no practical result. They were waste time. Nevertheless he was able to quote with approval, at the end of his chapter on astrology, the remark of Bouché-Leclercq, that "it is not a waste of time to find out how other people have wasted theirs."

Another contribution of Professor Jastrow to the history of religion is his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, 1914, a volume which presents in an enlarged form his Haskell lectures, delivered at Oberlin college in 1913. For more than a dozen years before its publication a group of German scholars had been claiming not only that all Israel's thought was derived from Babylonia, but that all the important persons mentioned in the Old Testament were not persons at all, but forms of Babylonian mythical stories. Out of the fullness of his knowledge Professor Jastrow presented a sane and scholarly comparison of the traditions of the two peoples, giving to the Babylonians their due in crediting them, as others had done, with furnishing the Hebrews with many of the traditions contained in the early chapters of Genesis, but showing how independent of Babylonian influence many aspects of Hebrew tradition were. His chapters on the "Hebrew and Babylonian Sabbath", "Views of Life after Death", and "Hebrew and Babylonian Ethics", are most interesting and important.

Mention must also be made of the masterly sketch of the Babylonian and Assyrian Religion contained in Chapters IV and V of Professor Jastrow's *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, and that on the same religion in *Religions of the Past and Present*, edited by his colleague, Professor Montgomery. In these sketches his vast stores of knowledge and his rare powers of presentation enabled him to present masterly sketches, scientific in character, and delightful to read.

In the volume last mentioned we have, fortunately, a sketch of the rise and characteristics of Mohammedanism, which exhibits the same qualities at their very best. This masterly lecture, with its analysis of the elements which enter into Islam, its appreciation, its criticism, and the clearness and virility of its presentation, makes one regret that circumstances did not lead Professor Jastrow to write more upon that religion.

Lack of space makes it impossible to speak of Professor Jastrow's services to the history of religion rendered in the publication of numerous articles in periodicals and encyclopedias. These articles were often of great importance. Some of them other men would have made into a book. In conclusion, emphasis should be laid upon the fact that Professor Jastrow's service to the science of religion was not confined to his own weighty contributions to its literature. He rendered an equally great service by organizing enterprises which called forth the contributions of others. It was he who conceived the idea of a series of handbooks on the history of religion, the publication of which was undertaken by Ginn & Company, of Boston. Professor Jastrow became editor of the series and induced the other scholars to write their books. Indirectly, therefore, we owe to him such important works as Toy's *Introduction to the History of Religion*, Hopkins' *Religions of India*, Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Religion of the Teutons*, and Peters' *Religion of the Hebrews*—books which have been of inestimable service to American scholars and have greatly enriched the world's historical literature. It was in this series that Jastrow's own book, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, first appeared.

In addition to this, the organization of "The American Lectures on the History of Religions" was due to Professor Jastrow's energy and initiative. At a meeting of fifteen persons called to consider the subject, held in Philadelphia on December 30th, 1891, it was Professor Jastrow who submitted a plan for establishing such a lecture course, to be given in different American cities. The general scheme was approved, and Professor Jastrow was a member of the committee appointed to work out a plan for carrying it into effect. This committee reported at a meeting held at Union Theological Seminary in New York on February 6th, 1892. Their plan was approved and an association was formed to put it into operation. Professor Jastrow became secretary of this association—an office which he held until his death. As always in such organizations, it is the secretary who has the laboring oar, and Professor Jastrow was the guiding spirit of the association. It is to this association, and therefore to Professor Jastrow, that we owe that series of brief, readable, and authoritative volumes, in which Brinton's *Religion of Primitive Peoples*, Rhys-Davids' *History and Literature of Buddhism*, Budde's *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, Cheyne's *Jewish Religion after the Exile*, Knox's *Religions of Japan*, De Groot's *Religion of the Chinese*,

Bloomfield's *Religion of the Veda*, Steindorf's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Cumont's *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans*, and Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, have appeared. Professor Jastrow's own contribution to the series has already been mentioned. It is a remarkable series; each, like the volumes of the series which Professor Jastrow edited, is the work of an eminent specialist. The giving of these lectures and the publication of the volumes have done much to educate American people, and have placed within the reach of all an authoritative and readable outline of the great religions of the world.

The task of speaking of the products of Professor Jastrow's many-sided abilities in other fields falls to others. His work in the field of which we have been speaking illustrates one of the finest traits of his character—his stimulating influence upon other scholars and his generosity in appreciating their work. The eminent men who wrote the books mentioned above felt this influence, and the humble and obscure worker, however small his contribution, found in Professor Jastrow, if his contribution possessed any merit, a cheering and encouraging critic and friend. America has had but one other scholar (the late Professor C. H. Toy of Harvard) whose stimulating influence called forth from others a degree of labor at all approaching that which Professor Jastrow elicited. Such men stand far above their contemporaries in the scholarly influence which they wield. They evoke in others a devotion to the search for truth which multiplies many fold the mere labor of their own hands. It is one of life's highest privileges to have known them. The world seems poor without them. Their memory is a precious treasure.

PROFESSOR JASTROW AS AN ASSYRIOLOGIST

ALBERT T. CLAY

YALE UNIVERSITY

WHILE STUDYING ABROAD, Arabic was looked upon by Jastrow as his major subject; however, he paid special attention also to Assyriology, and attended lectures under such scholars as Delitzsch, Oppert, and Halévy.

Three years after receiving his degree at Leipzig we find his first contribution to Assyriology in a note of several pages which

appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* on 'A passage in the Cylinder Inscription of Ashurbanapal'. Two years later, following other brief communications, his first conspicuous article appeared in the text, translation, and commentary of a fragment of 'A Cylinder of Marduk-shapik-zirim.' It is to the credit of Jastrow that by clever reasoning and on paleographical grounds he placed this hitherto unknown king in the Pashe Dynasty, of which only four of the eleven kings had up to that time been identified; and he actually proposed that he be placed as the founder of the dynasty. This was confirmed by an inscription in the Yale Collection published thirty years later (*Misc. Inscr.* p. 49).

In 1891 he published 'A Fragment of the Babylonian Dibbarra Epic,' which appeared in the *University of Pennsylvania Series in Philology, Literature, and Archaeology*; and a few years later 'A New Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. Both publications were based upon original inscriptions found in private hands. The latter added materially to our knowledge of the Etana Legend. In both treatises Jastrow showed remarkable scholarly acumen in handling original material. It was his good fortune a few years later to find also another fragment of the Etana Legend in private hands, both of these having come from the Library of Ashurbanapal in Nineveh. This was published in Vol. 30 of this JOURNAL.

Early in his career Jastrow was attracted to the study of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians. In 1898 he published his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* as the second volume in the Series of Handbooks on the History of Religions, of which he was the editor. It was a very ambitious undertaking owing to the state of our knowledge at that time. He fully realized that the knowledge of the subject was rapidly increasing, and that it was constantly necessary to change the perspective and readjust views, yet he felt there was sufficient reason for sifting the certain from the uncertain and for formulating his opinions, and thus preparing the way for other works that would follow. It was no small task to gather the material, digest and present it. But the work was so successfully handled that it remained the chief treatise on the subject until it was supplanted by his larger work, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, which appeared in seventeen parts, between the years 1903 and 1913. It was first intended that this should be a translation of the English work into German, but during the process of revising and enlarging it, Jastrow became

especially interested in the subject of divination through hepatoscopy and astrology, with the result that as he devoted himself to the study of the many new texts appearing during the time his work grew to such proportions that instead of one volume, three, comprising over 1700 pages of closely printed text and notes, were required to present his contributions on the subject. While others had preceded him in the study of Babylonian divination, Jastrow's interpretation of the many new texts, the study of the religious rites, practices, and beliefs of other peoples, and his wide knowledge of religions in general enabled him to produce a work that will be quoted for years to come. By his philological work and interpretation of omen texts, hundreds of obscure words were discussed, many of which received their explanation for the first time. One important discovery after another was made, resulting in many contributions being presented in our journals, for example, on 'The Signs and Names for the Liver in Babylonia,' 'The Liver in Antiquity and the Beginnings of Anatomy,' etc. In this field Jastrow achieved his greatest success, and left his name indelibly written upon our knowledge of the subject.

In 1911 Jastrow published a volume entitled *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Assyria and Babylonia*, being the American Lectures on the History of Religion, delivered at different institutions. In this work he gives not only a summary, in a popular and readable form, of all researches in the field, but he took the opportunity to recast certain views on the pantheon and the cult, thus making them accord with the new material which had been brought to light. There can be little doubt but that his new presentation of the pantheon in this work is a distinct advance upon all previous attempts. He also attempted to distinguish between what he called the popular religion and the artificial form given to it in the official cult by the priests, in their efforts to bring the beliefs into accordance with their theological speculations. This work is the best compendium at present on the subject.

In 1915 Jastrow published a much needed work on *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*. This is a survey of the entire field on a much larger scale than had hitherto been attempted in English. In it he gives the results of the activities of explorers, decipherers, and investigators in this field of research. It is also a compendium on the customs and manners, the religion, law, commerce, art, architecture, and literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. In this work he has admirably selected what was

most important for a general view, and also what was most characteristic, and has grouped his material in a very satisfactory form.

His study of some of the legends for his history of the Babylonian religion was, at the time, an advance upon previous efforts, particularly that of the *Gilgamesh Epic*. The acquisition of two tablets of an earlier version of this epic by the Pennsylvania and the Yale Collections naturally aroused his interest, resulting in one of his latest contributions to Assyriology, entitled *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, published in 1920, in the preparation of which the present writer, as joint author, took a minor part. In the study of these two texts Jastrow's critical faculties enabled him to advance materially the interpretation of the epic as well as its analysis into its component parts.

His last contribution to Assyriology was his article on 'An Assyrian Law Code,' which appeared in Part I of this volume of the *JOURNAL* (pages 1 to 59). It was the first translation which appeared of two large texts from tablets discovered at the site of ancient Assur, and published by Schroeder.

The extent of Jastrow's work in Assyriology cannot be appreciated by a glance at his bibliography under that subject, for many of his contributions, listed under other subjects, are based more or less upon his investigations in that field.

Jastrow's erudition, his wide horizon, and his experience in the critical analysis of ancient documents, enabled him to leave the beaten path with its conventional views, and discuss legends, epics, and other texts independently. His excellent preparation gave him a view-point that few enjoyed; and his efforts resulted not only in contributions which are remarkably suggestive, but which are full of discoveries and conclusions, many of which will stand the test of time. Especially in the subject of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, Jastrow made himself without doubt the leading authority in the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

COMPILED BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJS American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.—*BA* Beiträge zur Assyriologie.—*Bib. W.* Biblical World.—*Hebr.* Hebraica.—*Ind.* Independent.—*JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society.—*JBL* Journal of Biblical Literature.—*JQR* Jewish Quarterly Review.—*PAOS* Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.—*S. S. Times* Sunday School Times.—*ZA* Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.—*ZATW* Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

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* In March, 1910, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Professor Jastrow's membership in the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, the compilers published the bibliography of their preceptor, colleague and friend. It is with affectionate devotion to his memory, that they reprint that work and add the scientific and literary publications of the last eleven years of Dr. Jastrow's life. They express their obligations to Dr. E. Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania and Miss Kathrine B. Hagy of the University Library, for their valuable assistance in this compilation.
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- Editor of the Dept. of the Bible in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vols. i and ii.

Editor in charge of the Semitic Dept. of the *International Encyclopædia* (several hundred articles).

Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*.

Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Theology*.

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The Ancient and the Modern East. (East and West; Greece as the Link between East and West; The Contribution of the Hebrews; The Place of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria.)

The War and the Eastern Question.

Papers and Addresses: Kant on Eternal Peace.—Job and the Mystery of Life.—Woman and Suffrage.—Purim.—English, French and German Culture.—Immortality among the Babylonians and Assyrians.—Biblical Criticism and Biblical Ethics.—The Essentials of Religion.—The Eastern Question at the Peace Conference.—New Lamps for Old.

(It is hoped that many of these compositions may be published.)

SHALMANESER III AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSYRIAN POWER

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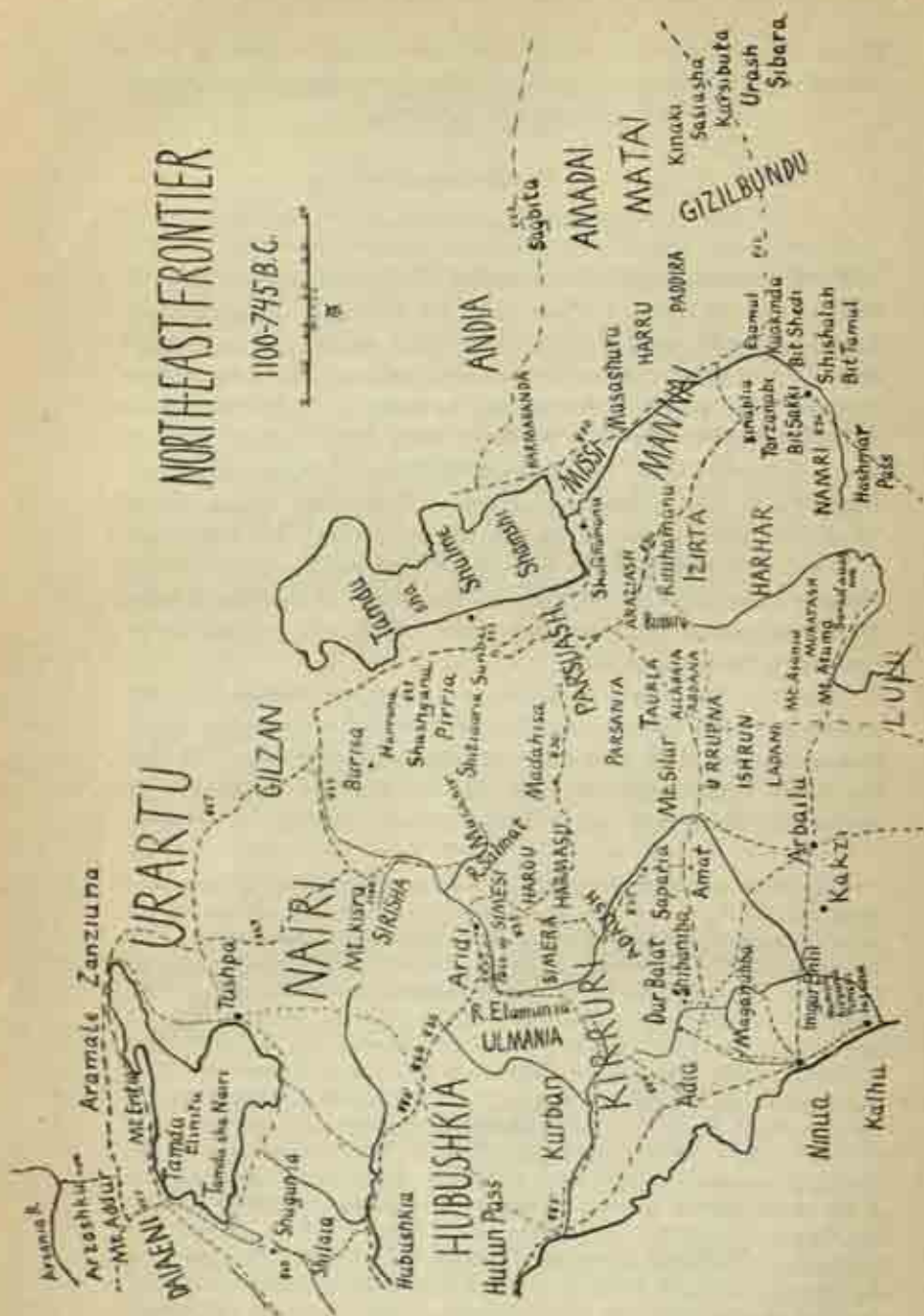
WHEN SHALMANESER III ascended the throne of his father in 860, he was no longer a young man, for the reign of Ashur-nasir-apal had lasted no less than twenty-five years, and he himself owned a son old enough to accompany him on distant campaigns two years later. His first step was to make a clean sweep of his father's officials, who were replaced with others nearer his own age. Ashur-bel-ukin was appointed *turtanu*; Ashur-bana-usur became the chief musician; Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur, whose name, 'May the father grow old in the palace,' indicated a hereditary position, very appropriately was chosen chamberlain of the palace. Not one of the men who surrounded the person of the king or ruled in the provinces had previously held office high enough to be entered in the eponym lists.¹

Thanks to the efforts of Ashur-nasir-apal, the foreign situation was by no means threatening, though it offered encouraging opportunities for war if the new king cherished such ambitions. During the entire quarter-century, Assyria had enjoyed a peace with Babylonia which had never been formally broken, even when

¹ This article continues previous studies in the earlier history of Assyria in *AJSL* 36, 125 ff.; *JAOS* 37, 169 ff.; 38, 209 ff. The chief sources are the royal inscriptions, best published in N. Rasmussen, *Salmanassar den II's Indskriften*, 1907; for criticism of the sources and further bibliography, cf. Olmstead, *Historiography*, 21 ff. Added material is found in the Assyrian Chronicle, last publication, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34, 344 ff. Most valuable are the Balawat Gate reliefs, Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat*, 1880; King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, 1915; cf. for discussion, Billerbeck, *BA* 6, 1 ff. The Babylonian expeditions are discussed in *AJSL* 37, 217 ff. The provincial development is investigated *JAOS* 34, 344 ff.; *Amer. Political Science Rev.* 12, 69 ff. Lack of space prevents discussion of the scanty cultural data, of the rise of the Haldian kingdom, and of the earlier Hebrew history. A map of the northeast frontier is given at the close of this article; four others will be found *JAOS* 38, 260 ff. My colleagues of the Cornell Expedition, Professor J. E. Wrench of the University of Missouri, and Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia, have drawn my attention to added topographical data found in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Byzantine Greek, but all have been verified.

NORTH-EAST FRONTIER

1100-745 B.C.



Nabu-apal-iddina violated his neutrality by sending troops to the support of the Assyrian rebels in the middle Euphrates valley. Neither on the east, where the restless Median tribes were just beginning to appear on the Assyrian horizon, nor on the west, where the Aramaean invasion for the moment had been checked, was immediate danger to be apprehended. Syria offered much valuable booty, but it was too disunited and too distant for any fear on the part of Assyria. On the north alone was there cause for concern. Urartu, or, to use the term preferred by the natives themselves, Haldia, was developing a formidable power behind the protection of the Armenian mountains, and had already forced a reluctant notice from the scribes of Ashur-nasir-apal. Indeed, the last recorded campaign of the reign had been necessitated by the intrigues of that state, and the failure of the official historians to mention the part played by Urartu was simply confession of failure to win back the lost laurels.

Nor did his son dare a direct attack on Haldia at first. In the very beginning of his accession year, for he had been enthroned early, Shalmaneser collected his foot-soldiers and his chariots and entered the defiles of Simesi land, the rough Tiyari region where almost to our own day the Christian mountaineers have preserved a hardly-won independence. No opposition had been previously encountered, mute evidence that the wars of his father on this frontier had not been without result, that the country to the immediate northeast of Nineveh now recognized the Assyrian overlordship. The first acquisition of the reign was Aridi, the fortress of Ninni, commanding the valley of the Upper Zab.² The scene of plunder, the pillar of heads, the burning alive of youths and maidens, indicated that the new king was to be no less harsh in dealing with rebels than his terrible father. In consequence, all the chiefs from whom Ashur-nasir-apal had exacted tribute, Hargians, Harmasians, Simesians, Sitherians, Sirishians, and Ulmanians, appeared before his son.³

Climbing out of the Zab valley, Shalmaneser descended into Hubushkia⁴ by a mountain pass and over hills which reached to

² Aridi is probably Julamerik.

³ Mon. I. 14 ff.—The chronological difficulties as to separation of the first two years disappear if we use only the earliest source, the Monolith, and take the 'in the beginning of my reign in my first year' as lumping together the first two years, the date Airu XIII marking the dividing line.

⁴ Hubushkia is Sert according to the Sargon tablet, 307, Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, xi. The route was then by the pass back of Julamerik and down the Bohtan Sa.

heaven like the point of an iron dagger, where a passage for the chariots could be made only with much labor on the part of the pioneers. The capital of the same name was soon a smoking ruin, and its Nairi prince, Kakia, after a struggle in the mountains, begged the royal pardon. The Haldian frontier was reached at Sugania, a tiny fortress perched upon a high rock at the junction of two small affluents of the Upper Tigris. Around the arched bridge it commanded, the Assyrians constructed a circular camp with a gate at either exit of the road.¹ The king set forth in his chariots, attended by others in which were carried the standards. Arrived at the doomed city, he dismounted, and, still surrounded by his body guards, shot his arrows against the fortress. The main attack was launched by the archers, but sappers, protected by long leather robes, were employed to loosen the stones in the walls, and other soldiers attempted an assault with ladders. The natives resisted with bow and spear until the houses were fired, when they abandoned the struggle. Opposite the town, a pillar of heads was erected, and the survivors, naked save for the peculiar 'liberty caps' and up-tilted shoes, their necks bound in a yoke to a long rope and their hands tied behind their backs, were dragged before the official who stood, club of office in hand, to receive them.

Operations recommenced with a skirmish in the open. Opposed were the little Haldians, clad in short robes or entirely naked, armed with long or short lances, and defended by the short round shield and greaves. In their formation, pairs of archers and shield-bearing lancers, they had followed Assyrian custom. Fourteen of the surrounding villages went up in smoke, the men were impaled on stakes set in the wall, the severed heads were hung in the gates. The invaders cut down the palm trees, surprisingly far north until we remember that today they still flourish fruitless on the warm shores of Lake Van, and captive horses recall to our minds the fact that Armenia has always been famous for the fineness of its breed. The strangest trophy was a rough platform on wheels, so ponderous that eleven men were needed to pull it along by means of ropes over their shoulders. On it was a huge grain jar, no less than eight feet high, held in place by a man mounted beside it, and guarded by poles in the hands of the three

¹ Sugania cannot be Shokh, the Kurdish name of Taub, Layard, *Ninveh and Babylon*, 420, as Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 8, since Hubushkia is now known to be Sert. The troops may have gone, not via Bitlis, but by the valley to the east where Sakh and Sakh Dagh may represent Sugania.

men behind. In camp, the grain was ground, the dough mixed on the floor, and the bread baked in the round mud oven. The eunuch camp-prefect made frequent trips in his chariot to oversee the collection of the booty, which was packed in camp under his business-like direction.

The army descended to a plain for its next encampment, a rectangular walled enclosure, studded with battlemented towers within whose protection, in one corner, stood the royal tent. Quitting this place, the army pushed on over mountains so steep and by roads so execrable that it was necessary for the attendants to drag the chariot horses up the slopes by main force. Without encountering further resistance, Shalmaneser reached Lake Van at a village where the mountains ranged about the curving shore. The procession to the water's edge was formed, first the two royal standards, then the monarch on foot, his high officials, the musicians playing on harps, finally the bulls and rams destined for the sacrifice. The royal effigy had been carved on a low cliff overhanging the water, where Shalmaneser appeared as he was wont to be seen on state occasions, richly robed and with scepter and tiara, but unarmed, in token of the peaceful character of his mission. The standards were set up, with a tall candlestick by their side, the king assumed an attitude of adoration, two bulls and four rams were slaughtered and presented on the three-legged altar before the stele, the libations were set forth in a jar on an ox-footed support. Portions of the slain animals were thrown by the soldiers into the lake to be consumed by the fish, turtles, and wild swine that swarmed the shore or the waters.

The raid had caused much damage to a corner of Haldia, but it was only a corner, and Arame, the Haldian king, had not even been engaged.⁶ Winter was approaching and the passes would soon be closed: Shalmaneser, therefore, decided to return, and by the same route. On his way, Asau of Gilzan brought in his gifts, the horses, cattle, and sheep we have come to expect, and with them two humped camels of the Bactrian breed.⁷ The winter months were utilized by Shalmaneser in securing recognition of his suzerainty in Babylonia. Nabu-apal-iddina made a formal alliance which brought him under Assyrian control as surely as

⁶ Arame is the traditional king of Armenia, Aram according to Moses of Chorene, 1. 13 f.; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS* (OS) 12. 446 n. 1.

⁷ Account based primarily on the Balawat sculptures, eked out by the Monolith and by the topographical data.

any 'ally' of Rome; the gods acknowledged his direct rule when he sacrificed to Marduk and Nabu in Babylon and Borsippa.⁸

The Armenian campaign had been a mere reconnaissance in force, but it had indicated with sufficient clearness that it would be no easy matter to develop successes on this frontier, and it had suggested that the material returns might not pay the expenses of equipping an army. If plunder were desired, Syria always lay open to attack, and it was in this direction that the next offensive was planned. Lucky and unlucky days played a large part in Assyrian life; we realize the difference from the modern conception when we find the army leaving Nineveh on the thirteenth of Airu, the beginning of May. Hasamu and Dihnumu were traversed, and the boundary of Bit Adini was reached at Lalate, whose inhabitants thought only of flight to the hills. A battle was contested under the walls of Kiraqa, and Ahuni, the new master of Adini, was forced to take refuge behind its fortifications. Resistance still continued and the Assyrian troops were in danger of attack from the rear. They did succeed in securing possession of the Aramaic settlement of Bur Marna, the 'Spring of our Lord,' and when the pillar of heads was set up, the threat was sufficient to bring in the contributions of Habini of Til Abni and of Gauni of Sarugi, whose name is connected with the Hebrew patriarch Serug.⁹

Rafts laid on inflated skins carried the Assyrians across the Euphrates to Qummuh, the tribute of Qatax-ilu was received as in 867, Paqarhubuni submitted,¹⁰ the domains of Adini were left behind, and the cities of Gurgum were reached in the plain about Marqasi, the modern Marash.¹¹ Shalmaneser was gratified by the gifts handed over by Mutallu, which included his daughter and

⁸ *MDOG* 28. 24 f. places the offerings before the account of the Anu-Adad temple and is dated in the month Muhur ilani, day five, year one of my royalty, that is, 859. The alliance, *Synchr. Hist.*

⁹ Hasamu, the Hasame of the Harran Census, is Hosswe, on the west end of Jebel Abd el Azis, Kruegel, *Aram and Israel*, 50, n. 2. Schiffer, *Aramæer*, 64, on the basis of the Harran Census, restored Saru . . . as Sarugi, the well-known Sertij of later times. Kiraqa is restored by Rasmussen, *ad loc.* The country of Giri Adad is missing, but Sayce, *RP* 4. 59, rightly restored Ashaba on the basis of Ashur nasir apal, *Ann.* 3. 94, where he is called Giri Dadi.

¹⁰ Here written Paqarhubuni, identified by Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 765 n. 2, with the land Paqarhubi written on a bone ring, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 83. It must be near Samosata, as the Diarbekir-Samant-Marah road was evidently taken.

¹¹ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 95.

her dowry. When he turned southwest, he found his way blocked by a coalition of all the more important North Syrian chiefs which had come together at Lutibu. Ahuni of Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, Sapalulme of Hattina,¹² and Haianu of Samal were the leaders. The last country had already been known to the Egyptians as Samalua, and its present ruler, Haya, had been preceded by an unnamed father and a grandfather Gabbar.¹³ The conflict resulted in a tactical victory for the Assyrians, but the allies succeeded in preventing the siege of Samal and Shalmaneser had to console himself for the loss of its spoil with the barren honor of erecting a stele under the Amanus at the source of the Saluara River.¹⁴

The way was open to the south. The Assyrian forces crossed the Orontes and appeared before the Hattinian fortress of Alisir, not far from where in time to come was the site of the mighty city of Antioch.¹⁵ Again the allies blocked the way, aided now by Kate of Que or Cilicia,¹⁶ by Pihirim of Hiluka, the name whence came our Cilicia, though at this time it was north of the Gates, and by Bur Anata of Iasbuqa,¹⁷ an Aramaean as his name compounded with the goddess Anath shows. Again the allies went down to defeat and Bur Anata fell into the hands of the conquerors, but once more the victory was followed by no important results and Shalmaneser was forced to content himself with tribute from the 'kings of the sea coast.'

The quadrangular camp with overhanging towers was pitched on the seashore, and the king took his stand before it under an

¹² In *JAOS* 38, 247, I doubted the correctness of the reading Hattina for the more usual Patina. The spelling in the Boghas Koi document, Ha-at-ti-ni-wi-na, Forrer, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1919, 1032, proves that I was too conservative.

¹³ List of Thothmes III, 314; Tomkins, *TSBA* 9, 261; H. 633; the native record, von Luschán, *Mith. Or. Sammlungen*, 14, 375; Littmann, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1911, 976; Samalû was taken in 728 by Muawiya, Tabari in Brooks, *JHS* 18, 199; it was a part of the Syrian Thaghr and was taken by Harun al Rashid in 780, see al Baladhuri, 170; Yaqut, s. v. 'Damiû (colloquial Samalû),' Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 263, but the Assyrian, as so often, proves the pointing of the Arabic.

¹⁴ For the Saluara River, cf. Sachau, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 329 ff.

¹⁵ Amiaud-Scheil, *ad loc.*, read Alimush.

¹⁶ So restored by Rasmussen on the basis of Obl. 132, as against Harper, *ad loc.*, who reads Kateshu.

¹⁷ Schiffer, *Avander*, 89 n. 2, compares the Ishbak of Gen. 25. 2. Add also Ada the . . . laian?

umbrella, surrounded by his guards and attendants, the most important of whom were the three turtanus who faced him. The master of ceremonies, turning backward, beckoned for the ambassadors to approach. The two representatives of Tyre and Sidon, accompanied by their sons, thereupon advanced, their hands raised in adoration. Their beards were pointed, their double robes were long and clinging, their turbans were wound with ribbons which fell to their necks, their shoes were upturned. Behind them came the tribute bearers, some with trays filled with oriental sweetmeats, others with boxes on their padded shoulders or huge caldrons carried like caps on their heads. The last of the procession stood in the water to unload their boat, for it was too shallow to permit reaching the land. The boats were long, narrow craft, each with two men, who steered and rowed, or rather poled them along, by oars without oarlocks. Ropes attached to the upstanding heads of camels at the high prows and sterns held them fast to the shore. They were piled high with bales, dark blue wool, wool, lapis lazuli, shamu, ingots of gold, silver, lead, and copper. Cloth was carried on poles suspended from men's shoulders, and one great jar required special attention as it was handed from the boat to the shore. Whole trees and beams of cedar, in themselves sufficient to repay the Assyrians for the long trip, were brought down and piled up. Across the water could be seen a rocky islet, which bore a town with high battlemented walls and possessed two gates. From it came forth, their hands laden with gifts, the chief and his wife, her skirt tucked up, her hair flowing.¹²

A second stele was set up at Atalur, on a cliff by the seashore, where one day Antioch's seaport, Seleucia, was to be located, and where the king's predecessor, Ashur-rabi, had already left a memorial of his presence.¹³ The return journey was equally prosperous. The Hattinians, clad in short girdled tunics and protected only by round helmets and neck-pieces, were easily defeated in detail. The Assyrian soldiers seized them by the hair, stabbed

¹² Schlumberger fragments, *Lenormant, Gazette Arch.*, 4, pl. 22 ff.

¹³ Obl. gives Lallar as the name of the mountain and this has regularly been quoted as if it had as good or better authority than Atalur. Our study, *Historiography*, 26 f., showing the inaccuracy of the Obl. for this earlier period, should forever banish Lallar from topographical discussions. The form Atalur is further confirmed by Mt. Atilur, following Lahnani (Lebanon), *II R* 51, 1. It cannot possibly be in the Alexandretta region (Billierbeck, *RA* 6, 79 f.), as a glance at the route placed on the map will show.

them, and decorated their chariots with the severed heads. Several of the Hattinian towns, Taia, Nulia, Butamu, fell into the Assyrian hands. Hazazu was a good-sized fort on a low artificial mound which witnessed to the respectable antiquity that already lay behind it. When the troops in heavy armor began the escalade and the town was already on fire, the townspeople could not resist. The king received his prisoners under a canopy held by his servants and placed before the round camp. Great was the contrast between the richly-clad Assyrian officials who introduced them and the long line of captives, some without a stitch of clothing, their necks in a rope and their hands tied behind them, the women with their hair hanging down their backs and clothed in gowns which reached only to elbows and ankles. Tribute from another Arame, the king of Gusi, closed the year.²⁰

The eponym office was assumed by the king himself in 858. Nineveh was again left on the lucky thirteenth of Airu. Accompanied by the crown prince, he hastened by the direct road to Til Barsip, the capital of Bit Adini, which commanded one of the most important fords of the Euphrates, where to this day the islands show in summer and a ferry crosses. The city was large as such cities went, the ramparts on the land side were strong, a quay cut to the river through the conglomerate testified to commerce by water, and the character of the people was indicated by the expected Hittite sculpture in basalt.²¹ Leaving the capital to be reduced in a later campaign, Shalmaneser crossed the stream

²⁰ Mon. I. 29 ff.; for Hazazu, cf. *JAOS* 38. 248 n. 67; F. J. Arne, *L'Anthropologie*, 20. 24, found seeming traces of palaeolithic remains at Tell Asfar. Taia is the Tui of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 144, the modern Keir Tai, not far from Aleppo. Tomkins, *Bab. Or. Rec.*, 3. 6. Nulia may be Niara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; Hartmann, *ZA* 14. 339. The sea is that of Antioch, Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 104. Butamu is the Bādāmā of Yaqut, s.s., in the Asla district, 'its mention being in the tradition of Adam,' that is, it was believed to have had an early origin. For Gusi, note that Heraclius sent his brother Theodore against the Arame, and they came to Gusi, a village near Antioch, where there was a stylite named Simeon, and here they were defeated by the enemy, Michael Syr., trans. Dulaurier, *JA* 4^{es}. 13. 521.

²¹ For Til Barsip, the present Tell Ahmar, cf. Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, 173 ff.; *Liverpool Annals*, 2. 177; Bell, *Assurath*, 28 ff.; Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 174, identifies it with a Greek Barsampse which I do not recognize.

in full flood and collected the plunder of six of the Adini cities.²² While the monarch remained in his camp with his eunuchs, the crown prince led his troops against Dabigu, a double-walled city with battlemented outworks in the plain, and defended against assaults by ladders or through mines by archers armed with short swords.²³ In the siege of Til Bashere, the king seated himself under a canopy erected between the camp and the beleaguered city, that he might watch the operation of a new contrivance, a ram on six wheels, directed by a man in a sort of cupola on the top, which was attacking the tower guarding the lone gate in the long wall. The defenders dropped stones upon it, but in vain; the city on the low mound which gave so commanding a position to the crusading Turbessel was taken, and the inhabitants deprived of hands and feet and impaled about the walls, above which projected the gable of the palace of 'Hittite fashion' so popular among the Assyrians a century later. The citizens of the upper town, bearded men wearing liberty caps, with long double robes open at the side and pointed shoes, were led with ropes about their necks; the matrons, their hair below the waist and bare-legged, followed meekly, and dromedaries and mules brought out the couches and other furniture which were considered worthy of removal. The whole convoy was under the direction of the crown prince, whose uncertain stand in his chariot was made easier by the protecting arm of his attendant. His presence was also indicated by the smaller tent at the side of the larger one occupied by his father and by the double guard which watched the camp.²⁴

²² The other four are . . . a(T)ga; Tagi, the Tuka of Tiglath Pileser IV; Surunu, the Sarunu of the same, Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser*, 85, possibly Sauron east of Niara, more probably Sārūn northwest of Tell Bashir; if the text is read as naturally, Paripa, it may with Sachau, ZA 12. 48, be identified with Paphara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; if Patalpa, with Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 64, it might be connected with Tulupa, six miles from Turbessel (Tell Bashir), William of Tyre, 17. 17.

²³ Dabigu is the modern Dābiq, Sachau, ZA 12. 48. The caliph Sulṣmān followed the custom of his family in making it his headquarters during attacks on Magṣṣa, died here in 717 A. D., and was buried in the tell called Tell Sulṣmān, Yaqut, s. v. In 778, Uthman made Dabekon his base against Germanicia-Marash, Theoph., 421, cf. 431.

²⁴ The same curious refusal to accept a reading which might connect with an important later site which has been manifested in the case of Anāt and Bagdadu, is seen in Til Bashere. Sayce, *RP* 4. 62 n. 1, cf. Hüsing, *OLZ* 1. 360, had already made the identification, but Peiser, *KB* 1. 160, after correctly transliterating in his text, in his translation follows Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 264,

Changing his direction, Shalmaneser fell upon the territories of Carehemish. The capture of Sazabe²⁸ brought the coalition to terms, and the narrative for the remainder of the year is made up of the list of tribute furnished by the various princes. That the numbers have grown in the process of transmission is to be expected, but in spite of this, we are given a valuable insight into the economic life of North Syria. The ruler of Hattina or Unqi brought three talents of gold, a hundred of silver, three hundred of copper, the same of iron, a thousand articles of that metal, a thousand dresses and cloaks, twenty talents of purple, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep. For its collection, it was necessary to penetrate the great swamp of Unqi, access to which could be gained only by flat-bottomed boats that could pass anywhere in the shallows. Two men, their long hair bound with fillets and their clothes as abbreviated as might be expected of an aquatic folk, rowed and steered them by oars hung in thongs, while the wild ducks flew before them. Shalmaneser did not trust himself to

with Mabashere. Hogarth, *Accidents*, 165, reports the find of many Hittite cylinders and other small objects, but wrongly calls it Pitru. It is referred to by Matthew of Edessa, 1. 5. Tell Bāshir was a fortified *gal'a* and an extensive *kūra*, inhabited by Armenian Christians, with outlying settlements and markets, well cultivated and peopled, Yaqui, s. v. Its greatest claim to fame is that, as Turbessel, it was the capital of the famous Crusader, Jocelyn of Courtenay, Rey, *Colonies françaises*, 322. Gregory the Priest, the Armenian historian, *Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.* 1. 162 ff., tells us that Masud, after the capture of Marash, invaded the territory of Thil Avedeatz, now called Thilpashar, in 1149; the next year he unsuccessfully attacked it; two years later it surrendered to the son of Zangi, lord of Aleppo, though the inhabitants were allowed to withdraw to Antioch. Dr. B. B. Charles, who visited it in the spring of 1908, writes as follows: 'The mound lies in the rolling plains five hours southeast of Aintab, and is the most impressive object in the whole region. It is long and narrow, about a hundred feet high, and is surrounded by a low ellipse of mound formation which marks the line of an early wall, with gateway at east and west. Just beyond the west gate is the zisret of Qara Baha, "Black Father." Well-squared blocks of basalt and red pottery may indicate Hittite occupation. The mound is called Serser or Selsar Hisar, which may be a Kurdish twisting of Sary Hisar, Yellow Castle, or it may even be a corruption of Jocelyn.' Curiously enough, in 1837, its name was Qyryl Hisar, 'Red Castle,' Poujoulat, *Voyage*, 1. 438. Sayce, *RP* 1. 100, followed by Kraefing, *Aram and Israel*, 20, is incorrect in connecting the Bishri of Tiglath Pileser I with Tell Basher.

²⁸ Sazabe may be the Shadbō of the Syriac Mār Mu'ain legend, *Delitzsch, Paradise*, 268, and the Seshen of Thutmose III, 248, Tomkins, *TSBA*, 9. 245, Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 175.

such uncertain protection, but contented himself with a position on the shore across the water from where, on a low mound in the midst of the swamp, stood the capital, a double-gated fortress with battlemented walls. Under the parasol which the damp heat demanded, he received the Hattinian monarch, aping the Assyrian with his long fringed robe and shawl. With him were his nobles, with long hair on head and face, long robes carefully draped, and the inevitable Hittite upturned shoes. Among them was to be observed a man with a strongly negroid face, mute witness to race mixture. The plundering was thorough, and the attendants carried off their goods in baskets and sacks, skins filled with wine, trays heaped with valuables, tusks of elephants. From a smaller castle, also on a mound in the water, came other suppliants, bearing the same gifts, but with different dress, short robes which exposed their bare limbs, and the regulation shoes, Aramaeans who had forced themselves in by the side of their Hittite neighbors. A third castle in the swamps furnished additional gifts of horses and cattle, the latter to this day driven in huge herds along the watery ways. One of these Aramaeans trudged along, on his back a huge wine jar which was destined to be placed later on a tripod by the table under the tent which Shalmaneser had caused to be pitched some distance back from the shore. The tragedy behind the curt statement of the annals, 'his daughter with her rich dowry I received,' is sensed in the half-grown Hittite maiden, her hair barely reaching to her neck, who stretched out her hands in vain supplication to the relentless conqueror who had determined to immure her in his harem.²²

Sangara was not so rich as the king of Hattina, for the commer-

²² References in Egyptian records and in the Amarna letters are to Coele-Syria, not to Unqi. The earliest certain reference is in 832 where the Assyrian Chron. uses it while the Obelisk has Hattina. Tiglath Pileser IV regularly uses Unqi, Ann. 92, 145.; 'Amq occurs in the native Zakar inscription. It was known to the Greeks as Amykes Pedion, Polyb. 5, 59, 10; and Amyke, Malalas, I, 257. The form 'Umqa is said to occur in Syrian Martyrologies. The Romans from Marash sustained a defeat here in 694, Baladhuri, 189, cf. Brooks, JHS 18, 207, cf. 189. As a *kyra*, first of Antioch and then of Aleppo, it was the source of most of the grain which supplied the former city, Yaqut, s. v. In 1272, it was ravaged by the Mongols, the expedition of Lajin passed through it in 1296, in 1381 it was the scene of a decisive defeat of the Arabs from Aleppo by the Turkumans, Weil, *Gesch.*, 4, 73, 211, 539. Amalq was occupied by John Comnenas in 1136, Chron. L. Arm., Rev. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm., 1, 616.

cial predominance of North Syria was yet to be gained by Carchemish. His gifts were but three talents of gold, seventy of silver, thirty of copper, a hundred of iron, twenty of purple, five hundred weapons, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep, horses, buffaloes, and goats, but he made up the account by presenting a hundred noble maidens, whom the scribe cynically lists between the weapons and the cattle. Four of Sangara's castles, all located along the banks of the Euphrates, on low mounds and without the usual overhanging platforms, were forced to disgorge. The citizens, headed by Sangara himself and his two beardless sons, were not unattractive; profiles less sharp than those of the Assyrians, noses straight, short hair and beards. The common sort had retained their ancestral garb, the conical twisted turbans, the long double robes, the upturned shoes, but Assyrian fashions had conquered the nobility, who wore the long single robe and the coat with plain sleeves which characterized the victors. Haianu of Samal offered ten talents of silver, ninety of copper, thirty of iron, three hundred articles of clothing, the same number of cattle, and ten times that number of sheep, two hundred cedar beams, two homers of cedar BE, as well as his daughter.

Whatever we may think of these indemnities, the direct result if not the direct incentive of the expedition, and however exaggerated these statistics may be, we have no reason to doubt the amount of the yearly assessments, for their very modesty is the best proof of their authenticity. Hattina gave a talent of silver, two of purple, a hundred cedar beams; Samal gave ten manas of gold, a hundred cedar beams, and a homer of cedar BE; Agusi gave ten manas of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep; Carchemish provided but a mana of gold, a talent of silver, and two of purple; Qumnuh furnished twenty manas of silver and three hundred beams.

The interest of this passage is great. For the first time, we are afforded, not statistics of booty taken in raids, but a formal tribute list. Noteworthy is the disproportion between the indemnity demanded from those who resisted or rebelled and the annual tribute which was barely one percent of the other. It paid to submit.²⁷

Ahuni of Adini was not one of those who preferred an inexpensive submission, for in the very next year, 857, Shalmaneser was

²⁷ For fuller discussion, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Review*, 12, 69 ff.

again called to the west. Inspired by the growing power of Haldia, Ahuni broke his pledges and led the whole of his army against the Assyrian border. The Monolith, erected four years later, describes in detail the manner in which Shalmaneser marched forth at the head of his troops for the third time on the same lucky thirteenth, the thirteenth of July; the contemporary record, set up in Til Barsip itself immediately after its occupation, admits that the operation was entrusted to his general. It was this general who drew nigh to the mountain which the enemy had chosen as a battle ground, who blew like the fierce windstorm that breaketh the trees, let fly his troops like a hawk against his opponents, and drove Ahuni like a thief out of the camp, so that the king might despoil his royal treasures. The name was changed to Kar Shulmanasharidu in honor of the sovereign whose fort it became. Two mighty lions of basalt, inscribed with a record of the conquest, were placed in the southeast gate, while inside the walls was a stele in basalt where Shalmaneser was to be seen addressing the rival prince with his conical cap.²⁸ The other occupied cities were given similar Assyrian names. Chief among them was Pitru on the Sagura river, known to readers of the Bible as Pethor, the home of Balaam, which had its name changed to Ashur-utir-asbat,²⁹ and Mutkinu on the opposite shore, where Tiglath Pileser had settled colonists, only to have them ousted by the Arameans in the days of Ashur-rabi.³⁰ Bit Adini was not completely Assyrianized, for a century later Amos saw the cutting-off of the scepter-bearer of Beth Eden still in the future, and its captivity was remembered as late as the days of Sennacherib (Amos 1. 5; 2 Kings 19. 12).

The season was still early and a far-reaching plan of operations had been worked out, with intent to punish the Armenian prince who dared contest the control of the Euphrates crossing. Turning back from the river, the Assyrians filed along the slopes of the

²⁸ Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents*, op. p. 175; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.

²⁹ That Pitru is the Pethor in Aram Naharaim of Numb. 22. 5; Deut. 23. 5, has been accepted since the earliest days of Assyrian study. It is the Pedru of Thothmes III, Müller, *Asien*, 291. Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 177, locates it at Serenat. The Sagura is the Sâjûr, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 183. The other cities were Aliqû (Asbat la kunnû); Nappigi (Lita Ashur); Ruguliti (Qibit Ashur); Shagura, the Shagiq Dabbin, a small fort near Antioch, Yaqui, s. c.

³⁰ *JAOS* 37. 180; 38. 211.

huge Sumu mountain down into Bit Zamani, and thence through the wild mountain paths of Namdanu and Merhisu to Enzite in Ishua. At the source of the Tigris, at Saluria and under Mount Kireqi, amidst the most savage of scenery and among tribes as wild today as they were when their ancestors resisted the march of Assyrian armies, the full-grown West Tigris emerges in a gorge whose walls had already been adorned with the sculptures of the first Tiglath Pileser. At this time, Shalmaneser carved the first of the reliefs which were to commemorate his visit to so astounding a spot.²²

²² The Tigris Grotto was visited by the Cornell Expedition, but there is little to add to the excellent account of Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I. 430 ff.; *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 226 ff.; Beick, *Zf. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 248 ff. The question of identifications has not been so successfully handled. The modern name is undoubtedly Beikalén, as we established by repeated questioning, but this is as undoubtedly a Kurdish corruption of Dhi'l Qarnain, for in the days of Yaqut, *s. v.*, Dije, the castle above 'Ain Dije, was known as Hign Dhi'l Qarnain, 'Alexander's Castle.' Dhi'l Qarnain, belonging to Amida, was conquered by Iyad in 639, Waqidi, quoted Tomaschek, *SB Wien*, 133. 4, 16, who also quotes Evlia Effendi as giving Shatt i Zhu'l Qarnain as the Tigris source, but I cannot verify the reference. Finally, Taylor, in the middle of the last century, heard the term applied to the whole country beyond the castle, *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 35, 42. In view of all this, it is difficult to see how Lehmann-Haupt can say 'Wenn die Kurden Bylkalén mit Dhulkarnain in Verbindung bringen, . . . so ist dies eine jeglicher wissenschaftlicher Zulässigkeit entbehrende Volks-Etymologie,' *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 229 n.1. The identification is in its turn a misunderstanding, for which Yaqut himself affords the correction. According to an earlier account, for which he gives an elaborate pedigree, 'the first source of the Dije is at a place called 'Ain Dije, two and a half days from Amid, at a place known as Halûras, from a dark cavern.' He then inserts an interpolation referring to Nahr el Kilâb, the Arghana stream, as the first tributary, coming from Shimshat, and to Wadi Salb, between Mayafarkin and Amid, that is, the Ambar Chai. The earlier account then continues 'It is said it issues from Halûras, and Halûras is the place at which 'Ali the Armenian suffered martyrdom.' Then comes a second interpolation taking up the tributaries, beginning with Wadi Sâtidamâ, which comes from Darb al Kilâb. We must insist on this interpolation, as otherwise our passage would refer to the Wadi Salb which in reality is excluded as being an affluent, not the original stream. Halûras may be traced back to the Syriac Holfuris and the Armenian Olorh (Vartan, quoted by Tomaschek, *l. c.*). The name is further seen in the pass Illyrison, near the pass Sapcha, and eight miles from Phision, the modern Fis, Procop. *Aed.* 3.3; its earliest form is Uthrus, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 177, of 736. We may not compare Saluria, which survives in Salora on the Dibene Su just north of the town of that name. Nor may Illyrison be connected with Lije, for this is the Elugia of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 181, the *Legeria* (MS. *Jegeat*) of Tac. Ann. 14. 25,

The pass of Enzite next saw the advance of the Assyrian forces. Having thus penetrated within the border range, they crossed the Arsanias, the eastern branch of the Euphrates, and entered Suhme, stormed its capital Uashtal, and took its ruler, Sua, prisoner. Thence they descended into Daiaeni, where they were again in territory once raided by Tiglath Pileser. Shalmaneser, if we may accept the double testimony of inscriptions and sculptures that he was present in person, was at last before the capital of Arame, Arzashkun, on a rocky elevation north of Lake Van, double walled and with towers. In the ensuing action, the little Haldians, armed with swords and javelins, and wearing helmets, short skirts, and pointed shoes, put up a good resistance, and even dared to seize the bridles of the cavalry and chariot horses in the vain attempt to stop the Assyrian advance. The mounted archers completed their discomfiture, the footmen stabbed them or hacked off the legs of the dead and wounded. They managed to reach the gates, and under the protection of their companions' shields, set fire to the city. The town was soon burning and the main body of the Haldians, hurrying through the mountains, found that they had arrived too late. Arame was driven back in confusion to the hills where he suffered a second defeat. The accustomed pillar of heads and the stakes with impaled prisoners were followed by the erection of a stele on Mount Eretia. Only then could the Assyrians march down to the lake and repeat the ceremonies which had marked the beginning of the reign.²²

as Lehmann-Haupt points out, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 439, n., though in *Zy. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 253, he argues that the correct form of the modern place is Lije, Lije being folk etymology! For Kireqi, cf. Craig, *ad loc.*; Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 759. Ishua is the Isuwa of the Boghaz Koi tablets, according to Streck, *Babyloniaca*, 2, 245. The identity of Alzi with Enzite is proved by Obi. 42 which gives all the names save Enzite whose place is taken by Alzi.

²² Mon. 2, 40 ff.—The start from the Tigris Tunnel proves the use of the pass called Citharizon in Byzantine times when it had a special official to guard it. Billerbeck, *BA* 6, 39, argues for the Harput pass, but this would be very roundabout from the Tigris Tunnel, and the distance actually traversed north of the barrier chain is too short for an advance from so far west. We ourselves came south through the Harput pass, but we went almost to Diarbekir before turning north again to the Tunnel. The Mush pass is too far east to be connected with Alzi. The Arsanias is still called the Arsanias Su, and Suhme must be the region about Mush. Arzashkun may well be the Ardaik west of Melasgerd, Maspero, *Hist.* 3, 61, n. 4. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1893, 71, identifies Akuri or Agguri near Ararat with Adduri. Eretia may be Ershat near Arjish; just before were the cities Aramale and Zanzuana, with a king . . . utu.

Over mountains so high that the attendants must needs lead the chariots, the army continued to Gilzan, where camp was pitched before the chief castle which was situated on a high hill beyond a stream. The inhabitants, led by their chief Asau, were clad in the long double robe, up-turned shoes, and fileted hair, which characterised the Hittites and contrasted so strangely with their Semitic countenances. Some brought kettles on their heads or skins of wine slung over their backs; others drove horses, cattle, sheep, goats, not to forget the seven two-humped camels. To judge from the bronze door representations, they were barely the size of ponies; after the lapse of a generation, the Obelisk presented them grown to twice the height of a man, and the tribute had likewise grown, adding all sorts of minerals and royal robes. Asau was ordered to receive within his temple a stele of Shalmaneser, and the campaign was brought to a close by the capture of Shilaia, the fort of Kakia of Hubushkia.²³

So long-continued an expedition, sweeping around a stretch of territory a thousand miles in an air line, seems almost incredible, and perhaps the task was divided among various armies. Even if the hastiest of raids, it must have completely exhausted the Assyrians. Quite naturally, the year 856 witnessed but two campaigns of decidedly minor importance, in which the king took no part. Ahuni of Adini still persisted in his 'rebellion'; the castle of Shitamrat, on a steep rock by the side of the Euphrates, was taken in three days—according to the scribe who here quotes literally a passage from the records of the king's father.²⁴ The land of Zamua, so often visited by the troops of Ashur-nasir-apal, was now coming to be called Mazamua; the inhabitants fled before the Assyrian advance to a sea on which they embarked in ships of

²³ Mon. 2. 60 ff.—Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 43 f., takes the expedition due east across the boundary mountains, along the Khoi-Dilmun road, then due south and not far west of the Urumia sea, finally back to Assyria by the Keleshin pass. Something is evidently wrong with our source, the topographical confusion is so extraordinary, especially in the concluding statement that after the capture of a Hubushkian fort, the army came out by the pass Kirruri above Arbela. This, of course, is the worst nonsense, as a glance at the relative positions of Hubushkia, Kirruri, and Arbela will show. Perhaps the best conjecture is that the army went down the valley of the Bitlis Chai.

²⁴ Mon. 2. 69 ff.; cf. Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1, 50 f.; Streck, *ZA* 19. 236. The Euphrates was not crossed, therefore the identification with Rûm Qal'a, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 68 n. 3, is impossible.

urbate wood, but the invaders pursued on rafts of skins and 'dyed the sea with their blood like wool.'¹²

The contemporary Monolith inscription gave no campaign for 855. A few years later, the door sculptures showed the subjugation of Anbite of Shupre. One scene illustrated the siege of Ubari. The main fortification was in three sections, each with a gate, the central portion on a high hill, the others on somewhat lower ones. There were two outforts, one already in the hands of the besiegers. The attack, under the personal direction of the king, was carried on entirely by archers, on foot or in chariots. An unnamed city was also shown, again situated on three hills. On one was an outfort, with the wall extending down to lower ground. From the crest of the next, the walls of the main settlement stretched across a gully and covered all the third elevation. What the captives had already suffered is indicated grimly by a high isolated pillar before which were heaped three piles of heads. The crown prince had already appeared in the battle, well protected by the tall shield in the hands of his squire; he now took charge of the train of captives, the men naked and yoked, the women in long robes, though the only hint of booty was a lone horse. The captives were presented to a high official, the governor of Tushhan, who stood at the gate of the walled city on a low hill. This campaign, which in reality was carried out not earlier than 853, was in later editions of the annals moved forward to fill the gap in the year 855.¹³

A glance at the Assyrian Chronicle shows why the Monolith placed no foreign expeditions in this year 855. A new turtanu, Dan-Ashur, has by 854 taken the place of the Ashur-bel-ukin of 857, and a new chamberlain, Bel-bana, appears in 851. The former officials, we can hardly doubt, fell into disgrace as a result of a palace revolution, and it was this crisis at home which prevented an expedition.

We cannot too much regret the misfortune which has prevented us from learning more of this Dan-Ashur. We may be sure he was a man of exceptional force, for otherwise he could not have ruled Assyria, in spite of disaffection, for more than a quarter of a cen-

¹² Mon. 2. 75 ff.—For *Mammas*, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 38 ff.; the sea can only be Zeribar, *ibid.* 47. The route would be that back of Penjwin, Murray, *Guide*, 323, which probably is connected with the Banagishlu pass. The cities are Nikdime and Nikdera.

¹³ Bull., 66 f.; restored from Ob1. 52 ff.

ture. Near the end of this long period, from 833 onward, when he and his royal master had both long since passed their prime, the conduct of the wars was regularly entrusted to Dan-Ashur, and, what is still more to the point, the fact was mentioned in the royal annals. With this amazing tribute to the position he had secured, we may bracket the attempted pushing back of the period when he came to power. The same Obelisk edition which gives him such great honor, just once breaks its custom of dating by the regnal years. This is in 856, when the date given is the eponymy of Dan-Ashur, though the official from whom the year was actually named, Ashur-bana-usur, held that office in 826 as he had thirty years before! We shall meet Dan-Ashur again, as the cause for the great revolt at the end of Shalmaneser's reign.²⁷

Affairs at home once more in order, it was possible to turn to foreign conquests. In the opening days of May, the Assyrian armies undertook a new enterprise which was important enough in itself, and was to have still greater significance in the minds of modern students, for in this year 854 Assyria was brought face to face with a little state in Palestine which was to secure undying fame by its religion and its literature.

The first stop was at the river Balih, where a certain Giammu had retained his independence in the heart of Mesopotamia. The inhabitants feared at the royal approach, and themselves, that is to say, the Assyrian partizans, put Giammu to death. Shalmaneser entered the towns of Kitlala and Til sha Balahi, and proceeded to make the land an integral part of Assyria, in sign of which the Assyrian gods were placed in the temple and a ceremonial feast was celebrated in the palace of the late ruler. The booty from his treasury was carried off to Assyria, and the failure to name a new king indicated that the incorporation, long ago demanded by the necessities of the case, was at last being carried into effect.²⁸

The next objective was Kar Shulman asharidu, as Shalmaneser insists on calling Til Barsip, and once more the Euphrates was passed at its flood. At Ashur utir asbat, to which he grudgingly gives its native name of Pitru, he received tribute from the kings

²⁷ See further Olmstead, *JAOI* 34: 347; *Historiography*, 27.

²⁸ Mon. 2. 78 ff.—The reading Til sha Balahi, Tiele, *Geogr.*, 200, is finally proved by the Palih of the Boissier fragments, *RT* 25. 82; Tell Balikh is another name for the Tell Mahra celebrated in Syriac literary history, Yaqut, 4. 7.

of the vicinity, among whom were Sangara of Carehemish, Kundašpi of Qunmuh, Arame of Gusi, Lalli of Melidia; further up the Euphrates, Haianu of Samal, Kalparunda of Hattina and Gurgum. The goal of all his efforts in this region was Halman, as important then as a religious center as it is today, under its half-westernized name of Aleppo, as a center of trade and transportation. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, it had been brought by Subbi lulumma within the Hittite empire, its king had proved his loyalty by his death at the hands of the Egyptians in the battle of Kadesh, another ruler had made himself a subject ally by a treaty with Dudhalia, and a Hittite inscription still survives. Then there is silence until we find Shalmaneser sacrificing to the local Adad, in the central shrine for that most characteristic of West Semitic deities. In this manner, Shalmaneser made good his title to be considered, by gods as by men, the rightful ruler of North Syria.²³

²³ The earliest site of Aleppo was at Ain Tell, one hour north of the city, where neolithic remains were found by Neophytus-Pallary, *L'Anthropologie*, 25, 12 ff. The $\text{Ḫ}-\text{r}'-\text{lw}$ of the Amenemhab inscription may be Aleppo, Müller, *Asien*, 256; *Researches*, I, pl. 33. The chief of $\text{Ḫy}-\text{r}'-\text{b}'$ at Kadesh, Lepsius, *Denksäule*, 3, 161; cf. Breasted, *Records*, 3, 154; $\text{Ḫy}-\text{r}'-\text{p}'$ of the Hittite treaty, 27, is taken as Aleppo, *ibid.*, 171; but Müller, *MVAG* 7, 5, 38 argues that no North Syrian state is represented, and connects it with Herpa. It is Halba in the Boghaz Koi records, Winckler, *OLZ* 10, 351 n. 1. Petrie argues from its non-appearance in the Amarna letters that Nariba-Nerab is the earlier site, *Hist. Egypt*, 2, 316, but he forgets the Hittite inscription, cf. Olmstead-Charles-Wrench, *Hittite Inscriptions*, 44 ff. In the classical period, the name survived in the name of the stream, Chalos according to the reading of the MSS. in Xenophon, *Anab.* 1, 4, 9, the correct form being probably the Chalbais, Choerob. in Theodos. I, 44, in Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1430, the modern Quwêq. Seleucus Nicator changed its name to Beroea, App., *Syr.* 57; Yaqui, s.v. Haleh. Here the Jewish high priest Menelaus was murdered by Antiochus Eupator, 2 Macc. 13 : 4; Jos. Ant. 12, 385. Demetrius II besieged his brother Philip here, and Strato, tyrant of Beroea, called in Mithridates the Parthian to take the Seleucid king prisoner, Jos. Ant. 13, 384. Heracleon of Beroea revolted from Antiochus Grypus in 95 B. C., Posidonius (1/4, Athen. 4, 38; Trogus, 39, actually says he reigned, that is, as king of Syria. His son Dionysius was later tyrant of Beroea, Strabo 16, 2, 7; cf. Unger, *Philologus*, 55, 116 ff. In the time of Strabo, I, c., it was a small town. The editors of the Delphine Pliny, ad 5, 19, read a coin of Antoninus Pius as Sy(riaca) Be(roea) L(egionem) E(xcepit), thus proving it the seat of a legion, and that this was at one time the IV Parthica seems indicated by the Kuartoparthoi from Beroea of Theophyl. 2, 6, 9. It was on the road of Julian, Ep. 27. Ptol. 5, 14, 13 makes Chalybonitis and Chalybon distinct from Beroea. As Beroea, it appears in the

Soon after, the invaders were in the territory of Irhuleni of Hamath, and no difficulty was experienced in looting the frontier cities and in burning the royal palaces within. Parga, for example, stood on a low artificial mound defended by a stream and by its high battlemented towers, above whose walls appeared to the wayfarer high buildings with flat roofs and many windows. The assault was launched under the protection of a small fort and was assisted by a moveable ram, or rather sow, with staring eyes, projecting snout, and heavy necklace, moved forward by a kneeling man behind whom stood archers encased in the rear. The defenders were unusually brave, for they fought from the open space in front, as well as from the walls.⁴⁰ Adennu, a smaller fort of the same character and with the same situation, was attacked by the king in person and with all his troops. It was finally taken by escalade,⁴¹ and the Assyrians advanced without further resistance up the Orontes valley, through orchards laden with figs, to Qarqara.⁴² Although the fort was small and the mound on which it stood was not particularly elevated, its battlemented towers were much above the average height and its position was strategic, for its loss would permit direct attack upon Hamath.

At this point, Shalmaneser found his way blocked by a coalition of a size rarely seen in Syria. At the head, Shalmaneser places Bir idri or Hadadezer of Damascus, a name which certainly is not

Antonine Itinerary, 193 f., but not as a road center. As Callicome, it is a center to a route to Edessa, 191, and to Larissa, 195. The identity of the two is shown by identity of distance, 18 m.p., of Beroa-Calceda and Callicome-Calceda, cf. also the distance, 24 m.p., Callicome-Bathnas. At first, its church was under Antioch, *Geo. Cypr.*, 861, later it became autocephalic, *Not. in Gelser, Byz. Zg.*, 1. 250. It last appears as Bārawwā, Yaqut, s. v. Haleb. Among its captivities may be mentioned those by Chosroes, *Chron. Edess.* 105; by Nicephorus, *Glycas*, 570; by Timur, *Neshri*, ed. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 15. 390. The Arabic literature on Haleb is enormous, and we may simply note the vivid picture by Ibn Jubair, 251 ff., and the reference to the Hittite inscription, ascribed to Ali b. Abu Talib.

⁴⁰ Dörme, *RA* 9. 135, identifies Parga with the place in Amarna, K. 57. The third city was Argana.

⁴¹ Adennu is the modern Dānā in the Jebel er Rihā in the center of one of the ruin fields explored by the Princeton Expedition. It is the Atinni of Tiglath Pileser IV, *Ann.* 130; and probably the Adinnu of the letters H. 314, 500, 642, as well as the Atinu of H. 762, cf. Johns, *AJSL* 22. 229. Hartmann, *ZDPV* 23. 145, however, identifies with Tell Lotmin, northeast of Hamath, the al Atmīn of Yaqubi, *Sachau*, *ZA* 12. 47.

⁴² For Qarqara, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 52.

the same as the Biblical Ben Hadad, but whose relation to the other known rulers of that city is shrouded in mystery.⁴² According to the Assyrian statistics, his troops consisted of twelve hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and twenty thousand foot. Irhuleni comes next with seven hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and ten thousand foot. Somewhat to our surprise, the third place is taken by Ahabbu of Sirla' or Ahab of Israel, though this particular incident is not mentioned in the sacred book. Exaggerated as the two thousand chariots and the ten thousand soldiers assigned to him may be, they do prove that Israel was a fairly considerable state as states went in Syria, while the fact that Ahab has the largest number of chariots found in the coalition is the more remarkable since the Biblical narrative of the wars with Ben Hadad imply that Israel was particularly deficient in this respect. Of the less important contingents which played a part in this epoch-making conflict, we have five hundred Guai from Cilicia, a thousand Egyptians, whose aid may not be unconnected with the appearance of the name of Osorkon II in Ahab's palace at Samaria,⁴³ a series from the Phoenician states, ten chariots and ten thousand foot from Irqanata, two hundred from Mattan baal of Arvad, the same from Usanata, thirty chariots and ten thousand foot from Adoni baal of Shiana, a thousand camels from Gindibu, the Arab, first indication that the true Arabs are following the Aramaeans in their invasion of the Fertile Crescent, and ten thousand foot from Baasha, the son of Ruhubi, the Ammonite.⁴⁴

⁴² The whole problem is discussed in detail by Luckenbill, *AJSL* 27, 267 ff.

⁴³ Reiser, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 3, 248 ff.

⁴⁴ Irqanata is the Erkatu ('-r-q'-tw) of the 42d year of Thothmes III, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3, 30; Müller, *Asien*, 247; Breasted, *Records*, 2, 214 f., the Irqata of the Amarna letters where the mention of Sumuru (Sinyra-Sumra) shows it to be identical with 'Arqa, Gen. 10, 17, which has the same form, 'Arqa, in the annals of Tiglath Pileser IV, 146. For the classical Arke-Caesarea and the modern 'Arqa, cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, 3, 579. Usanata is the Uanu of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 146. The order is Simirra, Arqa, Uanu, Sianu. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 282, identified it with Qal'at el-Hoqn, but there is no proof that this was occupied until crumbing times; also, it was on the sea shore, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 125. It may be Orthosia-Artusi, whose earlier name is unknown. Shiana is the Siana of the Tiglath Pileser passage, the Sin of Gen. 10, 17; and the Sinnae of Strabo, 16, 2, 18, in the mountains not far from Botrys-Batrün. It is usually identified with a certain Syn, 'ein halb Meile vom Nahr 'Arqa,' mentioned by Breitenbach in his *Reise* of 1486-87, quoted, Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, s. v. Sini, but the place is absent on later maps and we heard of no such locality when in this region.

On their own confession, the battle did not begin auspiciously for the Assyrians. The king ensconced himself in a tent set up on a rock near the river. The sculptures make a very unusual admission, for they show the troops of Hamath, archers with pointed helmets or in chariots much like the Assyrian, pressing over the Assyrian dead to meet the main forces of the king. The written record claims a complete victory. The blood of the vanquished was made to flow down over the passes of the district, the field was too narrow to throw down their bodies, the broad field alone availed for their burial, and at that, their corpses blocked the Orontes like a dam. The number of slain grew with the passage of time, from fourteen thousand to twenty thousand five hundred, to twenty-five thousand, to twenty-nine thousand. Pursuit was continued from Qarqara to Kilzan and to the Orontes,—and the Monolith inscription comes to a sudden end. Had this famous conflict, because of its connection with Israel perhaps the best known of Assyrian battles, been the overwhelming victory claimed, we should not have to record the careful avoidance of Syria which marks the last few years.* Immediately after the battle, the coalition fell to pieces, and Ahab determined to attack his late ally, the king of Damaseus. With the aid of Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ramoth-Gilead was besieged, but Ahab met his death and the host disbanded (2 Kings, 22).

Our written records give for the year 853 a raid against Habini of Til-Abni. Without the sculptures, we should never have suspected the importance of the expedition or of Habini himself. His reception was in truth very different from that accorded other conquered rulers. He did indeed make obeisance, bowing his head before the king as he stood resting on his bow, but he made his approach from his fully fortified camp, in chariots which in form as in trapping of the horses were in the best Assyrian style, and he was accompanied by attendants who exemplified all the latest fashions of the Assyrian upper classes. Their hair hung in a mass at the nape of the neck, and their beards were long and square cut, like that of Shalmaneser himself, and in sharp contrast to the pointed beards affected, not only by the princes of the other subjugated peoples, but by the lower class Assyrians as well. Habini wore the long fringed robe and the fringed jacket with diagonal opening, and had just laid aside his ornamented Assyrian sandals.

* Mon. 2. 87 ff.; *zigt*, Delitzsch, *MDOG* 38. 16; Olmstead, *Historiography*, 22.

In him, we obviously have a ruler well out of the ordinary, thoroughly Assyrianized, and too important to be harshly treated.

Turning north, the Assyrians reached the town of Kulisi,⁴² a small castle on the Tigris with double wall and two-storied gateway. The inhabitants, with the short skirts and round Haldian shields, were stabbed and mutilated, their severed limbs piled in heaps, their heads covered the burning city. Their rebel chief and his followers were impaled naked about the walls or along the river.

Up the valley of the Tigris the Assyrians continued until they reached the 'source of the Tigris, the place whence the waters flow, the cave of the river' pictured in the sculptures. In one scene, the mountains sweep in a long curve around the water, on the far side of which is a fortress, with square gateway between towers. Stone pillars with round balls on their tops flank the opening. In the water, a sculptor works, mallet on chisel, at a representation of the king, which is complete save that the surrounding cartouche is still to be incised. So perfect is the royal figure that an official already stands on a platform erected among the rocks and adores his master's effigy. Other Assyrians lead up a ram for the sacrifice and drag on his back a reluctant bull destined to meet the same end. In a second scene, we have a long parade of soldiers, foot and horse, up the course of the stream. At their head is the king, whose sad lack of horsemanship is indicated by his riding straight-legged and with huge stirrups tied to the horse-blanket, not, in the only fashion known to the oriental expert, with hunched-up knees and bareback. The royal chariot and those which bear the standards are, of course, a part of the picture and so are the calf and the ram destined for the sacrifice. Through three openings, we see trees and soldiers, waist-deep in the icy waters, who uphold torches to lighten the gloom. On the rock at the entrance is the niche with the conventional royal figure, while on a smaller rock in the water stands the sculptor putting on the finishing touches under the direction of the official who stands by his side. The accuracy of the picture is proved by the reliefs surviving unto this day, one on the wall of the passage where the Tigris for the moment comes to the light before again plunging into the mountain, the other in a huge upper cave decorated with great stalactites and stalagmites, where in prehistoric times the river once found its

⁴² The royal city of Mutzanata.

outlet. Above still towers the cliff up which lead rock-cut stairs, and on its summit are the terraces that mark the site of the settlement which once dominated the source of the sacred stream.⁴³

The two years which followed were occupied by the Babylonian troubles.⁴⁴ From 850 to 837, our information is scanty in the extreme. Such and such an event took place in such and such a year of the reign, that we may confidently set down, but details of strategy and topography elude us. At first, the west demanded attention. The still unconquered cities belonging to Sangara of Carchemish were reduced and then came the turn of Arame, king of Agusi. His capital, Arne, was unusually well-defended. It was situated on a high mound, its walls were of a decided height, and instead of the usual adobe, stone was used in its construction, the resulting slope presenting very real difficulties to the attacking party. An action before the walls forced the natives to retire within their fortifications, but the fight was continued by the bowmen on both sides. The Assyrian reserves hastened from the distant camp over the dismembered bodies which still covered the ground from the former battle, and assaulted the city to such effect that it fell an easy prey with all its animal wealth.⁴⁵

In those days, Shalmaneser contested another battle further south with the twelve Syrian allies, headed again by Bir-idri and Irhuleni. The cities of Sangara and of Arame were raided the next year (849). Passing along the line of the Amanus, he overran Mount Iaraqu and descended into the lower-lying cities of Hamath. He first encamped before Ashtamaku, a double-walled and battle-mented fort on a low mound. The attack was confided to the crown prince, who, at the head of his cavalry and chariots, rode over the dead in pursuit of the fleeing leaders of the enemy. One

⁴³ Bulls, 75 ff.; cf. Belek, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, 430 ff.

⁴⁴ Discussed in detail, Oltenset, *AJSL* 37, 217 ff.

⁴⁵ Bulls, 84 ff.; cf. Maepero, *PSBA* 20, 125 ff. Arne, the Arnu of H. 321 and the Arranu of H. 502, may possibly be identified with Qarne, from which we have horses along with those from Kusa (Caesum?), Dana, Kullania, and Isana, all in this general region, H. 372; Pinches, *PSBA* 3, 13. This may be the Qarnini of the revenue list, III R, 53, 36, and the Karna of the Medinet Habu list of Ramses III, Sayce, *PSBA* 25, 310. Agusi appears again in 743, when it was under Mati ilu, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 60 ff.; and as the Gusi of Antioch of Michael the Syrian, trans. Delaurier, *JA* 4 Ser., 13, 321. The reliefs add *ogla*.

of them escaped up the slope to the city, the horse of the other stumbled and the occupant was compelled to stretch out his hands in surrender. The archers shot at the city until the dead hung down over the walls and the defenders begged for mercy. Another city, in a grove of scrub oak near the river, was taken by escalade, and the decapitated heads of its defenders floated along on the waves of the stream. Bir-idri and the allies who had come to the help of Irhuleni were defeated, and ten thousand of their troops destroyed. Irhuleni was shut up in his double-walled fortress with its gable-roofed houses, where he had made himself comfortable on a couch of Assyrian form, with the flay flapper and shawl of the eunuch attendant and with the long fringed robe and drapery of an Assyrian monarch. These could not protect him from the Assyrian fury and he too was forced to ask for quarter. Irhuleni was permitted to retain his Assyrian dress, even to the pointed helmet, provided only he bowed down in worship, and the youthful prince destined to be his successor was allowed to approach in his chariot and surrounded by his fellows; the common people were treated more roughly, their clothes stripped off, their necks inserted in a yoke, their women in too scanty clothing bewailing their disgrace with hand raised to head. On his return journey, Apparanzu, one of Arame's villages, was taken, and the Assyrians received the tribute of the Hattinian Kalparunda, gold, silver, lead, horses, and cattle, sheep and clothes. The campaign was ended, as was many another, by the cutting of cedar beams in the Amanus.⁴¹

Only a raid across the upper Euphrates to Paqarahubuni in the mountains marked the year 848, and the next saw only one against Iatu, reached by the pass of the Ishtars and so in Kashiari.⁴² The year 846 again found Shalmaneser fighting the allies in central Syria. They had proved, in spite of his boasts of victory, no mean enemies, and he now made one supreme effort to overcome them. The 'numberless levies of troops from the whole of his wide extending dominions were called out' to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, a maximum for the size of the Assyrian armies and an indication of the gravity of the crisis. The supreme effort

⁴¹ Bulls, 90 ff.—Apparanzu is Abarraza of the Antonine Itinerary, on the Cilicia-Zeugma road, a genuine route, though the distances are far too small. Perhaps the Kiepert map identification with the Baraja on the Quwêq is correct.

⁴² *JAOS* 38. 213.

was made and Syria remained unconquered. Haldia was, therefore, emboldened to adopt a forward policy, and the more pressing needs on this frontier permitted Syria to rest for the present. The sources of the Tigris were again reached, and another rock record was prepared, the barrier range was penetrated by the Tunibuni pass, and the Haldian cities were overrun as far as the sources of the Euphrates. Such sacrifices as the sacred spot demanded were offered, and the rock was inscribed not far from where the tribute of Daieni was received from its ruler Asia.⁴²

An expedition to the Armenian highlands was once more followed by a period of inactivity. The year 844 witnessed merely a brief campaign, into Namri land, across the river Azaba, the Zab, and against Marduk-mudammiq, whose good Babylonian name testified to Babylonian influence in this neighbor land. On the Assyrian approach, he took to the hills, leaving behind his riches and his gods, and his vacant office was granted to a new ruler whom we know only as Ianzu, the native Kashshite word for king.⁴³ For the succeeding year, the scribe could think of nothing but a cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus.⁴⁴

Conditions had become more propitious in central Syria by 842. At the instigation of the Hebrew prophet Elisha, Ben Hadad, if he be the same as Hadadezer, had been smothered while sick, and Hazael, the usurping son of a nobody, had taken his place (2 Kings 8, 7 ff.). The confederacy completely broke down as a result and the war with Israel entered a more active phase with the attempt of Jehoram to win back Ramoth-Gilead. Where the Barada breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, under Mount Sanir,⁴⁵ Hazael

⁴² Bulls, 98 ff.—All the Tigris inscriptions, latest edition, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 31 ff., seem to date from this expedition, cf. especially Belek, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455. The Cornell expedition secured squeezes of these inscriptions, now deposited in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois through the kindness of Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia. From the Tigris source, the Assyrians could have entered Armenia only by the Citharizon or the Mush pass; the former is eliminated by identification with that of Enzite, therefore it must be the latter.

⁴³ The Kashshite vocabulary, first published Delitzsch, *Kassiter*, 25; better by Pinches, *JRAS* 1917, 162.

⁴⁴ Ohl. 93 ff.

⁴⁵ Sanir must be placed about Suq Wadi Barada, where the river of that name breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, with which agrees the location of Sanir north of Damascus by the Arabs, e. g., Baladhuri, 112. The gloss in Dt. 3: 9, in its present form, states that 'the Sidonians call Hermon Sirion and the Amorites call it Senir,' which disagrees with the Assy-

made his stand, but his fortified camp was stormed with a loss of sixteen thousand foot, eleven hundred and twenty-one chariots, and four hundred and seventy cavalry. The Assyrians felled the orchards which filled the fertile valley and appeared before Damascus. The walls were too strong for assault and Shalmaneser had not the patience for a formal siege, so was forced to content himself with a plundering raid in the Hauran mountains, to the east and south, whose rich volcanic soil, then as now, made it the granary of the Syrian area.²⁷

Shalmaneser then struck back to the coast, through that plain of Esdraelon which has always been the route from Damascus and the Hauran to the sea. On a projecting cliff which he calls Bali-rasi, 'Baal's Head,' and which may well be intended for the projecting headland of Carmel where Elijah had contended with the priests of Baal a few years before, he placed a stele.²⁸ Shortly after, he received tribute from the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and Iaua of the house of Humri, or, being interpreted, Jehu, the son of Omri.²⁹

isan and Arab location, unless we attach Senir to the whole Anti-Lebanon including Hermon, which is improbable. The gloss seems to have been earlier than the Chronicler, though the manner in which he states, 1 Chron. 5, 23, that the half tribe of Manasseh increased 'from Bashan to Baal Hermon and Senir and Mount Hermon,' shows that he did not have it in its present form. That the addition of 'Mount Hermon' is not, with Curtis, *ad loc.*, 'a phrase explaining Senir as Mount Hermon,' is shown by the Greek, where Lebanon is added and is no doubt original. The author of Canticles 4, 8, a North Israelite, also realized that they were separate, though closely connected. Ezek. 27, 5 shows the use of fir trees from Senir for ship planks. A striking fact which should not be overlooked is that the Greek on Dt. 3, 9, with the exception of the single MS. x, almost the most Massoretic of all the Greek MSS., Olmstead, *AJSJL* 34, 152, does not support the reading Sirion at all but gives the Phoenician name of Hermon as Sanior, that is, the same consonants as Senir.

²⁷ KTA 30; Rogers, *Parallels*, 298 f.; for death of Hadadaser, cf. Luckenbill, *Exp. Times*, 23, 284.

²⁸ Identical in name, though not in location, with the Theuprosopon south of Tripolis, Strabo 16, 2, 15. The current identification is with the Dog River north of Beirut, where we actually have several unidentified stelae, Sayce, *RPS* 4, 44, n. 2; cf. Bosawen, *TSSA* 7, 341. Against it is the lack of proof for the use of the Beirut-Damascus road in antiquity and the difficulty of return from the Hauran by this route; there is no statement that the king visited Tyre and Sidon, though the order of mention might indicate passage from south to north, in which case the old camel route, now the line of the railroad from Damascus to Haifa, would have been followed.

²⁹ III R. 3, 6; Bulla, Supplement.

After Ahab's death before Ramoth-Gilead, his weakly son Ahaziah reigned two years (853-852) and in want of issue was followed by his brother Jehoram (852-842). The next year, the long reign of Jehoshaphat came to an end and another Jehoram ruled Judah (851-843). Jehoshaphat had been a loyal vassal of Ahab and we can hardly consider the identity of name accidental. Mesha of Moab revolted and declared in his unique inscription that he saw his pleasure on Omri's son, so that Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.⁶⁸ We must be selfishly thankful that he caused it to be inscribed before the episode was finished, when Moab was wasted by the invasion of the three kings, and only the sacrifice of his first-born forced them to decamp hurriedly (2 Kings 3). The usurpation of Hazael offered excellent opportunities to reclaim Ramoth-Gilead, but its successful siege only led to the usurpation of Jehu and the murder of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah (843-842) of Judah.

By the religious reforms of Jehu, Yahweh ruled supreme in the royal court, but it was not so sure that he held first place in men's hearts. Tyre of necessity opposed his rule, and Athaliah, with the manly spirit of her mother, took over the inheritance of her murdered son and Baal's house received the dedications of the Yahweh temple. As Shalmaneser passed through Israelite territory, Jehu appeared before him and the reliefs of the Black Obelisk immortalize the Hebrew ruler as he bowed to the earth before the great king and his attendant eunuchs. A file of men in long double garments brings huge ingots of unworked metals, gold, silver, and lead, small golden pails of not inartistic design, bowls, cups, and ladles. Some carry on their backs sacks filled with precious objects, one holds a scepter, another raises aloft a high thin drinking goblet, others bear bundles of weapons (III R 5, 6).

For the years again succeeding, the Assyrian material is most scanty. A cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus in 841 confirms the success of the year previous, and the invasion of Qaue in the year following was a belated chastisement of the forces which had taken part in the battle of Qarqara fourteen years before. For 839, the official scribe has carelessly omitted the campaign; the Chronicle and the sculptures on the Obelisk show that it was against Marduk-

⁶⁸ Latest edition, S. Sidersky, *Rev. Archéologique*, 5 ser. 10, 59 ff., with bibliography.

apal-usur, the ruler of Suhi on the middle Euphrates.⁴¹ The Obelisk shows the wild beasts in the palm groves along the river, the tribute of golden pails, bowls, the bars of lead, the elephants' tusks, the varicolored cloths draped over poles and carried between two men.

There succeeded a campaign against Danabi in North Syria and a last attempt to reduce the cities of Hazael in 838 was no more of a success. Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos furnished fresh proof that the Phoenicians were prepared to pay any reasonable tribute if their control of the trade routes should be free from interference; Hazael was a different proposition and Shalmaneser was forced to be content with placing on a bit of black marble the ludicrously inappropriate inscription 'Booty from the temple of the god Sher of Malaha, residence of Hazael of the land of Damascus, which Shalmaneser, the son of Ashur-nasir-apal, king of Assyria, brought within the walls of the city of Ashur'.⁴²

The complete failure of Assyria in the west meant ruin for those who had taken her side. Hazael again began to attack Jehu, and

⁴¹ Forrer, *MVAG* 20, 3, 9 ff., has shown that the third line of the obverse of the Chronicle fragment Rm. 2, 97, is to be restored Su(7)-hi instead of Quir-muhi as I have done, that the scribe has omitted this from the Obelisk inscription, although leaving traces in the numbers of campaigns and in spite of the pictured representations. He has also shown that Shulmu-bel-lamur, eponym of 840, should be assigned to Ahi-Suhina. Thus all my attributions of office and place attacked should be shifted one move until the eponymy of Shalmaneser. This is confirmed by the appearance of the same officials in the same office elsewhere and fills the gap of office in 829 in my edition. Unfortunately, he does not know my studies of the Chronicle, published in *Sargon*, 1908, and in *JAOI* 34, 344 ff., 1914. In general, his reconstructions of the various documents were anticipated, but his independent discovery has corroborative value. All dates before 785 are reduced by him one year, as he explains the difficulty in the group 789-785 as due to two eponyms in one year for 786; I still prefer my explanation of scribal error as worked out in the complete edition. He begins the Sargon fragment with 720, ascribes lines eight to ten to 713, and the last four and two respectively to 707 and 706. Again I may state that my earlier reconstruction and dating seem preferable. In particular he notes that while we knew of a trip in 713 to Ellip, 'daß auch eine Unternehmung nach Musasir stattfand ist neu,' though thirteen years ago the whole matter was discussed in my *Sargon*.

⁴² Obl. 99 ff.; *Assyr. Chron.* for Quammuh in 841 and Danabi in 839; the marble 'perle', *ATA* 26; *MDOG* 39, 43. Danabi is Tennib SSW. of 'Azāz, Nöldeke, *ZA* 14, 10; the Tinnab, a large town of Aleppo, Yaqut, *s. v.* It is very doubtful if it is to be identified with the better known Tunip of Egyptian times, cf. Müller, *Asien* 237 f.

the whole of the east Jordan country, Gilead and Bashan, the tribal territories of Gad, Manasseh, and Reuben, to Aroer on the Arnon which a few short years ago Mesha had boasted his own, fell into his hands (2 King 10. 32 ff.) and Amos condemned the manner in which Damascus had threshed Gilead with threshing implements of iron (Amos 1. 3 ff.). Jehu was more successful in the sister kingdom, where Athaliah (842-837) by her insistence on the ancestral Baal cult had alienated the powerful priesthood of her adopted country. The infant son of Ahaziah had been saved by his aunt Jehosheba from the slaughter of the remainder of the seed royal; her husband Jehoiada, the chief priest of Yahweh, persuaded the foreign body-guard to support the legitimate claimant. Athaliah was slain, and the enraged populace destroyed the Baal temple with the Tyrian priest Mattan.

Jehoahaz (815-799) was still less able to defend himself against Hazael, who took for himself the whole Philistine plain, and Jehoash (837-798) of Judah saved himself from complete ruin only by sending to Hazael all his treasures. The son of Hazael, the last Bar-Hadad, was a man of lesser caliber, and Israel recovered its lost cities (2 Kings 12 f.; 6 f.).

Foiled in the south, Bar-Hadad turned his attention to North Syria, where Hamath was now ruled by a certain Zakar, who in all probability came originally from Laash, the Luhuti of Shalmaneser's record, for he adds it to Hamath as territory ruled. Thanks to his god, Baalshamain, he was made to rule in Hazrak, the Biblical Hadrach and the Assyrian Hatarika, on the Orontes a short distance south of Hamath.²² If before this Hazrak had belonged to Damascus, we can understand why Bar-Hadad formed an alliance against him. Of the ten kings, we have mention of Bar-Gush, king of Agusi or Arpad, the king of Quhweh or Cilicia, the king of the Umq we have learned of as the equivalent of Hattina, the king of Gurgum, the king of Samal, the king of Meliz or Melitene; it is the usual catalogue of the kings of North Syria. They fell upon him suddenly and all laid siege to Hazrak, raised a wall higher than the wall of that city, and dug a ditch deeper than its moat. Then did Zakar lift up his hands to Baalshamain and Baalshamain answered him and sent by the hand of seers and men expert in numbers and thus did Baalshamain say: 'Fear not, for I have made thee king and I will stand by thee and I will

²² For the exact site, concealed by Pognon, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3. 175.

rescue thee from all these kings who have made siege against thee.' So Zakar appointed men of Hazrak for charioteers and for horsemen to guard her king in the midst of her, he built her up and added a district to her and made it her possession and made it his land. And he filled with men all these fortresses on every side and he built temples in all his land. The stele, written in a curious mixture of Aramaic and Phoenician, did he set up before Al-Ur, not to speak of his other gods, Shamash and Sahar and the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, and upon it he wrote that which his hands had done.⁵⁴

Thus the western policy of Assyria was a failure, her friends suffered, and the only interest of succeeding campaigns lies in the new fields attempted. Through Nairi, the Assyrians marched to Tunni, a mountain of silver, *muli*, and white limestone, took out stone from the quarries, and left in return a stele. They ended with Tabal or eastern Cappadocia, where twenty-four kings handed over their quota, and with Que, where the lands of Kate, the *nasaru*, were ravaged (837).⁵⁵ The next year Uetash, the fort of Lalli of Milidia (Melitene), was assaulted and the kings of Tabal presented their tribute. With 835, the Obelisk begins to narrate events at first hand, and consequently we have somewhat more detail, but the events themselves are scarcely more important. The Ianzu established in Namri in 844 had become hostile, was driven to the mountains, and made a prisoner. Twenty-seven kings of the Parsua land paid their dues when he appeared in their country, and in the Missi land Shalmaneser found a possession of the Amadai. This at least is worthy of our most careful notice, for it marks the first appearance of the Medes in written history. The return journey saw a stele erected in Harhar and its inhabitants led in captivity to Assyria.⁵⁶

The year following saw the Assyrians on the opposite frontier.

⁵⁴ Pognon, *Ins. sémitiques*, 2, no. 86; I have in general followed the text and translation of Turrey, *JAOS* 35, 353 ff.

⁵⁵ The difficult Obl. 104 ff. is now largely supplanted by the Berlin Ins., 3, 1 ff.; cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG* 21, 52 f.; Meissner, *OLZ* 15, 145 ff.

⁵⁶ Obl. 107 ff.—The Hashmar pass must be that between Bane and Sakki, later taken by Sargon, Thureau-Dangin, *Comptes*, iii, which is 2180 m. high. The route would be down the Jaghatu Su. Parsua and Missi are located by the Sargon tablet, cf. the map in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* The cities of Namri are Sihishalah, perhaps Shiag, Bit Tamul, probably Tamontal, Bit Sakki, almost certainly Sakki, Bit Shedi, Kuakinda, Tarzanabi, Esamul, Kinablila. Between the Amadai and Harhar is given Arasish.

Que was entered through the Amanus Gates and Timur was taken from Kate, but this was only a raid, as was the seizure of Muru, a fort of the still independent Arame of Agusi, though a palace was erected therein. A more extensive raid was that of 835 when Tulli, who had just displaced Kate, surrendered as soon as he saw his fort Tanakun in Assyrian possession. His gifts included silver, gold, iron, cattle, and sheep. The inhabitants of Lamena found refuge in the hills and the expedition ended with the capture of Tarzi, Tarsus, which was at this time taking the place of Mallus as the central point in the Cilician plain, as the terminus of the great route which led through the Cilician Gates to the plateau of Asia Minor, and as the outlet of the famous Hittite silver mines to the north of the mountains whose wealth was to make the name of Tarshish world famous. Tulli was in his turn deposed, his place taken by Kirri, brother of the former ruler, and cedars were cut in the Amanus for use in the city of Ashur.⁴⁷

The absence of references to Haldia in the last few years is noticeable and cannot be accidental. A change of rulers which meant a change of dynasty, Sardurish the son of Lutiprish taking the place of Arame, seemed to promise a check for his dangerous neighbor. Strange to relate, Shalmaneser did not himself undertake this expedition, perhaps the most important in the second half of the reign. Stranger still, the official annals emphasize the fact that it was led by Dan-Ashur, the turtanu. First to be reached was Bit-Zamani, whose independence, however qualified, strikes us as a little peculiar, until we examine the state of organization on this frontier. Ishtar-emuqais, governor of Tushhan at the bend of the Tigris, appears as early as 868,⁴⁸ but Ninib-kitsi-usur in 839 rules only the Nairi lands, and the cities Andi, Sinabu, Gurruna, Mallani, and the land Alzi,⁴⁹ and it is not until 800 that

⁴⁷ Obl. 132 ff.—Tanakun is identified with a Greek Thanake which I cannot locate, Sayce, *Expos. Times*, 15. 284. Its site is probably Topraq-Qale, on the Cilician side of the Amanus Gates. The reference to the mountains and its seeming position on the direct road from the Gates to Tarsus led me to locate it at Yalan Qale at the east end of the pass through the Jebel Nur. For name, we may compare the Lamenia of the Teomorian ins., Ramsay *Hist. Geog.*, 413. The Chronicle repeats the 'against Que' a second time under this year; Forrer, *MFAG* 20. 3, 13, may be correct in seeing in this proof of two expeditions in one year, but his identification with Lamos-Lamotis-Lamas Su southwest of Tarsus, though seductive, is not quite sure.

⁴⁸ Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 99.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* no. 47; cf. Forrer, *op. cit.* 12.

Marduk-shimeani appears as governor of Amedi.⁷⁰ Haldia was entered by the Ammash pass and the Euphrates was crossed. Shalmaneser claims the usual victory over his Haldian opponent, but if it were in reality a defeat, we could understand more easily why Sardurish could induce the Hattinians to dethrone and kill their pro-Assyrian prince Lubarna and place on his throne a usurper named Surri. Again Dan-Ashur was given command. Surri died a natural death which the scribe attributed to the offended majesty of the god Ashur, and his erstwhile followers handed over his sons and accomplices for impalement. Sasi declared his adherence to the Assyrian cause and was made king, subject to heavy tribute of metals and ivory. The royal figure was installed in the temple at Kunulua, but no attempt was made to turn the region into a province.⁷¹

Only a rapid raid against Kirhi and Ulluba is listed for the year 830, and the geography shows that there had been retrocession of the Assyrian sphere of influence under the attacks and intrigues of Haldia. Dan-Ashur crossed the Upper Zab the next year and forced the payment of tribute from Datana of Hubushkia, then produced a similar result in the case of Maggubbi of Madahisa, and drove out Udaki from Zirta, capital of the Mannai. The last reference is of interest, for it affords the first knowledge of the people who were to be associated so constantly with the Assyrians in their last hundred years. The next to be invaded was Haruna, whose capital, Masashura, was taken, and whose prince, Shulushumu, was granted peace. Artasari of Paddira is likewise an interesting individual, for his name, compounded with the commonest Iranian element, shows how the new race was coming in. Parsua, still attempting to retain complete independence, was the last to be visited.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* no. 39.

⁷¹ Obl. 141 ff.—The form Seduri is probably due to assimilation to the god Siduri; that he was identical with Sardurish was first indicated by Sayce, *JRAS* NS 14. 404. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1894, 486 (cf. Lehmann, *ZA* 11. 200 ff.), and often, argues that the Sardurish of the native inscriptions, Sayce 1 f., was earlier and different from our Seduri, but without a shred of proof and contrary to all the evidence, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 36 n. 35, and now also Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 22. For Ammasherub, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 600. Name and location alike prove identification with the Mush pass, the Gorne Gedik of 6645 ft., Lynch, *Armenia*, 2. 396.

⁷² Obl. 159 ff.—Rasmussen, *Indskrifter*, 39, identifies our Datana with the Dadi of Hubushkia of Shamshi-Adad, *Ann.* 2. 37. For Zirta or Isirta, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 107, n. 21; Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iv; it may now

Conditions were becoming increasingly bad. The king might celebrate his thirty-year jubilee with all due ceremony,⁷² but Dan-Ashur was in control of the administration, Haldia was continually increasing in power, and the tribes to the north and west were throwing in their lot with it instead of Assyria. One more effort was made by Dan-Ashur to answer complaints at home by conquests abroad. While the king remained in his palace, the unwearied old man undertook an ambitious expedition. Datana of Hubushkia was the first to feel his heavy hand and then Musasir, another state destined to play a most important part in the next century. The fortress of Sapia captured, he felt that he could venture against Haldia itself. Failing here, he turned east and went down to Gilzan where Upu presented his tribute as did the men of the neighboring states. From Parsua, he descended to Namri, and so through the pass of Simesi above Halman back to Assyria.⁷⁴

be located at Sauch Bulaq. The Mannai are the Minni of Jer. 51. 27; the Minyas of Nicolaus of Damascus, Jos. Ant. 1. 95; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS*(OS) 12. 446. For the common Shurdia, I read Pad-di-ra, a very easy correction palaeographically, comparing the Paddir of Shamshi-Adad, Ann. 2. 7, and the Paddir of Ashur-bani-pal, Cyl. B. 3. 59. The raid was, therefore, up the Zab to Merwan, then to Kochanes and the Kaliresh pass to Ushnu. Beyond, the course is conjectural.

⁷² For the second time, the king did something before the face of Adad and Ashur, but the crucial word is doubtful. Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, 106, quoted Amdiaud-Scheil, *Salmanassar*, 70, would read *bu-u-[no]* and Rasmussen makes out the first half of the *na*. With this reading, we would naturally translate with Amdiaud-Scheil, 'fixer la face en presence d'Assur et Adad,' cf. for *banu* Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, *ad loc.*, and compare, with Tiele, *Geogr.*, 204, the similar celebrations in Egypt in honor of the completion of the thirtieth year of the reign. The present view seems to read *pu-u-[ri]* which would mean holding the office of eponym a second time, cf. Peiser, *KB* 4. 106 n.; Muss-Arnolt, *s. v.*, for possible connection with the Purim feast. Pleasant as it would be to have an Assyrian prototype of that much-discussed feast, it is certain that Shalmaneser was not eponym until 828, after our inscription had been completed, and thus the *puru* interpretation is thrown completely out of court.

⁷³ Ob1. 174 ff.—The route taken was up the Zab to about Merwanen where he touched a corner of Hubushkia, and then east to Musasir, the region of the Nihail chain, as the Sargon Tablet shows. The raid across the Haldian border must have taken place about Bash Qala or Khoshub. Sapia is Zihar on the Upper Zab, and may be connected with the older name Subaria. He then went down into Gilzan to the east, about Dilman. The states mentioned after Gilzan are Mannai, Burisai, Harranai, Shashganai, Andinai, a people whose name began with a vertical stroke and ended with . . . nai, and he then still further descended to a state whose name begins with two and then one

With this campaign of 828, the narrative of the Obelisk comes to an abrupt end. The scribe claims the usual great success, but his best skill cannot conceal its virtual failure. There is not even the briefest mention of the numerous structures erected during the reign, though we may be sure that it was the original plan to inscribe their recital on the well-carved stone. When we turn to the Assyrian Chronicle, we find under this same year 828, not an expedition against foreign enemies, but the single ominous word 'revolt,' and the word is repeated for five years more. For a quarter of a century, Dan-Ashur had been the actual ruler of the empire, and so notorious was his usurpation of the supreme power that it was he and not his nominal master to whom was ascribed the glory of successful campaigning in the magnificent series of reliefs which were to commemorate the reign. In contrast to the sharp individuality with which Dan-Ashur stands out, Shalmaneser is a colorless figure. His relations with his turtanu, who held office for a quarter of a century, a term almost without parallel in the east, do not speak for his strength of character. We know how he left the command of armies in his later years to Dan-Ashur, although his turtanu must have been at least as old as himself; in his earlier years, he claims to have exercised the leadership in person, but the more truthful pictorial records make it certain that in some cases he was not present, and of others we may make the same conjecture. When he does appear in the field, he rarely descends from the chariot to engage actively in the fighting. In the chariots, both he and the crown prince require a third man to hold the shield and by an arm thrown about the waist to prevent them from falling to the ground. The one occasion when Shalmaneser appears on horseback, it is with the awkwardness of a man not accustomed to ride and unable to keep a firm seat. In his

horizontal stroke, and took their cities of Pirria and Shitinnaria, evidently along the west shore of Lake Urumia. The Parsua cities are Bushtu, Shalahamanni and Kirihamanu. Bushtu is a common name, and may be identical with others. Bursai may be found in the Bursi-Berozi on the upper Dilmun stream with Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 156. Harrania is the Harrana of Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 35, an oracle which asks whether the Ishkumi who are in the Mannai region will leave the pass of the city of Hubushkia and go to Harrania and Anisus. Andio is said by Adad nirari to be far distant, *Kallu ins.*, 9; and Sargon, *Ann.* 81, confirms its close connection with Hubushkia and the Mannai. Sayce, *RP* 4, 51, n. 3, identifies Shitinnaria with the Haldian Shatiraramsh. The conclusion is topographically impossible; the pass of Simasi is too far north, Halman-Holwan equally too far south. The topography of the preceding marches forces us to believe that the Hashmar pass is meant.

foreign policy, he imitated his father, even to the copying of his father's set phrases in his own formal inscriptions. He was most at home in the audience chamber, where he could hold the arrows gracefully in one hand, the bow in the other, resting on the ground, the ornamental sword remaining at his side, displaying the tiara and fillet, the long hair ribbons, the fringed robe and shawl that came to his sandalled feet.⁷² Significant, too, is the fact that the highest court officers, many of the commanders in the field, the prefect of the camp, all the men most closely connected with his person, were eunuchs, and we may without too much danger of error conjecture that Dan-Ashur himself belonged to the same unfortunate and detested class.

Shalmaneser had been accompanied on his expeditions by his son, the crown prince, as early as 858, and thenceforth the reliefs represent him with considerable frequency. If we are to identify him with Ashur-dan-apal, he must have been by this time no less than forty-five years old. A prince of such mature age could hardly suffer in silence a usurpation of power so great that the turtanu's name was glorified in the official records destined to go down to posterity, while his own exploits, though represented anonymously in the earlier sculptures, were in later times entirely missing. The unanimity with which all Assyria arose is in itself proof of the general feeling that his cause was just. At the head of the revolt stood Nineveh which might find some excuse in the neglect of the king. Ashur had been the special protégé of Shalmaneser. Practically every building of importance, the double wall, the Anu-Adad temple, the Ishtar and Ashur temples, all had been restored in the most generous fashion.⁷³ Yet Ashur, too, went over to the enemy. Ingur-Bel had been adorned with the magnificent palace-gates to whose bronze decorations we owe the proof of the age of Ashur-dan-apal, but the gift could not restrain it from revolt. Shibaniba and Dur-Balat in the first range of mountains to the northeast, Zaban with its command of the debatable land, Arrapha with its control of the mountains, the sacred city of Arbela, all of Upper and Lower Assyria acknowledged the new claimant to the crown. The majority of the newly-acquired provinces and dependencies seized the opportunity to free themselves. The Aramaeans in particular, Shima, Tidu, Nabalu, Kapa, Huzirina, Amedi, Til-Abni, Hindanu, Kurban,

⁷² *TSBA* 6, pl. 8.

⁷³ André, *MDOG* 54, 21.

all the states whose names have become familiar from the reports of the last two reigns,⁷⁷ swelled the armies of the pretender. A definite understanding between these Aramaeans and the revolting Assyrians existed, as is shown by the letter 'concerning the rebel' which was written in Aramaic by Kabti, the scribe of Ashur-dan-apal.⁷⁸ Only Kalhu remained true to the old king and his eunuchs.

To meet the reproach that the turtanu and not Shalmaneser was the actual ruler, the king had taken upon himself the eponym office in the very year the revolt broke out, but the expected result had not followed and the insurrection continued unabated. In its midst, Shalmaneser passed away, and left the insurrection as a heritage to his son Shamshi-Adad (825-812). Two more years the rebels held out and then the revolt collapsed. Why, with everything in its favor in the beginning, it ultimately failed, is one of the mysteries we so often meet in tracing the history of reform movements. Like so many attempted reforms, the most obvious result was the damage accomplished. Coming at a time when the man-power was already weakening, it marked the definite passage into decline, a decline which ended only with the fall of the dynasty.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Shamshi Adad, Ann. 1. 45 ff.—Shihaniha was the province of the eponym for 787, Johns, *Deeds*, no. 653, and cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 364. It occurs in Sennacherib, *Bavian Ins.*, 9, which locates it close to that place. Dur-Balat is the near-by Kurdish hamlet of Balata where we spent a smoky evening protected from a blizzard. Adi is not far away, no less than the Shekh Adi which is the center of the Yezidis or 'Devil Worshipers.' Amat is Amada east of Akra. Kapa is Hassan Kef. Parnunna is the seat of an eponym in 755 and probably in 785, Olmstead, l. c. For Kurban, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 152. Others are Ishahibri, Bit Imdira, Shihitish, Kibshuna, Urakka, Dariga.

⁷⁸ Copy of ancient letter sent to Sargon, H. 872; Johns, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 6. 631. Hommel, *PSBA* 18. 182, identifies Ashur-dan-apal with Sardanapallus, and Belyses with Marduk-balatsu-iqbi. He might have added the date given by Eusebius to Sardanapallus, 835, yet Sardanapallus must be Ashur-naer-apal.

⁷⁹ For the provisional government, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, 12. 69 ff.; add now the scanty information in Andrieu, *Stelenreich*, to the discussion of the officials of the reign, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 346 ff. No attempt to discuss the buildings or indeed the general culture is made in this article.

AN ANSWER TO THE DHIMMIS*

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IN THE MEMORIAL VOLUME published in memory of our late colleague President William W. R. Harper, I have gone a little into the history of the relation to each other of the three great religious systems which have existed in nearly all Islamic countries, except Arabia, since the foundation of the Moslem Church. In the East that relation still plays a part—often a dominant one—in commercial life. No attempt even is made, as we do in the West, to ‘camouflage’ the situation. The text and translation that I publish in the following pages are a further contribution to the subject.

The little Ms. from which it is taken bears the title: ‘An answer to the Dhimmis and to those that follow them.’ Its author, Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (i. e. from Wāsiṭ on the Tigris) does not try nor does he pretend to give a presentation of his subject from a technically legal or theological point of view, as many have done who have written upon the subject. He tries, rather, to give a history of that relation from the time of the Prophet down to his own day in a series of stories; citing the chief incidents—as he considers them—that have occurred to point the moral to be drawn from that relation. Of course he is one-sided; so would be a Christian or a Jewish author writing in his day. It is an *ex-parte* statement, designed to prove the excellence of his own people and his own faith, and to expose the obliquity of ‘the others.’ We need not be too hard in our judgment of Ghāzī. He feels strongly for his own side; and, as he is evidently a man

* The Editors and the Author of this article desire to express their acknowledgment of the courtesy of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company of New York in furnishing gratuitously the composition of the Arabic text by the linotype process. They believe it is the first time that a scholarly text in Arabic has been published by that process. The editor of the text would very much have desired to vocalize it in certain cases and to employ the *hemza* and *taḥdīd*. He had especially desired to vocalize the passages in verse, but the linotype process is not yet adapted to expressing the vowel signs. The insertion of the folio pagination in the Arabic text was made after the type lines were cast, and accordingly the foliation is approximate, within half a line.

of some temper, he does not mince matters, nor does he take the edge off his words. But, we must remember that pungent expressions are permitted in the politest near-Eastern society which, with us, would never for a moment be permitted above or beyond the smoking-room. And if we do remember this, we shall not be shocked beyond measure to find the adjective 'cursed' prefixed to every mention of Jew or Christian!

The anecdotes are interesting just because they are trivial. They open the lattice a little, and permit a peep here and there into the private life of the people which too often is guarded from our sight by official and pompous historians. The soreness of the relations between the Copts and the Moslems in Egypt comes clearly into view—even the peculiarity in this relation; for the author—to his credit be it said—is quite conscious of the necessity of the non-Moslem population to the country, if the more important, and especially the Secretarial, positions were to be filled. As is natural, he is particularly violent against such as openly profess Islam, while still at heart remaining Christians. One can understand such feeling; and it is evident that he has in mind some particular persons belonging to this class whose shadows had fallen across his own path, though he does not mention them by name.

About the author I can find nothing in the various books of reference; the one or two facts that can be put down are those that follow of necessity out of his little compilation. The latest datable reference that he makes is in the year 1292, during the reign of the Mameluke Sultan *Ḳalāʾūn* in Egypt. Though living in that country, *Ghūzī* was for a time in the service—so he himself relates—of *al-Malik al-Asraf Muṭṭaḥḥar al-Dīn Mūsā* of *Emesa* (1245-1262), the son of *al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm*, the last of the *Ayyābites* there of the line of *Shirkūh*, the father of *Saladin*. The coming of the Mogul *Khān Hulagu* in 1262 evidently ended his services in northern Syria. The treatise, then, must have been written in Egypt towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. We should expect it at such a time; for, then, hot-headed *Ulemas* were apt to make life a burden for both Copts and Jews in the land of the Pharaohs.

The small Ms.—the property of the Library of Columbia University—is, so far as I can tell, unique. It evidently was not so at one time; for the first leaf, giving the title and seven lines of the first section, were added at some later time and from some

other copy; paper and script are glaring evidence of this. How late, I do not know. Upon the inside of this first leaf there is the Turkish sign-manual and the name al-Ḥāḥ Ḥasan Muḥammad Efendi . . . in the year 1171 [A. H.]—evidently the name and date of a late owner.

The Ms. itself is written with a great deal of care. It is fully—one might say, over-punctuated; and the section-headings are done in large gilded script. This goes so far that the letter *ra* is most often distinguished from the *zai* by a half-circle superimposed; as, in like manner, the *sin* is distinguished from the *shin*. The *ha* is made evident by a superimposed final *ha* and the *ṣād* by a sub-imposed final *ṣād*. Even the vowel letters, when indicating a long vowel preceding, are provided with *jezm*. For this superabundance the scribe, and not the author, is to be blamed—which does not, however, prevent him from making the mistakes natural to a scribe; e. g. he writes—with consistency it must be said—*iblkhān* for *ilkhān*, probably because in one passage the original copy missed a dot under the *yā*. And, it must be added, the multitude of signs makes the reading more than usually difficult.

I have translated quite literally; and only with the idea of giving sense, not with the thought of literary polish. I have added the fewest possible notes—only when they appeared to be absolutely necessary. In some difficult situations, I have profited from the good advice and the knowledge of my colleagues, Dr. Philip Hitti and Prof. William Popper.

هذا كتاب رد علي اهل الذمة ومن تبعهم رحم الله مؤلفه امين

تأليف الشيخ غازي بن الواسطي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . الحمد لله على دين الاسلام . والصلاة والسلام على خير الانام . صلى الله عليه وسلم . وصلى على آله واصحابه البررة الكرام . وبعد فمئذ تعليق لطيف مشتمل على طريقة اهل السنة ونصرة اهل الدين والحق والرد على من خالفهم وتبع

هوامهم بغير علم فاقول وبيا لله التوفيق ان الذمة الغير مخفية من المتصرفين في الممالك المصرية والشامية . من كفرة ملة اليهودية . والطوائف النصرانية . فانهم اشد كفرا واكثر عنادا من اهل بالسيق . واصرت على الاسلام بظلمهم والحنف . وليظهر لعلوم الشريعة ما على الاسلام من ضررهم . رجاء ان يطهر ايام سلطنته الشريعة من ضررهم كما درس ممالكهم الحصينة المنيع . ومعاقبهم الشاهقة الرفيعة . وجعلهم كامن الناهب . وسطر في صحائف ايام دولته الشريعة منقبة لم تكن لسلاطين المثارق والمغارب . ويسلك بهم مسلك رسول الله صلى عليه وسلم والخلفاء الراشدين . والسلاطين العادلين .

وقد جعلت كتابي هذا مقدمة وفصلين فالمقدمة ما تضمنه الكتاب العزيز وما روي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . والفصل الاول فيما ورد عن امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وعن

التابعين وتابعيهم من بني امية وبني العباس رضي الله عنه والمصريين وغيرهم . والفصل الثاني في وقائع جرت في عصرنا هذا وشهدنا اكابر الناس .

وعرت ما اورده من لباس الالتباس وختمته ببياض لا يستطيع احد ان ينقضها ولا يعارضها ويرفضها . ليعلم من تأمله وعرف جملته ومفصله . اني لم ابتغي غير نصيح سلطاني والقريب الى الله عز وجل بما مطرته بينائي . واسأل الله المعونة والتوفيق بعمه وكرمه .

المقدمة فيما ورد في الكتاب العزيز

قال الله عز وجل يا أيها الذين آمنوا لا تتخذوا اليهود والنصارى أولياء بعضهم أولياء بعض ومن أولهم منكم فإنه منهم . وقال الله عز وجل يا أيها الذين آمنوا لا تتخذوا عدوي وعدوكم أولياء . وقال

سبحانه وتعالى فأتوا الذين لا يؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر ولا يحرمون ما حرم الله ورسوله ولا يدينون دين الحق من الذين اتوا الكتاب حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم هاضمون . والنصارى ادخل في الشرك من اليهود كما أن اليهود ادخل من النصارى في الكفر والعناد فلذلك وسم الله عز وجل بالغضب وهو لا بالضلال . وقال الله عز وجل يا أيها الذين آمنوا لا تتخذوا الذين اتخذوا دينكم هزواً ولعباً من الذين اتوا الكتاب من قبلكم والكفار أولياء واتقوا الله أن كنتم مؤمنين .

خرج مسلم في صحيحة عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قبل بدر فلما كان بحرة الوبرة أدركه رجل كان يذكر عنه جراءة ونجاة . ففرج به أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حين راوه فقال للرسول الله صلعم جئت لا تبعك

وأحارب معك . فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم تؤمن بالله ورسوله . فقال لا . فقال له رسول الله صلعم أرجع فلن استعين بمشرك . فرجع حتى إذا كان بالشجرة لحق رسول الله صلعم فقال له كما قال أول مرة . فقال لا . فقال أرجع فلن استعين بمشرك . فرجع حتى إذا كان بالبيداء لحقه فقال له رسول الله صلعم اتؤمن بالله ورسوله فقال نعم . فقال اتبعني .

فلذلك قال الامام احمد بن حنبل رضي الله عنه لا يستعان باليهود والنصارى في شيء من أعمال المسلمين مثل الخراج وغيره .

وكذلك قال ابو حنيفة والشافعي رضي الله عنهما وغيرهم من الفقهاء انه لا يجوز استعمالهم في شيء من الولايات والامانات . فان

الكفر يتأفي الولاية والامانة لان قوله صلعم لن استعين بمشرك يعم الاستعانة بهم في الانتصار والاستعمال والاستكتاب وغير ذلك.

^{4a} فان القول العام يجري على عمومه ولا يقتصر على سببه وقد تأيد هنا بوجهين احدهما انه علل امتناعه من الاستعانة بالشرك ولذله العلة تولية ولا استيمان ولا اعلى درجة قضي الولاية والمناصب اولى واخرى. ولهذا الى اضيقها فان منع الاستعانة بهم عام معقول المعنى المراد به كل كافر من اهل الكتاب. فعلق الحكم على ايمانه. بالله ورسوله. فان الكتابي لما كذب بدين الله ورسوله وخالف سبيل انبياء الله فلزمه الشرك. ولهذا قال الله تعالى اتخذوا اجارهم ورهبانهم اربابا من دون الله والمسيح بن مريم وما امروا الا ليعبدوا الها واحدا لا اله الا ه سبحانه عما يشركون.

^{4b} وروى الامام ابو بكر الاثرم رحمه الله وهو من اكابر رواة الحديث. روى عنه الامام احمد بن حنبل رحمه الله وغيره في منته عن ابي موسى الاشعري رحمه الله امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه امره ان يرفع اليه ما اخذ وما اعطى في اديهم واحد. وكان لابي موسى كاتب نصراني فرفع اليه ذلك فمجب عمر رضي الله عنه منه وقال ان هذا لحافظ. فادعه ليقرأ. فقال ابو موسى انه لا يستطيع ان يدخل المسجد. وقال عمر اجنب هو. فقال بل نصراني. قال فاتهرني وضرب فخني بيده حتى يكسره وقال لا تدنهم اذا افصاهم الله ولا تامنهم اذا خونهم الله ولا تعزهم اذ اذلهم الله.

وروى الامام احمد بن حنبل رحمه الله عن حرب الكرماني في مسائله عن عياض الاشعري ان ابا موسى استكتب نصرانيا فانكر عمر رضي الله عنه عليه ذلك فقال ابو موسى لى عمله. فقال عمر رضي الله عنه لا تامنهم اذ خونهم الله ولا تعزهم اذ اذلهم الله ولا تقربوهم اذ ابعدهم الله.

وقد مر على امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بعض

المهاجرين بمال من البحرين فقال عمر يا معاشر المسلمين رحمكم الله قد جاءنا مال كثير فان شئتم كلنا كيلا وان شئتم وزننا وزننا وان شئتم عددنا عددا. فقام اليه رجل فقال يا امير المؤمنين قد راينا الاعاجم يدنون دواوين. فامر بوضع الدواوين في الاعمال وكسب الى عماله جميعهم ان لا يستخدموا كافرا يهوديا كان او نصرانيا.

وكتب معاوية بن ابي سفيان رحمه الله الى امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه. اما بعد فان في عملي كاتبنا نصرانيا لا يتم امر الخراج الا به وكرهت الاستمرار به دون امرك. فرد جوابه عافانا الله واياك قرأت كتابك في امر النصراني والجواب اما بعد.

فان النصراني قد مات ولم ينقل في خبر من الاخبار ولا تاريخ من التواريخ انه استعمل مشرك من المشركين في عمل من الاعمال في زمن النبي صلعم ولا زمن ابي بكر ولا عمر ولا عثمان ولا علي رضي الله عنهم.

وعن ابي مشجعة بن ربعي من اعيان المحدثين رحمه الله قال لما قدم امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه الشام قام قسطنطين بطريق الشام بين يديه فقال يا امير المؤمنين ان ابا عبيدة بن الجراح فرض علينا خراجا فاكتب لي به كتابا. فانكر عمر ذلك وقال ما الذي فرض عليك. قال فرض اربعة دراهم وعبادة على كل حلقة يعني جبجة ولم يكن احد ان يستطيع عند عمر رضي الله عنه ان يتكلم الا باذنه. فالتفت الى ابي عبيدة رضي الله عنه فقال ما تقول في هذا. قال كذب علي ولكني صالحته صلحا. ثم تقدم انت فتكون الفارض. فقال عمر لقسطنطين ابو عبيدة اصدق منك فقال صدق ابو عبيدة وكذبت انا. فقال ما حملك على ذلك. فقال اردت ان اخدعك

ولكن افرض انت. ففرض على المومسر ثمانية واربعين درهما وعلى الوسط اربعة وعشرين درهما وعلى المدقم اثنا عشر درهما

وعلى ان لا يحدثوا كنية ولا يرفعوا صليبا بين ظهرائي المسلمين ولا يضربوا ناقوما الا في جوف كنية وعلى ان نشاطرهم منازلهم فيسكن فيها المسلمون فاني لا اطمئن اليكم وعلى ان اخذ الحبر القبلي من كنائسهم لمساجد المسلمين فانها اوسط في المدائن وعلى ان لا يعبر بخنزير بين ظهرائي المسلمين وعلى ان يقرؤا ضيوفهم ثلثة ايام وثلاثة ليال وعلى ان يحلوا راجلهم من رستاق الى رستاق وعلى ان يناصحوهم ولا يمشوهم وعلى ان لا يتمالوا على عدو واستحللنا منك دماثهم وسبي ابنائهم ونسائهم بذلك عهد الله وعقده وذمة المسلمين . قال قسطنطين اكتب بذلك لنا كتابا . فينما يكتب الكتاب اذ ذكر عمر رضي الله عنه فقال اني استني عليك معشرة الجيش مرتين فقال لك ثيالك . فلما فرغ من الكتاب قال له قم يا امير

المؤمنين في الناس فاخبرهم الذي جعلت لي وفرضت علي . فقام عمر فقال الحمد لله احمده واستعينه من يهدي الله فلا مضل له ومن يضل الله فلا هادي له . فقال ذلك النبطي الملعون ان الله لا يضل احدا . فقال عمر رضي الله عنه ما يقول النبطي قيل يزعم ان الله لا يضل احدا . فقال عمر رضي الله عنه انا لم نعطك الذي اعطيناك لتدخل علينا في ديننا . والذي نفسي بيده لئن علت لاضربن الذي فيه عيناك فينبغي الفكر فيما انتقدته ذلك الكلب وما قاله امير المؤمنين عمر رضي الله عنه من شرطه وجوابه بالمواخذة على انتقاده وما يعتده الا ان الاقباط من ترفعهم على المسلمين واتخاذهم الممالك والامام والعبيد ورفعهم المناظر والبنيان ولبسهم افخر ملابس المسلمين مع اقتناء الجواهر والزراكتش والبساتين والمتاجر برا وبحرا وملازمهم الملاذ انواعا . وان احد النصارى ياتي الربف مدقعا فقيرا وهو من اولاد مداير النصارى كالمعتشين فيخدم في اقل الجهات ونبيها

ويرطل بنا نهبه ويتقدم الى اعلى منها ويتنقل الى ان يلي الجيش او الاستيفاء . فما يمضى عليه ايسر مدة الى ان يجدد البساتين والسواقي

والاملاك المرخة. فما يصير له ذلك الى ان تنهب اموال بيت مال المسلمين وتقاسمه الخوة والسفل معهم.

ومن عبد الرحمن بن عثمان. قال كتب لعمر رضي الله عنه حين صالح نصارى الشام ما نسخته. هذا كتاب لعبد الله عمر امير المؤمنين من نصارى الشام انكم لما قدمتم علينا سالناكم الامان لاتقنا وذرارينا واموالنا على ان لا تتخذ في مدتنا وما حولها دبرا ولا كنيسة ولا صومعة لراهب. ولا نجدد ما خرب منها ولا نحبي منها ما كان حطط من المسلمين ولا تمنع كنائسنا ان ينزلها احد من المسلمين في ليل ولا نهار. وان نوسع ابوابنا للمارة وابناء السبل وان نزل من مر بنا من المسلمين ثلاثة ايام. ولا تئوى في كنائسنا ولا منازلنا جاسوما ولا نكنم غشا للمسلمين ولا نعلم اولادنا القرآن

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ولا نظهرا شركا ولا ندعوا اليه احد ولا نمنع احدا من قرائتنا من الدخول في الاسلام اذا ارادوه. وان نوفر المسلمين. وان تقوم لهم من مجالسنا ان ارادوا الجلوس ولا تشبه بهم في شيء من لباسهم ولا تتكنى بكنائهم ولا نركب السروج ولا نتقلد السيوف ولا تتخذ شيئا من السلاح ولا نحملة ونضرب بنواقيسنا في كنائسنا ضربا خفيا ولا نرفع اصواتنا مع موتانا. ولا نتخذ من الرقيق ما جرت عليه سهام المسلمين. ولا نطلع عليهم في منازلهم. وان نرشدكم الى الطريق. فلما قرأه امير المؤمنين زاد فيه شرطنا ذلك على انفسنا واهلينا وقبلنا عليه الامان. وان نحن خالفنا عن شيء شرطناه لكم وضمناه على انفسنا فلا ذمة لنا وقد حل لكم منا ما حل لاهل الشقاق والمعانفة. فليعتبر المعتبر هذه الشروط ويعاين ملابسهم ومراكبهم وتعرضهم للمسلمين من الاغاني ومن يجري مجراهم. فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم.

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وكتب عمر بن عبدالعزيز ميد بني امية رضي الله عنه الى عماله في الافاق اما بعد. فان عمر يقرأ عليكم السلام ويقرأ عليكم من كتاب الله المبين. يا ايها الذين امنوا انما المشركون نجس جعلهم

الله حزب الشيطان وجعلهم الاخسرين اعمالا الذين ظل معيهم في الحياة الدنيا وهم يحسبون انهم يحسنون صنعا اولئك عليهم لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين . واعلموا انه لم يهلك الذين من قبلكم الا بمنعة الحق وبسطة يد الظلم . وقد بلغني عن قوم من المسلمين فيما مضى اذا قدموا الى بلد اتاهم اهل الشرك فاستعانوا بهم في اعمالهم وكتاباتهم لعلهم بالكتابة والجباية وتدبير المعيشة والاخيرة ولا تدبير فيما يغضب الله ورسوله . وقد كانت مدة قضاها الله تعالى فلا يعلم ان احدا من العمال ابقي في عمله رجلا متصرفا على غير دين الاسلام الا نكل به . فان محو اعمالهم وانزالهم منزلتهم التي حصهم الله تعالى من النل والصغار وليكتب كل منكم الي با

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فعله في عمله . وامر ان يمنع اليهود والنصارى من ركوب السروج ولا يمكن احد من الذمة من الدخول الى الحمام يوم الجمعة الا بعد الصلاة . وامر الحرس بان يقفوا على رؤوس اليهود والنصارى عند ذبحة ما يذبحونه . وان يذكروا اسم الله واسم محمد صلعم . فكب اليه عاملة حيان على مصر . اما بعد . يا امير المؤمنين ان دام هذا الامر في مصر اسلمت الذمة وبطل ما يؤخذ منهم . فارسل اليه رسولا جلدا وقال له ايت مصر واضرب حيان على راسه ثلثين سوطا ادبا على قوله . وقل له ويلك يا حيان من دخل دين الاسلام ضع عنه الجزية فوددت لو اسلموا كافة ان الله بعث محمدا صلعم داعيا لا جاييا .

ولما استجد بنو امية النصارى في كتابة الا «؟» والسلام كتب محمد بن يزيد الانصاري الى عبد الملك هذه الايات .

بني امية كفوا السن الغلفا كذلك من رسول الله والخلفا

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لا تجعلوا القبط كتابا لدولتكم فان في ذلك العنوان والجنفا
فاتم للهدى بضئ به بكم على نهجه يجري اذا وقفا
قامر عبد الملك بان لا يستعمل في دولته احد من اليهود والنصارى

واهتر دم من يستعلمهم.

وكب خالد بن صفوان الى عمرو بن العاص رحمه الله عند ما
ولي مصر.

يا عمرو وقدمت لك بيمينك مصرنا وملكت فيها العدل والاقساطا
فاقتل بسيفك من تعلى طوره واجعل فتوح ميوفك الاقباطا
فيهم اقيم الجور في جنباتها وراى الانام البغي والافراطا
لا تركن الى النصارى انهم شعب على دين الاله تعاطا

واذكر امير المؤمنين وقوله ان كنت في طاعاته محطاطا
لا تحفظن لمشرك عهدا ولا ترعى له ذمما ولا احلاطا
فراى في نيك الليلة عمرو في منامه قائلا من النصارى ينشده ويشير
اليه بكفه.

بنت كرم غصيوها امها واهانوها بوطي بالقدم
ثم عادوا حكموها فيهم ولناهيك بخضم يحكمكم
فاستيقظ فزعا وقال والله لا حكمهم في امر نزعهم عنهم الاسلام فامر
بعرل الاقباط جميعهم.

وكان الكاثي يقرى المامون رحمه الله القرآن من وراء ستارة
فاذا غلط ضرب الكاثي بقضيب على مخدة فبلغ المامون الى قوله
تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا لا تتخذوا اليهود والنصارى اولياء - الآية
فضرب الكاسي بالقضيب فظن المامون انه غلط فراجع القراءة

وقرا كما قرا اولا فضرب بالقضيب ففطن المامون ان مراد
الكاسي التبيه على معنى الآية الشريفة فامر ان لا يبقى يهودي ولا
نصراني في عمل من الاعمال متصرفا في امور الكتابة والتصرف.
وفي ايام هارون الرشيد ولي الفضل بن يحيى خراسان وجعفر
اخوه ديوان الخاتم عمرا الجوامع والمساجد والمرافق والصحاريج
للسبل والمكاتب لايثام المسلمين واجريا لهم الارزاق. وصرف
كل منها النعمة عن الدواوين والمناصب وخرّب الفضل معاقلمهم

ومعابدهم بخرامان وامر بان لا يمكنوا من يياض شي مما بقي من
كنائسهم لثلاثا تشبهوا بمساجد المسلمين في البلاد.

وذكر عمرو بن عبد الله قال استدعاني المأمون عند ما تظلم
المسلمون من الاقباط بمصر فقال يا عمرو اتعرف من ابن اهل القبط

فقلت هم بقية قوم الفراعنة الذين كانوا بمصر. فقال صف لي كان
امرهم. فقلت يا امير المؤمنين لما اخذ الفرس الملك من ايدي
الفراعنة قتلوا القبط ولم يبق منهم الا من هرب واختفا باخضا
والاقصرين وتعلموا الطب والكتابة. ثم توصلوا وخدم اكارهم
الفرس اطباء وكتبا. ثم تحيلوا وكاتبوا الروم بامور الفرس وعدة
جيشهم واطلعوهم على بواطن امور يملكون بها الديار المصرية
وحرصوا الروم على وصولهم وتملكهم البلاد وبنوا لهم اسباب التوصل
الى الملك. فجمع ملوك الروم وحشدوا وقصدوا البلاد وملكوها
وعملوا على قتل ملوك الفرس ورعاياهم واقاموا كلمة التثليث
ونمكنوا من الاستيلاء على البلاد. وقالوا بمكرهم مقاصدهم وقلعوا
ملك الفرس وفيهم يقول بعض الشعراء

لعن النصارى واليهود فكانهم بلغوا بنا من دهرنا الامالا
خرجوا اطباء وكتبا لثن تنابوا الارواح والاموالا

وفي ايام المهدي اجتمع الى بعض جماعة من المسلمين وتظلموا
من النصارى وكان ذلك الزاهد يغشى مجلس المهدي وماله
الحديث في امرهم فانهم ما بين مظلوم في نفسه ومظلوم في ماله.
فالمظلوم في نفسه من يصرف من شغل ويصرف فيه النصارى.
والمظلوم في ماله من يتضعف. فاجتمع ذلك الزاهد بالمهدي وقص
على المهدي ما ذكره الناس. وانشده

ياي وامي ضاعت الاحلام ام ضلت الاذهان والافهام
من ضل عن دين النبي محمد اله بامر المسلمين قيام
ان لم تكن اميافهم مشهورة فينا فان سيوفهم اقلام
وراي الحاكم المتشب الى الفاطميين في منامه كان الباري

عز وجل في صورة انسان محمول على الايدي الى ان وصل الى باب القصر فمات. ففسره لنفسه وقال الحق يكون في الدنيا كلها حتى اذا وصل اليها بطل فاحتسب على نفسه واهله ثم احتسب على

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اليهود والنصارى وامر بهدم كنيسة قمامة بالقدس الشريف. وكب امرت حضرة الامامة بهدم قمامة فليجعل مساوها ارضا وطولها عرضا. وهدم الدبر المعروف بالقصير وامر بهدم كنيسة عظيمة بدمياط وذلك في مابيع عشر شعبان سنة احدى وتسعين وثلاثمائة. وامر باهانة اليهود والنصارى وحرم عليهم الكتابة وان لا يطيبوا احدا من المسلمين ولا يركب احدا منهم فرسا ولا بغلا ولا يركب حمارا الا يرذعة ولا يسمى احد من النصارى ابا ثاكر ولا ابا الفضل ولا ابا القنوح ولا يلبس نساء النصارى واليهود خفافا بل السرايمز احدهما حمراء والاخرى سوداء ولا يدخلن نساءهم الحمامات الا في رقايمهم حليان الخشب. وفرم لليهود وكذلك رجالهم. ويكون وزن الصليب والقرمة اربعة ارطال. واظهر الخبر المتفاض بين العالم اليهود والنصارى خونة لعن الله من البهم ثوب عز نزع عنهم الاسلام. وامر ان يبنى الى جانب كل كنيسة بالديار المصرية

12a

مسجدا وماذنة وان يعلى الماذنة على عمارة الكنيسة بحيث تكشف الكنيسة. وكذلك في كل دير من الديرة بنى في باطنه مسجدا ومن جملة ذلك بنى بدبر القصير مسجدا ثم اخفاء النصارى الى ايام السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله وجرى في اموره واسبابه ما ارجو ان يسألني مولانا السلطان عنه ثم تقر استمراره مسجدا.

وكذلك ظهر في ايام مولانا السلطان ماذنة في الكنيسة المعلقة في قصر الشمع ببصرى. فان النصارى سرقوا الماذنة المذكورة واخذوها ودرسوها من جهة الكنيسة وجعلوها من حقوق الكنيسة وكان باتفاق موهذن المسجد من مدة ثلاثين سنة واتفق ان مات ذلك المنافق وفوض الاذان بغيره فوجد صورة خزانة وفيها اثر درج

مقطوعة الى باب مسدود. فاحضر ملما وفتح الباب فوجده الى
 الماذنة فاعطى امرها واذن فيها. فعمل النصراني على المؤذن الى ان
 ضرب بالمقارع وصرف من المسجد خدمة لابن فلان و كاتب
 فلان. فبلغت القضية للامير زين الدين كبتا المنصوري الصغير فقام في
 القضية واوصل الامر للامير حام الدين طرنتاي المنصوري
 والامير الدين كبتا الكبير واعيد المؤذن بمرسوم الى المسجد
 المذكور.

وفي ايام المامون بن العباس تقدم بعض اليهود الى ان صار
 يجلس اعلا من الاشراف فتخيل بعض الفضلاء وكتب رقعة
 وصلت الى المامون

يا ابن الذي طاعته في الوري وحقه مفترض واجب
 ان الذي تشرف من اجله يزعم هذا انه كاذب
 فاجابه المامون صدقت وبررت وغرق اليهودي لوقته واورد المامون
 للحاضرين حديث المقداد بن الاسود الكندي صاحب رسول الله
 صلعم لما سار في بعض اسفاره ورافقه بعض اليهود يوما كاملا. فلما
 انقضى النهار ذكر المقداد رضي الله عنه حديث رسول الله صلعم ما
 خلا يهودي بمسلم الا واضمر له غيلة. فقال المقداد لليهودي والله ما
 تفارقني او تعرفني ما فعلت معي من اذى والا قتلتك. فقال ولي
 الامان. فقال نعم فاستوثق يميننا. ثم قال اليهودي كنت مذ ما برئتك
 اقصد ظل راسك فادوم به نعلي. فقال المقداد رضي الله عنه صدق
 رسول الله صلعم.

وذكر انه كان في زمن بعض الملوك رجل يعرف بالهاروني
 من اليهود وهو عنده بمنزلة رفيعة فلب مع في مجلس شرابه
 بالشرنج على التمني لحاجة في نفسه. فلما غلبه سأل الملك الوفاء.
 فقال له الملك سل. فقال يا امر الملك ان يضع من آي القرآن قوله
 تعالى ان الذين عند الله الاسلام. فضرب عنقه لوقته.

130a

وبلغني من اعيان العلول ان الحكيم موسى مرض فعاده القاضي
الفاضل وكان اليهودي عالما فاضلا. فقال للفاضل قد وجب حقك
على مجرى وزارتي واوصيك ان لا تطلب يهوديا فعندنا من حلل
السبت استبحنا دمه. فحرم القاضي طب اليهود واستخدمهم لذلك.
وذكر عن بعض اليهود انه كان يجي لبعض المتولين المغفلين
فيحضر له في الحياية النحاس فيردها عليه فاذا اخذها يقول لعن
الله من دفعها لي فيظن ذلك المغفل ان المراد به غيره.

وبلغني ممن اثق به ان اليهودي يكس ورقه ويجعلها في عمامته
مضمونها لعن من بلغه وشم من يشمه فاذا لعنه احد يقول له لعنتك
على راسي وانه يلخر في يته خشبتين ويسمي احدهما العادة

14a

والاخرى النعمة. واذا وجد المسلم قال له صبحك الله او مأك
بالعادة والنعمة. ومراده الملعون بالخشبين المذكورتين.

وحكى لي بعض العلول ان بعض اليهود يلبس استاذن
للمصاحب صفى الدين بن شكر في ضيافة يحضرها له فاذن له فعمل
في يته ما امكنه. فلما تها الطعام قال لزوجته عملتي الشريعة فقالت
لا فقال اعلمها فدخلت وخرجت ومعها زبدية فيها اراقه فجعلت
تاخذ بملقة وترشه على الزبادي والطعام فوشى للمصاحب بذلك
فامتنع. وطلب اليهودي واستقره فقال نحن معاشر اليهود من حلل
السبت استحللنا دمه في شريعتنا. ولما لم تقدر جعلنا في الطعام
يولا. فقتل اليهودي صبرا واراق الطعام.

14b

وكان في زمن الحافظ..... موفق الدين بن الخلال من
اكابر العلماء الذي ورد عليه القاضي الفاضل وكان من اكابر
الروماء والفضلاء وكان يتحنث في امر الدواوين والانشاء وكان
من سنن ملوك مصر ان لا اقطاع لاحد من الجند يتفق فيه من الخزانة
كعوائد العراق وانه عند تخضر البلاد ينذب موفق الدين ومن هو
في منصبه من فيه نباهة ومعرفة من الجند ومعه من العلول الموثوق

بهم ومن كتاب النصارى من شهر بكتابة ومعرفة المساحة الى كل اقليم من الممالك المصرية لتحرير ما روي من البلاد وما زرع فيها من اصناف الزراعات على اختلافها ويعمل بذلك مكلفات مستقصاة الشروح بالقطائع والقدن. وتخلد الدواوين بالباب فاذا مضى من السنة اربعة شهور تدب غير اولئك من الجند من فيه حراسة وهمة وبطش ومن الكتاب المسلمين من فيه امانة ومعرفة يستخرج الاموال وبعض كتاب النصارى لاستخراج ثلث المال المتعين ليحمل

15a

لنفقات الجند. فندب الى بعض البلاد من يسحبها على العوائد. فتوجه الشاد والناظر والعدول واعتذر النصراني بعذر يعوقونه بلحقهم ثاني يوم سفرهم فتقدمت المذكورون وتبعهم. فلما وصل تباه بلد واراد التعدي في معديّة ذلك البلد فلما وصل البر طلب صاحب المعديّة الاجرة فنفر فيه النصراني وشته واغلظ عليه قائلا انا ماسح هذه البلدة تطلبني بحق المعديّة. فاجابه ان كان لي زراعة خذها. واخذ لجام دابة ذلك النصراني فاعطاه اجرته واستعاد اللجام. فلما مسح البلدة شد جملة المكلفة بزيادة عشرين فدانا وترك في ورقة من الاوراق بياضا. فلما قوبلت كتب العدول عليها فاخذها النصراني ليكتب عليها فكتب في ذلك البياض ارض اللجام باسم صاحب المعديّة عشرين فدانا كتانا قطيعة اربعة دنانير الفدان. وحملت

15b

المكلفة الى ديوان الباب وانقضت مدة المهمة واستحق طلب الخراج فندب من جرت العادة به لاستخراج المال فوصلوا البلدة المذكورة وطلبوا ارباب الزراعات فطلب صاحب المعديّة بثلث المال وهو ستة وعشرون دينارا فامتنع قائلا ان كان لي زرعاً خذوه فلم يسمع منه وضربه المشد بالمقارع واشتهد بالمكلفة وخطوط العدول عليها ويسعه المعديّة وغيرها واخذ منه المبلغ. فهرب ذلك المظلوم خوفا من طلبه بالباقي وحضر الى القاهرة شارحا امره لمعارفه طالبا الاعانة باشارتهم كيف الخلاص. فقال له احد الناس للخليفة عادة ان

يجلس عند المسبح في السفينة وبني منظره بباب القصر وباتيه
المتظلم ويلعن في ذلك الوقت قائلا لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
علي ولي الله فيسمع الخليفة كلامه فيامر بما يقدره الله تعالى على
يده ولسانه من احضار الشاكي الى بين يديه وسماع كلامه او
تفويض امره لوزير او قاض او والي. فبكر ذلك المظلوم الى تجاه

10a

السفينة واعلن بتلك الكلمات. فاستدعاه الخليفة وسمع كلامه
واستوضح امره. وطلب موفق الدين بن الخلال واستحضر محلفات
ذلك البلد لعدة سنين متقدمة وتصفحت وكشفت سنة مئة فلم يوجد
لارض اللجام ذكر. فامر الحافظ باحضار ذلك النصراني ورسم
بتسميره في مركب وان يطعم انواع الاطعمة وامراق الدجاج ويسقى
اطيب الاشربة الممكة ويشربه في الممالك المصرية. وبرزت
وامر الحافظ شاما ومصرأ بكف يد النعمة عن الباشرات واستمر
ذلك الامر وحقا النصراني منه وهلكوا الى ان اتخذ الحافظ منجبا
حاذقا واربط عليه وجعل حر كاته مناطة برأي ذلك المنجم في
كبير امره وصغيره فاعمل الحيلة جماعة من اعيان النصراني وانوا
ذلك المنجم وبذلوا له الفتي دينار عينا واحضروا له شخصا من
النصارى يعرف بالاخرم ابن زكري وقالوا تذكر حلية هذا في
احكام طلوع الشرى اليمانية ولا تذكر اسمه وتقول انه يدل على
انه ون ولي شخص من النصارى وتذكر صفات هذا ابن ابي زكري زاد

10b

النيل عن عادته ونمت الارتفاعات وزكت الاغنام والزراعات
وكثر حيد البحر من البوري والاسماك وقدمت التجار برا وبحرا
وجرت قوانين الملك على اجمل الاوضاع واحسن الاحوال. فعمل
ذلك الكلب المنجم اكثر مما اقترح عليه من ذلك البهتان والمحال.
فعندما وقف الحافظ الدب على احكامه عند طلوع الشرى امر
باحضار اعيان النصارى وتصفح حلالهم والنصارى يومخرون احضار
ابن ابي زكري مدقايا واشتد طلب ذلك الملعون الى ان احضر وتمثل

بين يدي الحافظ فولاه الامر. وعزل موفق الدين المسلم الفاضل
الامين بذلك الكلب الخائن فاعاد استخدام القبط على ما كانوا
عليه واظهروا التكبر والتجبر على المسلمين وتظاهروا بحسن الملابس
الفاخرة وركوب البغال والخيول المسمومة. وضائقوا المسلمين في
ارزاقهم الى ان ولي منهم النظر واصحاب الدواوين حتى في
الاحباس الدينية والاقواف الشرعية واتخذوا الممالك والعبيد
والجوار من المسلمين والمملكات وصدور بعض المسلمين وبيعت
بناته في المصادرة من ظلم ابن دخان لعنه الله واشتراهم بعض
النصارى وتملكهم. فعمل بعض الفضلاء فيه

اذا حكم النصارى في الفروج وغالوا بالنعال وبالسروج
وذلت دولة الاسلام طرا وصار الامر في ايدي العلوج
فقل للاغور الدجال هذا زمانك ان عزمت على الخروج
واستمر امر ذلك الملعون والنصارى الى ايام العاضد المنتسب
للقاطمين ونبع في زمنه ابو الفضل بن دخان النصراني واستولى على
عقل العاضد وشاع نقاد امره اكثر من ابن ابي زكري واستولى على
الدولة بجهل القرييين من العاضد وعدم معرفتهم الى ان اسلم في
تلك الايام بعض النصارى واقام على الاسلام مدة ثم ارتد واستجزر

ذلك الملعون ابن دخان امر العاضد بان يستمر نصرانيا ولا يعارض
وان الحاكم في ذلك الزمان انكر ذلك وارعد جماعة لاحضار ذلك
المرتد اليه ليقتله. فوشى النصارى لابن دخان بذلك. فدخل جامع
مصر واعتبر حواضله وعجر بعض اطباق القناديل ورسم على القاضي
واشاع ان القاضي خان واخذ الات الجامع. واتفق عقيب ذلك ان
الشيخ زين الدين بن نجا الواعظ الحنبلي دخل البلاد وبلغته صورة
ما اعتمده ذلك الملعون ابن دخان في امر النصراني المرتد وما
عمله مع القاضي. وكان زين الدين المذكور له قدر كبير عند الملك
العاذل نور الدين محمود بن زنكي رحمه الله فامر العاضد للمواعظ
المذكور ان يجلس في جامع مصر ويتكلم على عاداته. فاحتفل
الخواص من اصحاب العاضد واقاربه والعلماء والقضاة والامراء

والجند والعمام. وقرر الشيخ زين الدين مع القراء بين يديه ان يفتحوا
 بين يديه بقوله تعالى يوم تأتي السماء بدخان مبين. فشرع الشيخ¹⁸⁴
 زين الدين يذكر كلما يمكن من ردة الدخان وما يتفرع منه من
 الاذى للعيون والادمغة وفساد الامزجة وما يدخل في هذا الباب.
 ثم انتقل الى ذم النصارى وفساد اعتقادهم واجماعهم على ربوبيته
 من قتل وصلب وقبر. وبين اختلالهم في امر النار المصنوعة في قمامة
 بيت المقدس وضلالتهم بقولهم انه نور ينزل على قبر المصلوب وخطا
 الملوك وقبح على وزرائهم ونوابهم استعمالهم في امر الحساب
 والاموال. واقام الدليل على ان من استخدمهم خالف الله عز وجل
 بما ورد في القرآن الشريف في امرهم وما ذكره رسول الله صلعم
 وما اعتمدته الخلفاء الراشدون. ثم ذكر ان من يقول الاب والابن
 وروح القدس اله واحد وانشد

كيف يدري الحساب من جعل الله ثلاثا بزعمة وهو واحد
 وتوسع في الطعن على انسابهم وقلة نحوتهم لا كلهم لحوم الخنازير¹⁸⁵
 وملازمتهم لشرب الخمر مع نسوانهم وبناتهم واقاربهم من الرجال
 والشباب ونومهم في مكان الشرب ليلا في اختلاط الرجال مع
 النساء. وانشد ايات عمارة يعني في ابن دخان عندما نكر عليه
 في امر جامكته

قل لاين دخان اذا جثه	ووجهه ينسدى من القرقف
حرم جاري ولو انه اضعاف	ما في سورة الزخرف
واضعف قفا النذل ولو انه	بين قفا القيس والامقف
ملكك الدهر بال الورى	فاخلق لحاهم عامدا واتف
واكب وحصل وادخر واكثر	واسرق وخزن وابطش وخلفوا خلف
وابك وقل ما صح لي درهم	فرد وصلب وابتهل واحلف
واغتشم الفترة من قبل ان	نفع الانجيل بالمصحف

وذكر حديث النصراني المرتد وتحريه على القاضي فنقل المجلس¹⁸⁶

الى العاخذ فامر بامساك ابن دخان ونهب داره . فوجد فيها مئة وخمسة وعشرين كتابا بالقلم الافرنجي وحملت الى ثاور وزير العاخذ فاحضر التراجمة وقراوها فكانت من الفرنج بعك وصور وقبرص لجوبة عن كتب الملعون اليهم التي يخبرهم فيها باحوال البلاد وضعف العساكر وقلة حرمة العاخذ ويطعمهم فيه ويحث الملك مري على سرعة حضوره للممالك المصرية ويوشح ويبت انه يبين المسلمين ويرفع كلمة النصارى ورفع ثان القيس والرهبان وترميم الكنائس وعمارة اوقافها والمساعدة على الاجر وزيادتها وانهم شكروه على ذلك واثنوا عليه . وعرفوه انهم على عزم الخروج والوصول الى الديار المصرية . فقتل ابن دخان لوفته وامر العاخذ بان يستعد من النصارى جامكياتهم وجراياتهم لخمس سنين . وان لا يترك لاحد منهم الى شهر واحد الدرهم الفرد ومتى عجز يقتل ويمثل به . ولم تنقض تلك السنة الى ان جمع الملك مري الفرنجي جموعا كثيرة وقصد الديار المصرية وقتل كل من في بليس اخذا لثار ابن دخان . ونزل ثاور الى مدينة مصر ومعه جماعة من القصرية واحرق ادد النصارى وقتل ونهب . فلما انتقل الملك الى السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح الدين رحمه الله تعالى تحيل النصارى على امرائه الاكراد واستعانوا بن اسلم منهم ظاهرا الى ان اعيدوا الى الخدم . ولوهموا الاكاريد والجهال ان المسلمين عاجزون عن صناعة الكتابة وانهم يصعبون الاموال واستولوا بكمهم على البلاد والاعمال ونهبوا اموال بيت المال واخاز الجند والامراء . وناخر كتاب الاسلام الامناء الفضلاء . فعمل بعض الفضلاء .

برى جدي حق النصارى بجهلهم وانفهم العالي على كل مسلم وشتم الغارات في المال ظاهرا ولا يتقون الصنع في ربع درهم ترى كل قبطي لدى اللف عتريا واقلامه تربو على كل لهنم ففازوا من الدنيا بما يطلبونه ومثوام في الحشر نار جهنم وامر النصارى في التصرف في البلاد والعباد والعمل على

أرواح المسلمين وأموالهم ومناصبهم.

وفي أيام السلطان الملك الصالح نجم الدين أيوب رحمه الله وغفر له دخل بعض المسلمين سوق التجار ومعه حجة على بعض الجند بهال مسطرة تحتاج إلى الشهادة فوجد نصرانيين عليها البقاير والأثواب الوامعة الأكمام كلباس عدول المسلمين. فغلب على قلبه أنهما من العدول. فقدم الحجة فشهد فيها استهزاء بالمسلمين ونقل ذلك إلى السلطان الملك الصالح رحمه الله فامر بأن ترفع النصارى العنبر ويشدوا الزنابير وأن يلبسوا الغيار ويمنعوا من التشبه بالمسلمين وأن ينزلوا حيث أنزلهم الله من النذل والصغار. ثم شرعوا في التقدم

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والازدياد من أول دولة المعز بطريق أنه كل أمير متمير في كل دولة لا بد له من كوتب نصراني وأنه بمقدار ما يشتى من ممالك سلطان الوقت من تلوح عليه أمارات السعادة والأمانة تغلق عليه بعض أولاد النصارى بعناية كتاب الأمراء خوفاً شديداً ذلك الأمير وخدعه وهو لا أمر له ولا إقطاع وخدعه ولازمه وأوجب حقه عليه أمر استجد ممالك وجعل منهم الخزندار والاسد ذ الدار فيشرع ذلك الكوتب في التحيل بأنواع الحيل على كل من أوليك كشرب خمر وضيافة واستحسان بما لا يمكن ذكره. وما يتبع ذلك. ثم يغريه في زيادة مال وإنشاء ملك وتجديد سواقي وومايا وتوسيع دائرة وتكبير كلفة فيضطر إلى الطمع والمواقفة على الخيانة ونهب مال امتاده وأشارك ذلك الملعون معه وتارة بالترهيب والتخويف من قوله أن الأمراء يصادرون امتاذ دارتهم وخزنداريتهم ويضرب له الأمثال بن اتفق في ذلك ومك امتاذ داره لدبر ظهر

21A

منه ونهب تحققة واشتهر وبخيفه من ضرب يحل به وعقوبة يقع فيها وأنه لم يكن معه ما يخلص به نفسه والامات تحت الضرب فيضطر إلى السرقة الدخول في الخيانة.

ومما وقع لبعض النصارى من كتاب الأمراء الكبار وأعجزته

الحيلة مع خزنداره لأميرين أحدهما قرب عهد الكاتب من خدمة الأمير والثاني أن الخزندار من صغار الممالك المغل لا يتصرف بنزول ولا ركوب إلا مع الأمير فاتفق أن الأمير سلم لخزنداره ثلاثة آلاف درهم. فلما فرغ اتفاقها قال للكاتب أصبل لنا حايها لناخذ خط الأمير على العادة بصحة الاتفاق. فعمل حبة وقال له قد فاض المصروف على الثلاثة آلاف درهم مايتان وخمسون درهما. فقال له الخزندار ذا جيد لي. فقال له الكاتب أنت صبي وما تعرف ما يضرك مما ينفعك وأنا صرت رفيقك ووجب حقك علي متى

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عملت هذه الحبة. ووقف الأمير عليها طالبك في جميع ما انفقته في كل ثلاثة آلاف درهم بمايتين وخمسين درهما وينسبك إلى الحياة. وخوفه من الضرب والعزل عن الخزندارية والتأخر عن رتبته فالباه إلى أن دخل في الحياة وسرقة مال استأذه وأن أكثر كتاب الأمراء يتحيلون على خادام دار استأذه بسماني فارة في الصباح ويهاديه بكر أو سجادة وما أشبه ذلك. ثم يقول له تعرف الدار خدمتي ومحبي للأمير واني أوفر عليه وانصحته واحفظ ماله وغلاله وتحيل في فضلات من مفاصل سكندري غالي الثمن من طرح مستحسن مختلف الألوان ويقول للخادم تعرف الدار أن هذا طرح جديد خرج. وقد اخترت أن يعرض على الدار فأي شيء أعجبهم منه أو من غيره يعرفوني لأشير على الأمير أن يسير قمحا من أقطاعه وحواصله إلى سكندرية. فيرعبهم الخادم أيضا بقوله أن دار الأمير

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الفلاني فضلوا من هذا وهذا يليق بالست أن تلبه فشكر ذلك الكلب ويقال له شر على الأمير بأرسال القمح إلى سكندرية ونحن نقترح ما نطلبه من الذي يعجبنا. ثم يجتمع ذلك الكلب باستاذ دار الأمير ويشرقه إلى سكندرية وطبها وباتينها وتحضها وفرجها ونزها مما يوافق استأذاره ويطعمه بأنواع الاطعام من حصول راحت وقماش وعشرة وفرجة ويتفق معه ويدخل هو واستاذ

داره على الامير ويقولان ان القمح يسوى في اسكندرية بالورق كذا والورق كل درهمين ونصف بدرهم نقرة يتميز في البيع عن هاجلة كبيرة وتشتري من اسكندرية قماشاً ونحضره معنا ونضمن للامير كسب المال بالثلث سيما ان كان الامير يمكنه اخذ كتاب السلطان الى والي اسكندرية ويرمي القمح على الطحنين فيكسب خلة مستكرة والدنيا محبوبة. فيامرهم الامير بالرواح واستصحاب الغلة للبيع . فيتتبع ذلك الملعون في نهب اموال مخدميه انواعاً

22b

واستضعف عقل مخدميه وانتفع بعناية اهله ورتب له انواعاً من المحبة وشرع في نهب مال مخدميه بوجوه كثيرة منها نهب الغلة عند الوشق في المراكب وفي اجر المراكب وعند البيع وما يسرقه منه وفي مشتري القماش وسرقته في الثمن وسرقته من القماش عند حضوره ويستخدم غلمان ذلك الامير المقرين اليه بهدية فوطه ومنديل . ويتقن امره بما يحضره وبما احضره من القماش للدار الامير ويتقلدون المانة بالقماش للمشيخ الكاتب كانه من ماله ويستعين بدار الامير وغلماؤه في دفع المضرات عنه . وتسد ابواب من يعرف حياته من ان يوشى بها لمخدميه . ثم يسري الخلل الى ما يتعلق بسلطان الزمان . فان كل كاتب من كتاب الامراء لا بد ان يكون من اولاد كتاب السلطان او اقاربهم . فمتى حلت بكاتب من كتاب الدولة كائنه او نازلة

22a

بحياته ونهب واحتكار اموال بيت المال وغير ذلك من قحة النصارى وتطاولهم في ارتكاب الكبائر من التعرض للمسلمات او شرب خمر في شهر رمضان المعظم وما يناسب ذلك استعان بالامراء على خلاصه بطريق كتابهم بانواع مختلفة . منها ان كان من مستوفيين الدولة فيقطع ذلك الكاتب الامير الذي يطلب شفاعته لهمstoffي بوضع الحقوق السلطانية الواجبة الواجبة على اقطاعه او يطمعه بمشترى بلاد من المقطعين . وانه يلزم نظار تلك البلاد بمساعدته في العمارة والتقاوى . وان كانت معصرة قبالاخشاب من الحراج السلطاني

والتشبه في الزرعة وتوفير الحقوق في الباب والاعمال . وان لم يكن الكل فيكون الغائب . ومنهم من يبدل الذهب والخيول والقماش وغير ذلك . فيسمى ذلك الامير بنفسه وخوشداشيتيه الى المتحدث للسلطان اذا عجز ذلك الكلب عن اصلاحه . ويحلل امره ويستمر

23b

بذلك الملعون فيخون مطمئنا بعينيه ويزداد نهباً وخطئاً وسرقة لاعتماده على من يحميه بالرشا والبراطيل .

واعرض عن اثينا لو شئت قتلها . ولو ان لي قوة او آوي الى ركن شديد لاذكرن تفاصيل احوال جماعة من كتاب النصاري ومن اظهر الاسلام منهم ظاهراً خوفاً من قتل وعقوبة باسمائهم وشرح سيرة كل مستول بمكره منهم ومتعد بشره من مفسد ملحد شرير خبير نقل نذل وواضح حال كل مظهر لاسلامه مكيدة منه . واذكر حاله عنه من مترفع بهذيانه مخط لكل عالم من المسلمين يهتانه تترادف عليه الفلج كوقع السهام وهو في الخيانة والنهب الى قدام ومضاعفة اقدام . وقد استتر بظهور اسلامه وجعله ملماً بلبلوغ مرامه ابلس من

24a

ابليس اكسير الكذب والتدليس . ويحلف بدين الاسلام كاذباً على امر ما كان . ويصوغ ما لم يكن بالزور والبهتان وانه يكون انجس ما كان نصرانياً واكثر خيانة واقل حياءً وامانة واشد فحشاً . فانه مجبول على المخازي والفجور . وقد تحلص ظاهراً من رق النصرانية وذل اداء الجزية ووقهر دخوله في الالهة . فيظهر كلمتي الاسلام لحفظ ماله ونفسه ويزيد اقدامه على الخيانة والنهب ويكون في الظاهر مسلماً . واذا دخل يته وجد زوجته واولاده وبناته واقاربه واقارب اهله نصاري . فيكون معهم نصرانياً على الحقيقة ويصوم لصومهم ويفطر لفطرهم . ولو اعتبر معتبر لوجد عمر احد النصاري دون الخمسة وعشرين سنة . وخدمه ما تكون خمس سنين . ومعلومه ما يكون فيها مائتي دينار في نيك الملة . فتجد املاكه وظاهر حاله ما ينيف عن الاف مائة من الدنانير خارجاً عن الزراکش

والمصاغ والجواهر والعبيد والماليك والخيول الموصية

24b

والاغنام والجواميس والمتاجر برا وبحرا. ويعتبر حال اكابر المسلمين وامنائهم ومن خدم الملوك والولاة من خمسين سنة من ذوي المناصب والجامكيات المتميزة فانهم يودون الامانة في جامكياتهم وانفاقها كل منهم في كلف وظيفته في باب سلطانه وتجمله بالخيول والفلان وحسن البزة وان ورث شيئا اذبه وامسى مديونا لعزة نفسه وامائته.

ولما تملك التار المخولون بلاد الشام المحرومة توجه العالم ابو الفضائل بن اخت المكين بن العبيد المعروف بكتاب الجيش بدمشق الى هولاء كوك ملك التار وامتصحب معه من خاله المكين المذكور ومن متمولين النصاري بدمشق اموالا وتقادم وتحفا. وساعده المختص صاحب اربيل وامتتجز فرمانا من هولاء كوك يتضمن الامر لاهل الشرق وجزيرة ابني عمر والشام جميعه ان

25a

تظهر كل طائفة من العالم دينها من النصاري واليهود والمجوس والشية وعباد الاصنام. ولا ينكر احد من المسلمين على طائفة من الطوائف ولا يتعرض له بلسان او يد. ومن فعل ذلك يموت. ثم تحيل ذلك الملعون ان ارض هولاء كوك بقوله ان المدارس والخوانق والمساجد والزوايا يتناولها المسلمون بالتميم وشهادة بعضهم لبعض. ولا يقومون عنها بشيء من حقوق الملك لكون القاضي منهم والشهود منهم. وقرر ان يؤخذ لهؤلاء كوك الثلث من جميع الاوقاف الدينية. وقرر ان يؤخذ لهؤلاء كوك الثلث من جميع الاوقاف الدينية وكان قصد الملعون بذلك تبطيل شعائر الاسلام باضعاف الفقهاء واعانة القضاة ودرس الشرع الشريف. وحض بفرمان على يده يامر باظهار الدين واخذ تلك اموال الاوقاف. ونزل صيدنايا وسير الى النصاري بدمشق يعلمهم بحضوره بالفرمان من هولاء كوك ونصرتهم على الاسلام ويقول لهم تتلقوني بالصلبان على العكاكيز والاناجيل

25b

في اثواب الديباج والزريفت والاطلس والمباخر بالعود
مع الشماعية والقوس بغافيرهم والمطاراة بحلاهم ومعهم الخمر
مجهرا. وكان في العشر الاوسط من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ثمان
 وخمسين وستة. والخمر في اطباق الفضة والذهب وفي القناني
 المذهبة والافلاج. فخرجوا اليه زرافات ووحدا. ودخلوا مدينة
 دمشق نهارا بالطبول والبوقات والصنوج والمباخر القضة والمطعمة
 والاعلان باصوات مرتفعة من ذلك العالم الكثير منهم المسيح عيسى
 ابن مريم والصلب المعظم. وكل مجد مروا به او مدرسة وقفوا
 عنده ورشوا الخمر على ابوابه من فضلات الافلاج التي شربوا فيها
 الخمر وضجوا بالدعاء بخلود دولة هولاكو الذي امر بنصرنا واطهار
 ديننا الحق على اديان الكذابين ولم يبق ذلك اليوم من عوام
 النصارى وزطهم واكابرهم ومتولهم الا من لبس افخر لباس.

26a

وتبهرج نسوانهم بالحلى والعقود. وجرى على المسلمين في
 ذلك اليوم وهو من شهر رمضان المعظم ومجاهرتهم الله تعالى بالكفر
 من الذلة وانكسار القلوب. واجشوا بالبكاء وجريان الدموع الحارة
 وابتهلوا الى الله عز وجل بكشف تيك الغمة عنهم.

وفي ثاني يوم دخول ابي الفضائل الملعون قريء الفرمان في
 الميدان يظهر دمشق. وفي ذلك النهار حضر الي شخصان احدهما
 يعرف بالعز بن امينا الواسطي وهو رجل مشهور بنفيلة وكتابة
 بالذهب. والثاني القاضي مبشر بن القطلاني معروف بابواب
 الملوك والوزراء وذكر الي ان النصارى احضروا كتابا تصنيف
 الموءن بن العسال المستوفي بدمشق ايام الملك الناصر وسماه
 السيف المرفف في الرد على المصحف. ونودي عليه جارا بجسر
 البادين بمدينة دمشق وهو عند الشمس الجزري الكتي المعروف
 بالقاشوشة. وانهما تصفحا الكتاب المذكور فتعلق على خاطرها منه
 انه خرج منه ذلك الملعون ان باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

26b

يستخرج منها المسيح ابن الله. وجعل ذلك الملعون ان كل حرف او اسم او فعل يتقلب غير صيغته من حرفين فصاعدا وقال انه تضمن الكتاب العزيز ان مثل عيسى عند الله - الاية. وكذلك مريم اخت هارون وابنه عمران وان اسم عيسى عند اليهود ايشوع ومريم ام يشوع كانت بنت يهودي واسم امها حنة ولم يكن لعيسى اسم عندهم ولا يعلم. وقال ذلك الملعون اترى الذي اتزل القرآن ما كان يعلم ان بين مريم وموسى وهارون الافا من الشين. وانكر امر الخضر عليه السلام وقال ليس له عندنا ذكره. وانما النصارى يقولون ان اسمه القديس امير جرجس وكان بعد المسيح بزمان. وانكر ما سواه لعنه الله. وانكر قصة سليمان عليه السلام وبليقيس وجميع ما نسب اليه. وانكر اهل الكهف وانه تجاسر وقال هنا من سخف المحدثين. وكنت في ذلك الوقت في خدمة السلطان الملك

27a

الاشرف مظفر الدين موسى صاحب حمص تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان. فتوجهت بنفسي الى جسر البادين وامسكت الشمس الكنبى الجزري وطلبت بالكتاب المذكور فحلف انه وداه للمؤمن الملعون وانه قطعه بحضوره وقطع مسوداته. فحضرت الى السلطان الملك الاشرف رحمه الله وسيرت من جهتي من اثق من غلماني من احضره وعرفت السلطان الواقعة فقال لي اطلب الكتاب واحضره وانا اضرب رقبة المؤمن. فطلبت الكتاب من الملعون فانكره وقال لم يكن بخطي وقطعته. ثم اخذته الى داري وضيق عليه وشددت وهددت. فقام جماعة من نصارى دمشق منهم المكين بن المعتمد والرشد المعروف بكاتب التفليسي وجماعة من اكابر النصارى ومثوليم وخرجوا الى البستان الظاهري الى البان شحنة التتار ويقال انه ابن خالة هولاكو وكان متسلطا مفاكا كافرا وقدموا له اموالا جمة وقالوا ان فرمان ايلخان حضر بان يظهر كل انسان دينه ومذهبه ولا يتعرض اهل ملة لملة وان كاتب السلطان

27b

الملك الاشرف امسك مصنف كتاب في ديننا وهو يقصد قتله .
 فير البان الى القاضي شمس الدين القمي النائب عن التتار
 بدمشق وهو بدار السعادة يقول انه يجتمع بالملك الاشرف وتقول
 له ان هذا التجكي الذي لك خالف فرمان ايلخان وهذا يموت .
 فطلبني القمي من مخدومي وذكر الصورة وقال لي هؤلاء كفرة
 فجرة ولا فرق بين المسلم والنصراني فلا تتعرض لهذا النصراني
 توذي انت وينضر مخدومك وتلبسوا عند هؤلاء كو انكم خالفتم
 اليسق . ودين الاسلام له من يحتمي له غيركم . وهذه واقعة مشهورة
 يعرفها اكابر دمشق وعملوها وحكامها . فقدد الله تعالى في اقرب مدة
 ان كسر السلطان الملك المظفر سيف الدين قطز التتار الملاعين
 وامسك المسلمين ذلك الملعون فضول ابن اخت المكين بن العميد
 ومسلم للامير شرف الدين قيران الفجري امتاذا دار السلطان الملك
 المظفر رحمه الله عاقبه . وطلب منه اموالا فعمل
 كتاب النصارى وتحيلوا في اطلاق ذلك الملعون وهربوه الى
 الموصل فاتفق مع الرشيد التفليسي وعملوا بالمسلمين من المصائب
 ما لا يمكن ذكره . وكانوا سب قتل اهل الموصل بالسيف هجرا .
 ثم انه في ايام السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله تعالى عرفه
 ناصحوا المسلمين من بلاد التتار ان المكين بن العميد كاتب الجيش
 كاتب هؤلاء كويعة جيش مصر حلقوا امراء فامسكه الملك الظاهر وازاد
 قتله فاوقف حا له من عمل عليهم النصارى من الامراء فاعتقله احدى
 عشرة سنة وكسورا . ثم تحيلوا في خروجه بالدنانير . ويتبغى لهذه
 الواقعة ان يستباح اموال النصارى وحريمهم وارواحهم ولا يترك على
 وجه الارض نصراني ولا يهودي . فان معيد الدولة صاحب ديوان
 بغداد والعراق عمل على اهنة المسلمين واعلاء كلمة اليهود .
 ثم عمل على ارغون ودس عليه من مقاه بعد اختزان اموال الاسلام
 ورفع منار اليهود واهان الاسلام وان كلا من هاتين الملعونتين

منتظرون فرصة تلوح والعياذ بالله ويعاملون الاسلام بطلب الثار .
 وإذا ظهر تأثير ما الفته اظهرت للدولة الشريفة من تحصيل اموال
 هؤلاء الكلاب التي نهوها من يت مال المسلمين يتجرون فيها
 ويشاركون التجار برا وبحرا وشاما ومصرًا وظهر لمولانا السلطان
 خلد الله ملكه جارة هؤلاء الملاعين على مشرى امرى طرابلس
 من اولاد ملوك ونساء متمولين واعيان النصارى وما عمل على
 المسلمين في ممالكهم من التتيمم والاذى بما تصل قدرتهم اليه كما
 قيل .

وضيفة فاذا اصابته قدرة قتلت وذلك عادة الضعفاء

وفي ايام مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله تعالى
 عند ما فتح قيسارية وارسوف جهز اهل عكة الى نصارى القاهرة من
 تحيل باتفاقهم في احراق الباطلية واحراق ربع فرح وقف الحرم
 الشريف بمصر واحراق عدة مواضع لاشتغال سر السلطان الملك
 الظاهر واذى المسلمين . ومضى الحريق الى جرون الريف في عدة
 مواضع . وكسب المتصحون للملك الظاهر بذلك من بلاد الفرنج
 فامسك النصارى واليهود بالقاهرة ومصر وجمع الجميع ليحرقهم .
 وركب بنفسه في عدة من الامراء ليقف على حريقهم بظاهر القاهرة .
 فبرز اليه ابن الكازروني الصيرفي وقال للسلطان مائلك الله لا
 تحرقنا مع هؤلاء الكلاب النصارى اعدائكم واعدائنا بل احرقنا
 بمفردنا عنهم . فضحك السلطان والامراء لتسخر ابن الكازروني .
 فلخل عليه الامراء ومالوه ان يقرر عليهم اموالا ويعفو عنهم ولا
 يحرقهم . فقرر عليهم جملا كثيرة ورب لها الامير سيف
 الدين بلبان المهراني يستخرج منهم المقررات في كل سنة . واستمر
 الحال الى ايام الملك السعيد عمل الكتاب من النصارى في اختلاف
 الدول واول دولة مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور رحمه الله وقدم
 روحه الطاهرة بالدناير والبراطيل وبطل عنهم ما قرر عليهم .
 وفي الايام الظاهرية ايضا تحقق ان جماعة من النصارى والارمن

والكرج من المجاورين بالكنيسة المصلبة بالقدس الشريف هم
جوايس التار المخلولين. وانهم يكاتبونهم باخبار المسلمين
وعساكر مصر ومتجددات الامراء من موت وامساك وحركة او
مكون مما يتصل ذلك اليهم من زوار قمامة من نصارى الديار
المصرية. فامر بقتل الجوايس ومن كان يؤيهم ورسم بان تدار
تلك الكنيسة مسجدا.

20a

الملك المنصور تغمد الله برحمته

اثبت قاضي صنف من صنف المنوفية بشهود عدول ان كنيسة
استجلت بحروان استجدها النصارى ما بين الدولة المصرية والدولة
الصلاحية. فامر الحاكم بهدمها شرعا بعد فتاوي اكابر الفقهاء
بالقاهرة بهدمها. فعمل النصارى عند الامير حسام الدين طر نظامي
المنصوري النائب في ذلك الوقت ورسم باحضاري القاضي المذكور
وضرب بالمقاري في باب القراقة واستمر خراب الكنيسة بعد ذلك
كما ذكر لي الامير ناصر الدين محمد الجهر كسي والي منوف الى
آخر سنة تسع وثمانين وستمائة. وان المحاضر الثابتة عند ناصر الدين
ابن الجهر كسي المذكور بذلك. ثم عمرت في سنة تسعين بمساعدة
عز الدين القشاش والي الغربية لاجل فلان وابن فلان كاتب فلان.
وتحيل العفيف موسى الشوبكي التاجر وروح لتردده الى عكة

20b

صادرا وواردا الى ان نقل الى عكة الجمل الكثيرة من
غلال السلطان رحمه الله وغلال بعض الامراء من الديار المصرية في
البحر الملح. وكان ذلك اعانة منه للفرنجة على المسلمين. ولو اني
آوي الى ركن شديد لاذكرن من هو الذي اعان المذكور لامور
ظاهرة محققة.

ويقول العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى غازي بن الواسطي مؤلف هذا
الكتاب رحمه الله انه لا يحل لاحد من سلاطين الاسلام وملوكهم
ونوابهم ووزرائهم الاستمرار على بقاء قمامة التي في القدس الشريف
لما يعتمد فيها من اظهار غرور النصارى ان النور ينزل على القبر

الذي تزعم النصارى ان المسيح عليه السلام دفن فيه لاجل الرسم الذي يؤخذ منهم عند الزيارة . فان الجاهل من النصارى يقول له القديريك الملعون ان هذا النور يعاينه شهود المسلمين ويباشرونه بانفسهم فيزداد ضلالهم ورفض عقولهم بان النور لا يحرق ويستمر اقبالهم على دين ابايهم الكفار سيما ومن يولد ويعاينه عند كبره في كل سنة . فيحمل ظهور هذا النور على الطغيان ويجعله دليلا لتسكه بالمنهج والدين الملعون ويكون نواب سلطان ذلك الزمان معيهم على الاستمرار بالمحال والتمادي على الضلال والكفر والزندقه والارتباط على التدليس فاذا خربت هذه الكنية واندرس امر القبر والنور وشاع امره الصحيح المحقق ان مشارف القدس الشريف يستصحب معه القدلخه والصوفان والكبرية ويقدح بحضور البترك الملعون ويشعل فتيلة القنديل الملان بالزيت . فاذا فرغ الزيت انطفئ القنديل المسمى بالنور وتبين لهؤلاء تلك العديمين العقول انه من ابواب المحال والضلال . وكان الموجب لانحلالهم عن دينهم . وربما اسلم الاكثر من يظهر لهم زيف تميم كبيرهم الملعون كالبرك والامتق والمطران وتبرد همهم وتنحل عقائدهم بعدم هذا النور . كما فعل في زمن معاوية بن ابي سفيان رضي الله عنه لما مير ^{٢١٦} بعثة الى قبرص ودخل العرب المسلمون الى جزيرة قبرص وملكوها ووجدوا فيها حلييا من حديد واقفا في الهواء بين حارين عالين فتعجب العرب منه ومن وقوفه بلا آلة . وكان في العرب من فيه بصيرة . فتقدم وقلع الصاري الواحد فوق الصليب فوجد فيه حجر مغناطيس من اكبر ما يمكن طولا وعرضا . فرمى الصاري الثاني فوجدته كذلك وان الحجرين المغناطيس يجذبان بالقوة ذلك الصليب بقوة معتدلة من كل جهة بالخاصية فلا يقع . فلما وقع الصاري وقع الصليب وبان زيفهم وظهر ما دبره الملاعين اكابر النصارى وعلموا انه هذيان مفتعل . وارجو من الله تعالى الذي اعطى هذا مولانا السلطان بن السلطان الملك الاشرف صلاح الدين من النصر

والفتوحات المبصرة وخذلان الكفرة مالا اعطى لسلطان قبله وجمع له بين حسن الفعل والشجاعة والكرم والاقدام وحسن الصورة ان يطر في صحائف حسنات ايام سلطته الشريفة معو اشار^{22a} يشهد به الديوان المعصور وما اشبه ذلك من هذا الهذيان الذي اصطلح عليه الاقباط الجبال بمصر والثام. كما قال بعض الفضلاء في قول الحسن بن هانئ المعري

اصاحت ققالت وقع اشرد شيم

وان كانت هذه الالفاظ من اللغة الغريبة مقولة منقولة فهو يشبه رقا العقارب. فانه غاية الامر فيما قاله انها سمعت مشي حافر فرس. فكذلك اصطلاح الاقباط على تلك الهذيان والجزعالات الغريبة الالفاظ. فاذا شرحت كانت كاقول مقدمة نحو يحفظها اصغر اولاد المسلمين في المكاتب. واذا سافر الحاذق من الذين اتقنوا ذلك الاصطلاح الى العراق او الروم او العجم لم ينتفع بشيء من ذلك. فان كل اقليم له اصطلاح بعبارة اهله والنسب اليهم وبغير لبس. ان الممالك الحلبية والشرقية كان ترتيبهم في الحساب والاصطلاح في دواوينهم خلاف الاوضاع المصرية عن قرب عهد. فلما

^{22b} تملك الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن العزيز المملكة النمشية واستخدم بعض الاقباط في البلاد الحلبية والشرقية نقلوا الاوضاع الى الاصطلاح المصري لعجزهم عن الحساب الشامي الذي يشهد اهله لصرفه وصرفه لاهله. فلا يبقى لخائن فيه حيلة ان يفس فيه حبه الا وظهرت. ثم انه كان في سنن ملوك الشام وسلاطينهم الى اخر الايام الناصرية ان لا يتفق خلو الديوان المعروف بالاستيفاء من مسلمين اكابر عدول جماعة كبيرة من ارباب البيوت المشهورين بالامانة والصناعة بحيث لا يتفرد يهودي ولا نصراني في شيء من ممالك الشام وغيره في كلمة واحدة. ولا يتحدث ولا يكتب الا بعد تحرير المسلم في كل قضية تقع. ثم يسطرها اليهودي والنصراني ويكتب ذلك العدل عليها بالصفة ففي اسر مدة لطيفة يعرف

المسلمون همهم لاشغال اولادهم في كشف تلفيق هؤلاء الغفلة
الجهال ويتقنونه اتقاناً جيداً بذكائهم ويتفقهون في اظهار
المصالح كما تفقهوا في العلوم الدينية وصفوا فيها الافا مؤلفة من
الكتب ويفرعون وجوها لم يدركها اليهود والنصارى ويعملون في
اموال بيت مال المسلمين بكتاب الله تعالى ومنه رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم. وتنمو الاموال بالبركات والعدل وتندرس الاغراض
الغامدة وابواب لمظالم وتعفى معالمهم وتبلى اثارهم القبيحة
الفضيحة. ويكون مولانا السلطان الاشرف صلاح الدنيا والدين قد
عمل بسنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. ويسير سيرة الخلفاء
الراشدين والسلاطين العادلين. فان مالكا رضي الله عنه ذكر في
كتاب المدونة الكبرى ان امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي
الله عنه قال لا يتخذ من اليهود والنصارى حزرون ولا صيارفة
ويقاموا من اسواقنا. فقد اغنى الله تعالى المسلمين عنهم. فاذا كان
هذا الامر في البع ولشراى الذي ليس فيه منصب ولا صورة فكيف
في تولية المناصب. فان اليهود يعتقدون ان الريا جائز مع
غير اهل ملتهم لاعتقادهم استباحة الاموال. فمن يعتقد استباحة
الاموال من المسلمين كيف يجوز توليته عقلا او شرعا. فقد قالت
العقلاء العجب من مؤمن يستخدم كافرا يخالفه في ارائه ويضادده
في دينه واعتقاده. وقالوا ايضا العجب ممن يطرح وليا مؤمنا عاقلا
ويستكني عدوا جاهلا كافرا. وقال اخر في المسلم اربع خصال لا
توجد في غيره حسن العفاف وكثرة الانصاف والرقعة على اهل
الدين ونصح المسلمين. وفي المشرك اربع خصال قلة للدين وكثرة
الخيانة وغش المسلمين وابعاد اهل الدين.

كل الكتاب بحمد الكريم الوهاب. الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله
على محمد وآله الطاهرين وصحبه وسلم. حسب الله ونعم الوكيل.

TRANSLATION

In the name of the merciful and gracious God! Praise be to God for having given us the religion of Islam! Prayer and Praise to the best of all Creatures! Pray God for him—that he grant him peace, as well as his family and his noble and spotless companions. Now, this small treatise demands that we should follow the folk of tradition and gain the victory for the people of the (real) faith and the truth, and that we should answer those who differ with them or who follow their own inclination without possessing any true knowledge. I am of opinion—putting my trust in God—that (fol. 2a) the protected people who, not being subjected to fear, have been allowed to live freely in Egyptian and Syrian regions, some of them unbelievers belonging to the Jewish faith and others to sects of the Christians, are worse unbelievers and more stiff-necked than those who wield the sword and who have kept their hold over Islam by oppression and tyranny.

Now, in order that there may be brought to light by means of (extracts from) the exalted sciences (of Islam) what injuries Islam can inflict upon them in the wish to cleanse the days of the exalted Sultanate of their filthiness, just as it has blotted out their strong and well-defended kingdoms, their lofty and towering fortifications, and has turned them into hiding slinkers—there being disclosed in the accounts dealing with the reign of his excellent majesty a degree of merit which did not belong to (any other) Sultan of the East or of the West, so that in doing so he trod the paths of the Prophet of God, of the Righteous Caliphs and the noble Sultans—(in order to do this) I have composed this Preface and two Sections. The Preface will contain whatsoever the Holy Book has to say on the subject and whatsoever has been handed down in tradition from the Prophet. The first section will include that which has come to us from the Prince of the Faithful, Umar ibn al-Khattāb, his immediate followers (fol. 2b) and those of the Banū Umayyah who followed them, as well as the Banū Abbās, the Egyptian rulers and the like. The second section will deal with events that have happened in this our own time and the truth of which is fortified by the testimony of leading men. That which I have written I have divested of all possible ambiguity. I have made it certain by investigations that no one will be able to counter, oppose or throw upon a side; so that any one who reflects upon all this and studies the matter in its whole

and its various parts, will know that I have sought nothing more than to earn the good will of my Master and to draw nearer to Allah in all that I have set down with my fingers. I ask God's help; for all must rely upon His favor and His mercy.

Preface; that which is found in the Splendid Book.

God said¹: 'O ye who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as partners, one with the other—for those of you who do so practically belong to them.' Further²: 'O ye who believe, do not take as partners those who are inimical to me.' Further³: 'Make war upon those who do not believe (fol. 3a) in Allah, in the Last Day and who do not hold forbidden that which Allah and his Messenger have so held—as well as those to whom a revelation has been given, who do not judge justly—until they pay the poll-tax willingly, being few in number.' The Christians are worse than are the Jews in the matter of Polytheism, just as the Jews are worse than are the Christians in the matter of unbelief and stiff-neckedness. For this reason Allah has branded the one with his anger and the other with error. Further⁴: 'Allah said, O ye that believe, have naught to do with such as make sport and fun of your faith—to whom a revelation was given prior to your own. Indeed, the rank unbelievers are to be preferred. Fear Allah, if you are true Believers.'

Traditions handed down from the Prophet.

Muslim in his *Sahih* says, on the authority of 'Aishah: Once the Prophet went out—it was before the battle of Badr; and when he was in *Harrat-al-Wabrah*,¹ a man came up to him of whom it was said that he was daring and generous. The friends of the Prophet were glad to see him. This man said to the Prophet (fol. 3b.): 'I have come in order to be one of your followers and to share your fate.' The Prophet answered: 'Dost thou believe in Allah and in his Prophet?' The man said 'No!' To which the Prophet replied: 'Go whither thou camest from. I can take no help from an idolater.' So he went his way until, one day, he met the Prophet under a tree, and the same conversation took place. Again, he went his way until he met the Prophet in the desert,

¹ *Qur'ān* 5, 56.

² *ib.* 60, 1.

³ *ib.* 9, 29.

⁴ *ib.* 5, 62.

⁵ *Yāqūt* 11, 253 gives both forms 'Wabrah' and 'Wabarah'. He also mentions Muslim as his source.

when the latter said to him: 'Dost thou believe in Allah and in his Prophet?' To which the man answered 'Yes.' 'Then, follow me,' said the Prophet.

For this reason the Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal said: 'No help must be accepted from either Jews or Christians in any of the official acts of the Muslims, e. g. the poll-tax.' In like manner Abū Hanīfah, al Shāfi'ī and other legal authorities hold that it is not lawful to appoint one of them to a position of influence in any province or to any station of trust; for unbelief is inconsistent with authority and with trust. The injunction of Allah: 'Do not ask help of an idolater' includes asking them for help in defence, employing them as governors, as clerks, and the like (fol. 4a). The general term used must be applied in all cases and can not be confined to a special case. In saying this he strengthens his position by two considerations. The one is that he gives their idolatry as a reason for withholding the appeal for help; and this reason applies equally to all such appeals. The second is that since he has not asked help from them in military matters, in which there is neither official appointment, nor raising him to a position of trust, nor elevating in rank—when it comes to positions of authority and of dignity, it is even less meet and proper. For this reason the legal authorities are agreed that it is impossible to put them in governing positions or in stations of power or in places of weight in a council; nor can they be allowed to build their houses higher than those of Muslims, nor can they be greeted first. When they are met on the road, they should be compelled to take to the narrowest part of it. It will be seen that the prohibition of asking them for help is general in its tenor—it being understood to refer to all unbelievers (living) among the People of the Book. This decision he bases upon his belief in Allah and in his Prophet. For just as soon as any one of the People of the Book declares the law of Allah and of his Prophet to be untrue, and disobeys the demands as laid down by the Prophet of Allah, idolatry adheres to him.

In this respect Allah says*: 'They have taken their clergy and their monks as their masters, but not Allah and the Messiah son of Mary. They were commanded to serve only one God; there is none other than He. Praise be to Him; far be He from that which they associate with him' (fol. 4b).

* Qur'ān 9. 31.

We have a tradition that has come to us from Abū Bakr al-Athram², one of the most important traditionists; it comes down to us through the Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal and others and is cited in the (former's) collection of traditions, on the authority of Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, to wit: The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ordered him to bring an account of that which he had received and that which he had expended (written) upon a piece of parchment. Now, Abū Mūsa had a Christian for scribe; and this man brought the account to the Caliph. 'Umar wondered at Abū Mūsa employing such a man and said: 'Verily, this man is very careful; call him that he read the Koran for me.' But, Abū Mūsa answered: 'He will not be willing to come to the mosque.' 'Is he ritually unclean?' asked 'Umar. 'No,' answered Abū Mūsa, 'he is a Christian.' Whereupon 'Umar upbraided me, struck my thigh so hard with his hand as almost to break it, and said: 'Have nothing to do with the Christians, seeing that Allah has put them at a distance; have no faith in them, seeing that Allah distrusts them; and do not esteem them, seeing that Allah has humbled them.'

The Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal has the following tradition—coming from Ḥarb al-Kirmānī, in a group of questions that he put to 'Iyād al-Ash'arī—: Abū Mūsa had taken a Christian for scribe; of which action 'Umar disapproved. Abū Mūsa objected: 'But his work is bound to be of service to me' (fol. 5a). 'Umar retorted: 'Have no faith in them, seeing that Allah distrusts them; do not esteem them, seeing that Allah has humbled them; have nothing to do with them, seeing that Allah has put them at a distance.'

Some Muhājirs came to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb with wealth gotten at Al-Baḥrein. 'Umar said to them: 'O Company of Muslims—may Allah have mercy upon you—much riches have come into our hands. If you desire, we can measure it. If you desire, however, we can weigh it. Again, if you desire, we can count it.' One of the men, however, came to him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, we have seen how the Persians have instituted a system of Dīwāns³.' So, 'Umar commanded that Dīwāns should be instituted in the various governmental districts; and when instituting such Dīwāns, he wrote to all his governors not to appoint in the service any unbeliever, be he Jew or Christian.

² Who he is I am unable to find out.

³ For the general traditions concerning such Dīwāns and their origin, see Bīlādihī Futūḥ, p. 193.

Mu'āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, as follows: 'In my district there is a Christian scribe, without whom I can not complete the taking of the poll-tax. I am unwilling to continue employing him without some word from you.' 'Umar answered his letter as follows: 'May Allah keep us and you in good health! I have read your letter concerning the Christian. My answer is this. The Christian is to be considered as if he were dead and gone; (fol. 5b) in no tradition and in no narrative is there any mention of an idolater being given an administrative charge during the times of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān or of 'Alī.'

The following tradition comes from Abū Mashja'ah ibn Rabī', one of the leading traditionists: When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, came to Syria, Constantine the Patriarch of Syria^a appeared before him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāh has put a poll-tax upon us; do you write a note to me concerning it.' 'Umar refused to do this, saying: 'What tax has he laid upon you?' Constantine answered: 'He has laid a tax of four dirhems and a woollen cloak upon every chief of tribe; and not a single man has dared to speak with 'Umar except with Abū 'Ubaidah's permission.' Whereupon 'Umar turned to Abū 'Ubaidah: 'What have you to say to this?' 'He has lied about me,' said Abū 'Ubaidah; 'I came to equitable terms with him. Do you yourself come and assign the rate of tax.' 'Umar said to Constantine: 'Abū 'Ubaidah is more trustworthy than are you.' 'Yes,' answered Constantine: 'Abū 'Ubaidah has told the truth; it is I who have lied.' Then said 'Umar: 'What induced you to do so?' 'I wanted (fol. 6a) to deceive you,' said Constantine, 'but you were too clever for me.' So 'Umar laid a tax upon the wealthy of 48 dirhems; upon those of middling fortune, of 24 dirhems, and upon the poor of 12 dirhems. He also gave orders that the Christians should not build new churches nor erect crosses, where Muslims lived, and that they should not ring their church-bells except in the interior of their churches; (saying) 'we ought to have the power to divide up their dwellings with them, so that Muslims may share these with them.' (He added): 'I do not trust you; I shall take the southern part of the land around their churches as places for

^a Who is this Patriarch? Is he Constantine the son of Heraclius? Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāh had command over the Syrian army and conquered Damascus.

Mohammedan Mosques, as they are situate in the very middle of the various cities.' It was, further, ordered that they should not drive swine amongst the Muslims; that they should entertain any guests that might come to them for three days and three nights; that they should carry those who came on foot from one village to another; that they should give such ones good advice and not maltreat them, and that they should not show too much consideration for an enemy.' He said further: 'We consider it lawful to shed their blood and to take captive their children and their wives. In such manner a compact and an agreement are made with Allah, and proper protection is assured the Muslims.'

Constantine answered: 'Put this down in writing for us!' While the document was being drawn up, 'Umar bethought himself and said twice: 'I must make an exception for you in regard to a whole army of difficulties.' Then he added: 'Here are your two times.' Now when the document was finished, (fol. 6b) Constantine said: 'Come, O Commander of the Faithful, go among the people; tell them that which you have done for me and about the poll-tax that you have set in my case.' So 'Umar went and spake as follows: 'Praise be to Allah! I render praise to him and I ask him for aid. He whom Allah leads can not go astray, and he whom Allah does lead astray, for such a one there is no (other) leader.' But that cursed Nabatean injected: 'Allah leads no man astray.' Then said 'Umar: 'What sayeth the Nabatean?' The answer came: 'He says that Allah leads no man astray.' To which 'Umar replied: 'Verily, we have not given thee that which we have given with the idea that thou shouldst attack us in our faith. By him in whose hands is my soul, if thou doest such a thing again, I shall strike that in which are thy two eyes (i. e., thy face).' We must keep in mind that which this dog has criticized as well as that which the Commander of the Faithful 'Umar has said, the terms he laid down and the return given to him when the Caliph answered his criticism; how he warned Constantine that some of the Copts were lording it over the Muslims; that they were holding Muslims as bond-men, bond-women and slaves; that they were raising their watch-towers and buildings too high; that they were arraying themselves in the finest clothing possessed by the Muslims—not to mention that they had acquired precious stones, brocades and gardens, as well as merchandise brought from over land and sea, and how they pursued doggedly pleasures of various kinds. He complained,

also, about a certain Christian coming from Morocco, destitute and moneyless; one of those poverty-stricken Christians like those who make begging their livelihood.¹⁹ He did chores (fol. 7a) in the meanest of places, which places, afterwards, he plundered—using that which he had stolen for the purpose of giving bribes. Finally, he was able to raise himself to the highest position there, being transferred from one post to the other until he was placed in charge of the army and the finances. It needed only a little time and he was rebuilding the gardens, the irrigation canals and various broken-down properties. But in order to accomplish all this he had to plunder the treasury of the Muslims, which he divided up with the lowest and the vilest among them.

The following comes to us upon the authority of 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn 'Uthmān: This letter was written to 'Umar when he made peace with the Christians of Syria.²¹

'This letter is sent to 'Abd Allah 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, by the Christians of Syria. Verily, when you came to us, we begged safety for ourselves, our children and our possessions on condition that we would not build in our cities and in the country near them either monastery, church or monk's cell; that we would not rebuild any such that may be in ruins, nor raise up that which Muslims have torn down; that we would not refuse permission to any Muslim to enter our Churches, either by day or by night; that we would open their gates to passers-by and to travellers, and grant hospitality for three days to any Muslim that passes by our door; that we would not receive into our churches or into our dwellings any spy; that we would not practice any deception to the prejudice of the Moslems; (fol. 7b.) that we would not teach the Kurān to our children; that we would neither preach the Trinity nor invite anyone to accept the doctrine; that we would not restrain any of our relatives from becoming Moslems if they so wish; that we would show proper deference to the Moslems, offering them our seats if they desire to sit down; that we would not try to imitate them in any part of their dress; that we would not use the same fore-names that they use; that we would not ride upon saddles, nor wear swords,

¹⁹ Evidently a monk.

²¹ Several recensions of this letter have come down to us. Probably most of them are spurious, as Miednikoff and Caetani hold rightly. See the latter's *Annali* 3^e p. 958. Even the name of the chief ecclesiastic at Damascus is held to be unknown. See de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 83.

nor bear nor carry any form of weapon whatsoever; and that we would strike the clappers softly in our churches. When we accompany our dead, we will not raise our voice in chanting. We will not run to the aid of a slave when the weapon of the Moslems is ready to fall upon him; we will not visit such in their dwellings nor set them right upon the road.'

Now, when the Commander of the Faithful had read this communication, he added these words: 'We make this agreement for ourselves and for all our people. For doing so, we receive protection. Should we deviate from any condition upon which we have agreed with you and for which we in our persons have become guarantees—then, we no longer are to enjoy protection; and you can do with us as riotous and uproarious people are dealt with. Let those who reflect consider these conditions with care; let them be thoughtful of their dress and their mounts and how they address the rich and such ilk among Moslem men and women. Verily! There is no real power excepting such as resides in Allah, the High and the Mighty!'

(fol. 8a) 'Umar ibn al-'Aziz, the chief of the Banū Umayyah wrote to his lieutenants in the various provinces as follows: 'Umar sends you greetings. He cites to you from the Book of Allah, about which there is no uncertainty²²: 'O ye who believe! The non-Moslems are nothing but dirt. Allah has created them to be partisans of Satan; most treacherous in regard to all they do; whose whole endeavor in this nether life is useless, though they themselves imagine that they are doing fine work. Upon them rests the curse of Allah, of the Angels and of man collectively.' Know, then, that they who have gone before you died simply because they refused to accept the truth and stretched out the hand of wickedness. I have heard of some Moslems in times gone by, that when they arrived in a certain country, the non-Moslems came to them and asked them for assistance in their municipal affairs and in keeping their books, because the Moslems were expert in book-keeping, in tax-gathering and in running business affairs. There can be no prosperity, nor can there be any real management when one makes use of anything that angers Allah or his Prophet. Indeed, there was a time—Allah has brought it to an end—when one did not know of a governor who, having a single man living in his province connected with any religion

²² *Qur'ān* 9. 28.

other than Islam, did not visit him with exemplary punishment. For the abolition of their own governments, and their having reached the low station to which Allah had degraded them was in itself abasement and derogation. Let every one of you write to me (fol. 8b.) what he has done in his province.

He commanded that both Jews and Christians should be forbidden to ride upon saddles; that no one belonging to the 'Protected Peoples' should be allowed to enter a public bath on Friday, except after Prayer-time. He ordered, further, that a guard should be set to watch both Jews and Christians whenever they slaughtered an animal, so that the guard should mention the name of Allah and of his Prophet (at such slaughter). His governor over Egypt, Ḥayyān¹¹, wrote to him: 'O Commander of the Faithful! If things continue as they are now in Egypt, all the 'Protected Peoples' will soon become Moslems and then we shall cease to get any money (taxes) from them.' Whereupon 'Umar sent to him a messenger strong in character saying: 'Go down to Egypt and give Ḥayyān thirty stripes with a whip upon his head as a punishment for that which he has written, and tell him as follows: "Take care, O Ḥayyān; whosoever has become a Moslem, do not ask the poll-tax from him. I only wish that the whole bunch of them would become converted. Verily! Allah has sent Mohammed as a preacher, not as a tax-gatherer."'

When the Banū Umayyah once again admitted the Christians as scribes in their various provinces and countries, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Anṣārī¹² wrote the following verses to 'Abd al-Malik:

'O ye sons of Umayyah, drive away the uncircumcised tongues, as ordained by the prophet of Allah and the Caliphs;
Do not appoint Copts to be scribes for your government work;
doing so constitutes wrong and sin. (fol. 9a)
You should be leaders, from whom a light shines over one's tracks,
continuing to be bright even when one stands still.'

Then, 'Abd al-Malik gave orders that as long as he ruled, neither Jew nor Christian should be appointed to office; and he finished off in cold blood all those who had appointed such.

¹¹ I. e. Ḥayyān ibn Shurayb.

¹² He was official scribe of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik; Tabari, *Annales* 2, 1168.

Khālid ibn Safwān wrote to 'Amr ibn al-Ās, when the latter was governor of Egypt:

'Oh 'Amr! thy right hand has charge of our Egypt; and thou art all-powerful over it in all righteous and just action. Kill with thy sword anyone who opposes thy will, and make the Copts the conquered of thy sword.

Through them wrong-doing has become established within her borders and her people have seen oppression and excess.

Rely not upon the Christians; they are folk who are opposed to the very law of the Almighty. (fol. 9b)

Remember the Commander of the Faithful and his behest; if thou desirest to be obedient to him,

Do not keep any engagement made with an Unbeliever; do not observe any compacts arrived at with him or any agreement.'

During that very night¹⁵ 'Amr saw in his sleep a Christian talking and reciting certain verses, while he pointed at 'Amr with his hand:

'A noble girl—they robbed her of her mother and reviled her by treading her with their feet.

Then they set her as ruler over them; but beware when your enemy becomes your ruler.'¹⁶

'Amr awoke in fright and said: 'By Allah! I have not given them jurisdiction over any subject that Islam has withdrawn from them'; and he gave command that all the Copts should be removed from office.

Al-Kisā'i¹⁷ used to teach al-Ma'mūn how to read the Koran, he (al-Kisā'i) standing behind a curtain. Whenever the prince made a slip, al-Kisā'i was accustomed to beat with a stick upon a pillow. Al-Ma'mūn had reached the passage: 'O ye who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as leaders, etc., etc.' Al-Kisā'i beat with his stick, and al-Ma'mūn thought that he had made a mistake. So he commenced to re-read the passage in the same manner as he had read it the first time. Again al-Kisā'i struck; (fol. 10a) and then al-Ma'mūn understood that

¹⁵ Evidently, the night on which he had received the verses from Khālid.

¹⁶ I am told that these are popular verses sung over the wine-cups. The vine is apostrophized as a girl and sung to as such.

¹⁷ Evidently, the great philologist, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Hamaah, who taught also Ma'mūn, the other son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

al-Kisā'i wished to call his attention to the meaning of the holy verse, and he gave orders that neither Jew nor Christian should remain in a position of authority in any province, either in secretarial nor financial matters.

During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashid, al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā¹⁷ was appointed to be governor in Khorassān, and Ja'far his brother was placed in charge of the Diwān of Seals. The two built private and public mosques, established other public benefactions, [and constructed] the cisterns connected with the public fountains, as well as schools for the Moslem orphans, to whom they gave all the substance at their disposal. Both of them removed the non-Moslems from the Diwāns and from all other offices. Al-Faḍl destroyed their strongholds and their places of worship in Khorassān, and gave orders that it should be made impossible for them to paint white anything that might be left of their churches, lest they should look like the Mosques of the Moslems in the various countries.

'Amr ibn 'Abd Allah mentions the following: Al-Ma'mūn consulted me in connection with certain complaints made by the Moslems regarding their treatment by the Copts of Egypt, saying: 'O 'Amr, do you know anything about the origin of the Copts?' I answered: 'They are the remnants (fol. 10b) of the people of the Pharaohs who (at one time) were in Egypt.' He said: 'Tell me something about them.' I answered: 'O Commander of the Faithful! When the Persians wrenched the power out of the hands of the Pharaohs, they killed all the Copts; and those only were left alive who were able to flee and to hide in Esne and in al-Uksurain.¹⁸ There they studied medicine and secretarial work. Then they returned; and the best among them served the Persians as physicians and as scribes. But they acted deceitfully and corresponded with the Greeks, telling them all about the Persians, the number of soldiers they had; informing them of the secret counsels of the Persians in that which concerned their rule over Egypt and urging the Greeks to come to their aid and possess

¹⁷ Al-Faḍl and Ja'far, grandsons of Khālid the Barmecide. Al-Faḍl was governor of Khorassān between 794 and 796 A.D.

¹⁸ The text has أفسس —but the writer must refer to أفسس, Yāqūt 1. 265, in the farthest part of Sa'id or Upper Egypt (Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 148). Al-Uksurain was also in that region. Cfr. Ibn Dukmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, v. 31; though I am not at all sure of the pronunciation. De Sacy, *Abdallatif*, p. 702, 'Aloksorein'.

themselves of the land. They made clear to them the reasons why they ought to arrive at power. So the Greek kings came together, mustered an army, invaded the country, took possession of it and presided over the killing off of the Persian kings and their followers, setting up the faith of the Trinity. They were able to gain the country into their power. By the deception that they practised, they attained their full desire and destroyed the rule of the Persians. One of the poets said in regard to them:

'Cursed be both Christian and Jew; in our generation they have accomplished amongst us their every desire;
They have gone out as physicians and as scribes, in order to steal souls and to gain riches.'¹⁸

It happened in the days of al-Mahdi that a lot of Moslems came to one of the ascetics, (fol. 11a) complaining about the Christians. This ascetic belonged to the entourage of al-Mahdi. He was asked to tell what he knew about these Christians; for some of the Moslems had been hurt in their person, others in their pocket. Those who felt injured in their person were those Moslems who had lost their positions and had been superseded by Christians. Those who felt injured in their pockets were those who had been brought to financial ruin. The ascetic had an interview with al-Mahdi, to whom he told what he had heard the people say. Then he recited to him the verses:

'By my father and my mother, either my dreams have led me awry, or both my mind and my thought have gone astray.
Whosoever is unfaithful to the religion of the prophet Mohammed—
—can such a one have anything to do with the affairs of the Moslems?
If their swords are not drawn against us, then are their pens, which are as sharp as swords.'

Al-Hākim, who claimed descent from the Fatimides, saw in a dream how the Creator, in the form of a man, was borne upon hands until he reached the gate of the castle, where he died. He tried to explain this dream to himself and said: The truth can be seen plainly all over the world; but, before it reaches us, it has become corrupt. He thought little of himself and of his family. He thought equally little of Jews and Christians. So he

¹⁸ I. e. the physician stole the souls and the scribes the riches of the people.

ordered that the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem should be destroyed, (fol. 11b)²¹ sending the following word: 'His Highness the Imām commands that the Resurrection be destroyed, making its top level with its bottom and its length with its breadth.' He also caused the convent called al-Ḳusair to be demolished, as well as a large church in Damietta. This occurred in the year 391 (A.H.),²² on the 17th of Sha'bān. Further, he sent word that Jews and Christians should be reviled; making it unlawful for them to accept secretarial positions, to act as physicians to any Moslem; ordering that not one of them should ride upon a horse or a mule—being permitted to mount an ass only when seated upon a pack-saddle; that no Christian should be given the [by-] name Abū Shākir, Abū al-Faḍl or Abū al-Futūḥ; that neither Christian nor Jewish women should wear boots of yellow leather, but gaiters, one red and the other black. Further, he ordered that their women be allowed to enter the public baths only if wooden crosses were suspended from their necks; and that Jewish women should suspend pieces of dried camel's-skin²³ from their necks. The men were to do likewise; the weight of each cross and of each piece of skin to be four pounds. It was he that published broadcast, so that the word spread out over the whole world, that the Jews and the Christians were treacherous folk, and that Allah would put his curse upon anyone that gave them a beautiful robe to wear, Islām having deprived them of such dress. Then he gave orders that by the side of every church in Egypt a mosque and a minaret should be built, (fol. 12a.) the minaret being raised higher than any part of the church, wherever that church could be seen. In like manner, he built within the grounds of every monastery a mosque. One of these he built in the Monastery al-Ḳusair, which the Christians however kept closed until the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Thāhir, when there happened in connection with it something, the reason for which I can only desire that our Lord the Sultan will ask me about. Then the Sultan insisted upon its use as a mosque.

In such manner there appeared in the days of our Master the Sultan a minaret in the church al-Mu'allakah in Ḳaṣr al-Sham'

²¹ Al-Makrizi, *Khitaṭ* (1st ed.), II. 287; Ibn al-Kalānisi, *Hist. of Damascus* (Ed. Amedroz), pp. 67-8.

²² Ca. 1000 A.D. On the general treatment accorded to non-Moslems by al-Hākim, see Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, pp. 179, 198; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, pp. 126 seq.

²³ Perhaps better, 'a piece of wood'.

in Cairo. Now, the Christians had [as it were] stolen the Minaret just mentioned, having hidden it and made it unseen from the side of the church, making it a part of the church itself. This had been done in connivance with the man who had been Muezzin of the Mosque for a period of thirty years. When the scoundrel finally died and the duties of Muezzin came into other hands, the new Muezzin found what looked like a closet and traces of steps leading up to a closed door. So he brought a ladder, opened the door and came upon the minaret. He made the affair known (fol. 12b) and took his stand in it proclaiming the *Idhān*. But the Christians worked the people up against the Muezzin, so that he was beaten with whips, driven from the Mosque and forced to earn his livelihood acting as servant for one man and as scribe for another. The matter came to the ears of the Amīr Zain al-Dīn Katbugha the younger brother of al-Manṣūr, who took it up and referred it to the Amīr Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Ṭurnūṣāi²² of al-Manṣūr and to the Amīr Zain al-Dīn Katbugha the Elder.²³ The Muezzin was reinstated by definite order at the above-mentioned mosque.

In the days of al-Ma'mūn al-'Abbāsī a certain Jew rose in position so that he came to sit in a station more elevated than even the Mohammedan dignitaries. One of the nobles of the court played the following trick upon him. He sent a scrap of paper to al-Ma'mūn on which was written:

'O Son of him, loyalty to whom was to be found among all people,
and whose word was law binding upon us,
We who feel thus believe that he whom thou honorest is nothing
but a Liar.'

Al-Ma'mūn answered him: 'You are right! You have done well to call my attention to it'—ordering at once that the Jew should be drowned. Then al-Ma'mūn told those who were present the story of al-Miḡdād ibn al-Aswad al-Kindī, (fol. 13a) a friend of the Prophet²⁴—how, when he was on one of his journeys, he was accompanied for a whole day by a Jew. When morning broke, al-Miḡdād remembered the saying handed down from the Prophet: 'No Jew is on good terms with a Moslem unless he has

²² So punctuated in *ms.* Perhaps better, Ṭurnūṣai, the chief vizier of the Mamluke Khalīf, ca. 1290 A.D.; Van Berchem, p. 319.

²³ Viceroy, and afterwards virtually Sultan.

²⁴ Especially concerned in driving the Jews out of Khaibar. Ibn Hishām, p. 779.

up his sleeve some scheme to trap him.' Then al-Miḡdād said to the Jew: 'By Allah! When you leave me you will have to tell me what crime you are meditating against me, or else I shall have to kill you.' The Jew answered: 'If I tell, have I your promise to do me no harm?' Al-Miḡdād said: 'Yes'—binding himself by an oath. Then the Jew added: 'Since I have been traveling with you, I have been planning for you to loose your head, so that I might trample it under my foot.' 'How right was the Prophet of Allah—Allah grant him peace!', rejoined al-Miḡdād.

The story is told that during the life of one of the kings a Jew known as al-Hārūnī (the Aaronide), who enjoyed high rank at his hands, played a game of chess with him in his drinking-room, on the promise that (if he won) he might ask something for himself. Having won the game, he asked the king to redeem his promise. The king then said: 'Ask what you wish.' The man answered: 'May the king order that the verse reading "Verily, the true religion is Islām"¹⁶ be stricken from the Koran.' Straightway the king cut off his head. (fol. 14a)

I have it from most trustworthy sources that the physician Moses was ill and the Kāḍī al-Fāḍil¹⁷ went to pay him a visit. Now, the physician was an intelligent and decent fellow. So he said to al-Fāḍil: 'Your good manners have led you to come and visit me. I beg of you not to let any Jew doctor you; for, with us, anyone who dishallows the Sabbath has forfeited his life to us.' So the Kāḍī forbade the practice of medicine by the Jews or that they should be employed in its service.

The story is told about a certain Jew that he was accustomed to come to one of the financiers—a witless sort of a fellow—bringing him in place of taxes due a certain amount of copper. But the financier refused to accept it of him. When the Jew took it back he said: 'Allah curse him who gave it to me'; and that simpleton thought that he referred to someone other than himself.

I have heard tell by someone in whom I have trust that a Jew wrote upon a piece of paper which he put in his turban to the effect that he who cursed him should be cursed, and he should be reviled who reviled him. Then, whenever anyone cursed him he would say to that person: 'Your curse is upon my head!' At another time he put by in his house two pieces of wood, giving to

¹⁶ Qurʾān 3. 17.

¹⁷ The celebrated chancellor of Saladin.

one piece the name 'prosperity' and to the other (fol. 14a) 'grace.' Whenever he came across a Moslem, he would greet him with the words: 'God grant you in the morning or in the evening prosperity and grace.' The cursed Jew meant, of course, the two pieces of wood.

A trustworthy fellow told me that a Jew in Bilbais asked permission from the governor Šaḥī al-Dīn ibn Shukr to take in a guest who had presented himself. This permission was granted. The guest did in the house whatsoever he desired. When the time came to prepare the meal, the Jew said to his wife: 'Do as the (Mosaic) law prescribes!' She said: 'No!' He answered: 'I command you to do so.' So she went into the house and came out carrying a dish containing urine. She began to take of it with a spoon and to throw it all over the dishes and the food. The governor was told about this and cited the Jew before him, who confirmed the truth of the story, saying: 'We Jews believe that whosoever desecrates the Sabbath has forfeited his life according to our Law. When we can not kill him, we put urine into his food.' The governor had the Jew bound and killed and the food thrown away.

At the time of al-Hāfiṣ (fol. 14 b.)²² there lived Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, a very learned man. The Kāḍī al-Fāḍil came to visit him; he being one of the most influential and important men of his day having jurisdiction over the Dīwāns where the records were kept.²³ Now it was a custom of the kings of Egypt not to allow any property to be apportioned to the soldiery, but that the soldiers should be paid out of the public treasury as was the custom in Mesopotamia. From the day that al-Fāḍil had come into the country, he had sent Muwaffiq al-Dīn and such members of the army in his retinue who had vision and understanding, together with trustworthy Muslim notaries and Christian scribes who were known for their scribal talents and their com-

²² A second hand has added: 'who was descended from the Fatimides'. The whole story is to be found in Makrīṣī, *Kaṣṣa* (1st ed.) I. 405; (2d ed.) II. 248.

²³ The text has *الدواوين والانشاء*. Is this simply a mistake for *دواوين الانشاء*? For the use of the plural, see the decree of Kāṣī-Bey (874 A. H.) in an inscription found at Hama, in Van Berchem, *Inscriptionen aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, 1909 [B. A. vii], p. 25; *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I. 507. Makrīṣī reads: *يتحدث في امور الدواوين*.

petence in surveying land, into all the various provinces of Egypt in order to verify the reports brought concerning the various sections, and to find out the kind of planting that was done in regular rotation. In regard to these, registers were drawn up—worked out with painstaking study—of the lands held as fiefs and of the fields. The copy of these registers was deposited with the government.²⁰ Now, when four months of the year had gone by, other men of the army who had exhibited bravery, heroism and courage were sent out; as well as Muslim scribes who had been proved trustworthy and understanding in dealing with the accounts of state, together with some Christians, to gather the one-third tax appropriated (fol. 15a) to be used to pay the expenses of the army. Others were sent out to some of the districts, in order to survey them as was the custom. So, overseers, inspectors and notaries set out; but [one of] the Christians gave all sorts of excuse that had prevented his coming, and overtook the others only on the second day of their journey. The rest preceded him, he following after them. When he came opposite to a certain section of land and desired to take a ferry-boat to reach it, having come to the other side, the owner of the ferry-boat asked him for his fee. Then the Christian had a fuss with the man, reviled him, and addressed him in coarse language, saying: 'I am the surveyor of this piece of land; would you ask me to pay for crossing this ferry?' To which the man replied: 'If I have any tillable ground—take it.'²¹ At the same time he seized hold of the bridle of the beast upon which the Christian was riding. So the Christian paid the fee and the ferryman gave back the bridle. Now when the Christian surveyed this piece of land, he added twenty faddān on to the whole amount; and in one of the accounts—the one dealing with it—he left a blank space. When this account came to be revised, the law clerks called attention to the omission. Whereupon, the Christian took it back in order to fill out the blank space, in which he wrote: 'The land of a bridle-man—adding the name of the ferryman, twenty faddān of cotton-land, to be taxed four dīnār a faddān.' The document was taken to the official bureau,²² where it was decided to grant the man a

²⁰ Text: *وتخذ المواوين بالباب*. I am guessing somewhat in my translation.

²¹ Literally: 'in collecting the riches'.

²² 'But the ferry is mine, and you must pay the fee'.

²³ For *ديوان الباب* in our text, Makrizi has *ديوان الاصل*.

certain leeway in the matter of payment. (fol. 15b.) Then, when the proper time to demand the poll-tax had come, those who were accustomed to gather the money were sent out. They came to the aforementioned place and sought contributions from those who possessed arable lands. The owner of the ferry-boat was asked to give one-third of his wealth, i. e. 26 *dinār*. This he refused to do, saying: 'If I have any standing corn—why, come and take it.' No attention was paid to him, but the overseer gave him a thorough beating with whips, asking him for evidence regarding his rating and the reasons why the authorities had so rated him. He forced the man to sell the ferry, as well as other property that he possessed, and took the sum he had demanded originally.

Now, the one who had been treated so unjustly fled out of fear that he would be asked to give the remainder of what he possessed. He came to Cairo, explaining the predicament in which he found himself to his friends and asking their help to suggest to him the means to extricate himself from this difficulty. One of these friends said to him: 'The Caliph is accustomed to sit near the "Prayer-leader" in the *Sakīfah*,²⁸ so as to have a good view through the gate of the Citadel. Let the fellow who thinks he has been misused come to him at that moment and call attention to himself saying: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah; 'Alī is the vice-gerent of Allah." The Caliph will then hear what he says and will believe that God has enabled the man in his person and with his tongue, to bring his complaint before him. He will listen to what he has to say or he will turn the matter over to some vizier, some *Kādi* or some *Wālī*.' So the man hastened to place himself opposite the *Sakīfah*, and cried aloud in the terms suggested. The Caliph did indeed call to him, (fol. 16b) heard what he had to say, and asked for an explanation of the whole matter. He summoned *Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* and had the account sheets dealing with the

²⁸ Who, or what is *المح*? The reading here *الحبة* must be wrong.

Makrīzī in the companion passage has *القبة*; though in his general description of Cairo at the time of the *Fatīmides* (2d ed. 2. 181), he also has the reading *القبة*—or, I ought to say the ms. upon which the two editions are based. From the citations in *Dozy*, s. v. *مقبة*, it is quite evident that it was a sort of covered portico. It was near the *Bāb al-ʿId* on the one side, and the *Khaṣṣnat al-Bunūd* on the other.

district in question brought to him covering a number of years back. These were gone over and compared, year by year. No mention whatsoever was found of any 'land of the bridle-man.' So al-Hāfiṭh ordered the Christian to be brought before him and prescribed that he should be nailed in a boat, given all sorts of food to eat and chicken-broth, as well as the choicest drinks mixed with musk to drink. He became the talk of the whole of Egypt; and it soon became noised over the whole of Syria and Egypt that al-Hāfiṭh was engaged in preventing the 'Protected Peoples' from reaching high positions.²²

This practice continued; the Christians suffered under it and commenced to die off. Finally, al-Hāfiṭh got hold of a skilled astrologer, to whom he bound himself hand and foot, making his every act depend upon the opinion of this astrologer, whether the matter was of much or of little import. A lot of the leading Christians imagined that they would play a trick. They came to this astrologer, and offered him two thousand *dīnārs* cash, presenting to him one of their number known as al-Akḥram ibn Abi Zakariyyah, and said: 'We want you to recognize the lineaments of this man in the rising of the southern *Sirius* star; but, do not mention his name. You will add that this points to the fact that if some Christian—giving here a description of this Ibn Abi Zakariyyah—(fol. 16b) be appointed *Wālī*, the Nile will rise above its usual height; prices will mount; flocks and vegetables will thrive; the sea-catch will be great with whiting and other kinds of fish; business-men will come over land and over sea; and the King's laws will rule over the finest places and the very best situations.'

Now, this dog of an astrologer did even more than had been suggested to him by the slanderer and crooked fellow. For, while that bear al-Hāfiṭh waited for his decisions connected with the rising of *Sirius*, the other fellow asked that the leading Christians be brought—whom he looked over very carefully. The Christians, however, did not put forward Ibn Abi Zakariyyah for many days. But the demand for this cursed fellow became so insistent that, finally, he was produced and stood before al-Hāfiṭh. The Sultan appointed him in authority and put out *Muwaffaq al-Dīn*—a Moslem, an excellent, truthful man, for the sake of such a treach-

²² My translation is in the nature of a guess. Makrizi says:

بكت إبني النصرانية كلها عن النعم في سائر المملكة.

erous dog as he. In such manner he gave back to the Copts the power they had possessed previously and made it possible for them to be haughty and proud over the Moslems. The Copts proceeded to dress in the most elaborate style, to ride upon mules and upon piebald horses. They made it hard for the Moslems to earn their livings; until out of their own midst came the inspectors and the heads of the various government departments, even in matters dealing with the religious mortmain and legal bequests.²⁶ (fol. 17a). They even made retainers, slaves and prisoners out of Moslem men and women. One of the Moslems was so importuned that he was led to sell his daughters—and this through the disgraceful conduct of Ibn Dukkhān,²⁷ God's curse be upon him—who were bought by a Christian and actually taken possession of by him. In regard to this a learned man wrote the following verses:

'When the Christians decide to rejoice and become intoxicated
because they ride upon mules and use saddles,
When the whole Empire of Islam is humbled and the command
rests in the hand of the unbelievers,
Then say to the one-eyed Imposter²⁸—if you ever had an idea to
come forth, now is your time to do so.'

The state of affairs with this damned fellow and with the Christians endured down to the days of al-Ādid,²⁹ who was descended from the Fatimides, when Abū al-Faḍl ibn Dakhkhān, the Christian, came into prominence and dominated the mind of al-Ādid. The force of his influence became greater than that of Ibn Zakariyyah so that he was a powerful authority in the government, because of the foolishness shown by those who were near to al-Ādid. They were so wanting in intelligence that when—just at this time—a Christian turned Moslem and remained so for a time but then repented, this damned Ibn Dukkhān was able to persuade al-Ādid to (fol. 17b) allow the man to remain a Christian and not be opposed. The Governor of the day did not approve

²⁶ In general, on the position of the Copts at this time, see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. 169.

²⁷ I can find no further reference to this man.

²⁸ I. e. anti-Christ. On his one-eyedness cf. e. g. al-Mutakki in his *Mun-takhib Kanz al-'Umal* on the margin of Ibn Khall's *Muḥammad*, 6, 37:

عن فاطمة بنت قيس ألا إن السبع الدجال أعور العين اليمين

²⁹ 1160-1171, A.D.

of this and set a lot of people on the renegade, to bring him so that he (the governor) might put him to death. The Christian told this to Ibn Dukkhān, who went into the Mosque at Cairo, took a good look over the treasures it contained and stole⁴⁰ the dishes of some of the lamps. This act he then ascribed to the Kādi, and made it known publicly that the Kādi was a thief and had appropriated the appurtenances of the Mosque. The result of all this was that the Sheikh Zain al-Dīn ibn Najā, the Hanbali preacher, coming into town was told what this cursed Ibn Dukkhān was doing in the matter of the reconverted Christians, as well as about his dealings with the Kādi.

Now, the aforementioned Zain al-Dīn had great influence with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zanki⁴¹—God have mercy upon him! Al-ʿĀdil commanded the aforementioned preacher to take his place in the Mosque of Cairo and commence his discourse, as was his custom. Intimate friends of al-ʿĀdil would then come in together with relatives of his, some wise men, Kādīs, Emirs, soldiers and common people. In the meantime, Zain al-Dīn had arranged with the Koran-Readers that were on duty that they should commence by reciting the verse: 'On the day (fol. 18a) that Heaven shall bring obvious smoke.'⁴² [This took place] and the Sheikh Zain al-Dīn began to relate all that he possibly could about the wickedness of al-Dukkhān and to detail the harm that was being occasioned through it to the eyes and the minds of the people, the injury to their constitutions—and more to this effect. Then, he went on to blame the Christians in general, to criticize their faith and their agreeing to recognize as Master one who had been killed, crucified and buried. He explained how they were mixed up in the matter of the fire that had been lit at the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem;⁴³ and how they had led people astray by saying that it was a fire that had come down [from heaven] on to the grave of the Crucified One. Further, he charged Christian kings with errors; and he showed how their viziers and lieutenants had erred in the matter

⁴⁰ From the context, this must be the meaning; though the use of *عبر* in this connection is peculiar.

⁴¹ His full name was Zain al-Dīn ibn Najā. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, II, 263.

⁴² Atābeg of Syria, 1146-1173.

⁴³ *Queda* 44, 9.

⁴⁴ This refers evidently to the occurrences on the Sunday before Easter.

of accounts and property. He adduced proof that those whom they had taken into their service had done contrary to the will of Allah as laid down in the Holy Koran in regard to them and in the authentic sayings of the Prophet of Allah, as well as contrary to the practices of the righteous⁴⁵ caliphs. Then he mentioned that there are some who say that 'the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are one God,' and he recited the Verse:

'How does he square the count who makes God three, while still maintaining that He is One?' (fol. 18b.)

The preacher continued to attack the lineage of the Christians and the little regard they had for their own persons, in that they ate swine's flesh; how they were addicted to taking strong drinks in the company of their wives, their daughters and other members of their families, both grown up and young; and how at times they slept in their drinking-houses for a whole night—men and women mixed together. He, then, cited the verses of 'Umāra of Yemen⁴⁶ in regard to Ibn Dukkḥān, in connection with his disapproval of his conduct in the matter of his allowance⁴⁷:

'Say to Ibn Dukkḥān when you meet him and his whole face is sweating because he is filled with wine,

May my competitor be condemned even if he is much more than those mentioned in the Sūrah al-Zukhruf;⁴⁸

Strike him down into the lowest depths, even though he carry himself high between priests and archbishops.

Time has put you in authority over the destinies of man; therefore, shave off their beards resolutely and pluck out their hair;

Acquire money and pile it up. Stock up goods, gain much and steal, be treacherous and rob, plunder and filch;

Weep and say, "not a dirhem has come into my possession"—make the sign of the cross, sing ribald songs and swear;

Seize what you can while you have the opportunity and before the Evangel is superseded by the Koran.' (fol. 19a)

Then he began to tell the tale of the converted Christian and what he had done to the Kāḍī. The whole assembly made off

⁴⁵ I. e. the early ones.

⁴⁶ Umāra of Yemen, 1121-1175. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Lit.*, I. 333. In the edition of Derenbourg, p. 215, the verses against Ibn Dukkḥān can be found.

⁴⁷ For the following verses, see Derenbourg's ed., p. 294.

⁴⁸ I. e. 43, referring to Pharaoh, Moses and Jesus.

to al-'Āḍid and forced him to arrest Ibn Dukkhān and seize all the contents of his dwelling. There were found in it one hundred and twenty-five letters written in non-Arabic characters.⁴⁰ These were carried to Shāwar, the Vizier of al-'Āḍid. The official translators were summoned. They read these letters; and, lo and behold! it turned out that they had come from the Franks in Acre, Tyre and Cyprus as answers to letters of the cursed rascal to the writers, in which he had told them all that was happening in the various parts of the land—how there were but few soldiers, how al-'Āḍid was poorly protected, [thus] emboldening them to take action against him, and instigating the King Murri⁴¹ quickly to make an incursion into Egypt. He so adorned the undertaking and spoke so well of it as to make the Moslems appear despicable; but giving dignity to the word of the Christians and elevating the position of the priests and the monks. [He, also, spoke about] repairing the Churches, rebuilding their community property, as well as aiding in the increase and the growth of their pay. They [it turned out] had thanked him for all this [information], had praised him and had told him of their firm intention to come and to settle in Egypt.

Ibn Dukkhān was put to death upon the spot; and al-'Āḍid gave orders that there should be demanded of the Christians to return the pay and the poor-tax that they had received during [the last] five years, and that there should be left to each single one (fol. 19b) of them not more than a single dirhem each month; and that when he grew old, each one should be put to death, in order that his fate might serve as an example to others. But that very year did not come to an end without the Frank King, Murri, collecting a large army and invading Egypt.⁴² He had every person in Bilbais killed, being roused to indignation by the lot that had befallen Ibn Dukkhān. Shāwar came to the city of Cairo with many men from al-Ḳaṣriyyah⁴³ and burned the houses of the Christians, killing and plundering as he went.

When the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Salāḥ al-Dīn came into power, the Christians corrupted his Kurdish lieutenants and

⁴⁰ Probably in Latin, as they came from the Crusaders.

⁴¹ Muri, Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, 67, 3 f. b. = Amalric, King of Jerusalem. I have not been able to find any other account of this treacherous action laid by our author at the door of the Christians of Egypt.

⁴² September, 1163.

⁴³ I can not find any such place mentioned in any of the reference books.

asked help of those of them who had openly professed Islam,²² that they should return to their service. They made these foolish Kurds believe that the Moslems were unable to fill the offices of scribes; that they squandered whatsoever money they possessed; and in such manner, by their craftiness, they succeeded in securing control over countries and territories—seizing whatsoever was to be found in the treasury and whatsoever food there was for the soldiers and the officers. However, some of the Moslem scribes, trusty and faithful, were not carried away; and one of them composed the following verses:

'The stupidity and foolishness of the Christians have exhausted me bodily—and the high nose they point at every Moslem. They make an incursion into the Treasury quite openly—nor do they fear giving one a hit for the sake of stealing a quarter of a dirhem. (fol. 20a)

You can see a Copt at the buzzing of every fly; and his pens are more numerous than anything else that is sharp-pointed. It is true they gained in this world that which they sought; but their final resting-place, together with the multitude, is Hell Fire.'

The Christians remained free to do as they pleased in the various countries, among the various tribes and in government positions—masters over the persons of the Moslems, over their property and over their situations.

In the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, a Moslem went into the Sūq al-Tujjār²³ in Cairo. He had with him a title-deed to some money owing to him by a soldier. The document was all finished, and needed only the necessary signatures of the witnesses. The man came across two Christians. They were clothed in bodices and in garments that had wide sleeves, just as Moslems of the noble class are dressed. The Moslem thought really that they were nobles. He spread the document out before them and they signed it—their very act being a jeer at the Moslems. This fact was brought to the attention of the Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ; and he gave orders that those Christians should receive a beating, that they should be

²² The text has: *الى ان اعيدوا الى الخدم*. Perhaps one ought to translate: 'until they were forced to return to their service'.

²³ The 'Merchants' Bazaar'—or 'Street'.

forced to wear girdles and to put on the distinctive mark that they were not Moslems; that they should be prevented from making themselves look like Moslems, and that they should take the proper low and humble station to which Allah had degraded them.

But, [despite these regulations] the Christians began to make their way again and to increase in influence from the beginning (fol. 20b) of the reign of al-Mu'izz³³—in such manner that it was necessary for every Emir, as he came and went in each reign, to have a Christian scribe.³⁴ Just as soon as it would be found out from the slaves of the Sultan of the day who it was whose face exhibited the features of rule and of power,³⁵ some Christian fellow would get in touch with him through the assistance of the scribes of the Emirs—a lieutenant or his servants, though the latter had no authority over him and no title. Yet he was serviceable to the Emir, he accompanied him and carried out the obligation under which he was to him. [For this reason,] whenever the word was passed to him, he would change his servants; he would make one of them his secretary or his chamberlain. This went so far, that his secretary was able to have his say over such things as the drinking of wine, the inviting of guests, the giving of charity—in a manner that can not even be recorded; not to mention other things that went even beyond this. He, then, made him wish to increase his wealth, to proffer counsel, to repair water-wheels and estates³⁶, to enlarge the administration, to increase expenditures—so that [in the end] he was compelled to become covetous, to fall into breaches of trust, and to rob his master of his money, the while associating this cursed fellow with him. At times he inspired him with fear and trembling—saying that the Emirs would importune their chamberlains and secretaries. He gave him various examples of cases like this that had occurred to him. He even seized his chamberlain (fol. 21a) on account of the wrongs he had done and the spoliations he had been able to verify and make certain as having been committed

³³ 1250-1257 A.D.

³⁴ The ms. here, and a little further down, has an impossible form: كوتيب —unless it is used in derision as 'seribelet'.

³⁵ A somewhat free and uncertain translation of the Arabic:

من تلوح عليه اماره السعادة والامارة

³⁶ Text has ومايا . Is this a pl. of ومية ?

by him—instilling into him fear of the punishment that would come to him and the chastisement he would suffer because of it; even showing him that he, when he would have no proofs by which to free himself from suspicion, and without which he would die under the punishment, would be forced to steal and to commit breaches of trust.

The following was accomplished by one of the most powerful and eloquent of the Christian secretaries of the Emirs; the cunning that he exhibited in connection with his chamberlain was successful for two reasons. One reason was the close acquaintance of the scribe with the entourage of the Emir. The second was that the chamberlain, being one of the youngest of the Mogul Mamluks, was not free to ride anywhere or to stop anywhere except in the company of the Emir. Now it happened that the Emir had entrusted the chamberlain with three thousand dinārs for the expenses of the two. When this money was spent, the chamberlain said to the secretary: 'Make up the accounts for us, in order that we may get the signature of the Emir in the customary manner, verifying the expenditure of the money.' So, he made out the accounts, and said to the chamberlain: 'Why, the expenses amount to two hundred-and-fifty dirhems above and beyond the three thousand.' To this the Chamberlain said: 'I'm glad of it.' But the Secretary answered: 'You are a mere boy, and are not able to distinguish that which is hurtful to you from that which is of advantage. Now, I am going to do you a friendly service. When it turns out that you were cognizant (fol. 21b) of this accounting, and the Emir becomes aware of it—why, he will ask you to make good that which you have spent, two hundred-and-fifty in every three thousand dirhems; and he will accuse you of perfidy.' In such manner he filled him with fear of receiving a beating, of being discharged from his chamberlainship and of being degraded in his rank. He worked on the chamberlain for so long a time, that he at length misused his trust and actually robbed his master of money.

Further, most of the scribes of the Emirs would acquire power over a servant of the palace by giving him presents of beautiful crowing quails, or by sending him—say—a carpet, a prayer-rug or the like. Then he would say to him: 'Tell the household of what service I have been, and that I love the Emir so much that I should like to do much for him—to give him advice, to care for his property and his crops.' Then, in order to carry out his

cunning, he would use pieces of Alexandrian cloth, quite expensive, made of pleasing stuff⁵⁵ and of variegated hue. He would say to this servant: 'Tell the household that this new stuff has just come out and that I wanted it to be offered to the household. Whatsoever part of it pleases them—or, even, if they should desire anything else—they should let me know; in order that I advise the Emir to send grain from his lands and his warehouses to Alexandria.' Then, the servant would make the rest of the household desire things by saying: 'The household of a certain Emir has large quantities of this stuff (fol. 22a); and this something would do splendidly for the dress of such and such a lady.' The dog would be thanked for this his advice and would be told: 'Advise⁵⁶ the Emir to send the grain to Alexandria, so that we may have the good fortune to pick out for ourselves some of it that pleases us.' Then, this dog got together with the Chamberlain of the Emir, told him so much about Alexandria as to make him yearn for it—for the good things found there, for its gardens and its precious objects, its delights and its pleasures, just those things that the Chamberlain liked. He excited his taste by letting him have samples of various kinds of enjoyment—enjoying rest, using fine cloth, keeping company and seeing sights.

The two came to an agreement, that both he and this Chamberlain would go to the Emir and tell him that in Alexandria grain was worth so-and-so-much in coined silver; and that the value of every dirhem of molten silver was two-and-a-half in the coined; and that there would result from such trading quite a tidy sum. [He added]: 'Let us then purchase in Alexandria linen, bring it back with us, guaranteeing to the Emir the grain of a third of the money spent—especially if the Emir will procure a letter of the Sultan to the Wali of Alexandria that he should turn over the wheat to the millers. Thus, an increasing number of people will make money, and the whole world will be in good humor.'

The Emir ordered the two to go ahead, and to take also the [other] crops for sale. The cursed fellow went ahead, stealing in various ways the property (fol. 22b) of those whom he was serving. The intelligence of those whom he served was not great; he, also, profited by the care of his friends, who showed him various instances of friendship. So, he went ahead, robbing those

⁵⁵ طرح. See Dozy *z. v.*

⁵⁶ Ma. has "Shir" in place of امر, iv. conj. of دار.

whom he served in many directions; e. g. withholding some of the wares as they were being laden in ships; in the hiring of ships; stealing when buying and selling wheat. He stole when buying the cloth, he cheated in the price, and he stole again from the cloth when it was received. He got into his own service the young men of this Emir who were attached to him, by making presents to them of handkerchiefs and head-bands.⁴¹ He bettered his own condition by that which he brought [from Alexandria] and by the linen goods that he carried to the palace of the Emir. They clothed⁴² . . . with cloth for the chief scribe, as if the money for it had come out of his own pocket. He asked help from the household of the Emir and from his young men in preventing troubles from coming upon him, in order that the gates should be closed against those who knew of his perfidy, lest he be betrayed to his master.

This disorder increased until [news of] it reached the Sultan of the day; for every one of the scribes of the Emirs had to be either a child of one of the Sultan's scribes or a relative. Now when any one of the scribes attached to the court had an occasion or chance to cheat or to rob or to take to himself money (fol. 23a) belonging to the public treasury, or to do any other of the shameless or high-handed tricks of the Christians—e. g. when they committed heinous crimes by interfering with Moslem women or drinking wine in the month of holy Ramadān—he would ask help of the Emirs to rid him of his troubles by means of their scribes in various ways. Thus, if he were one of those accused⁴³ by the Government, this scribe would tempt the Emir whose help he had demanded for the one accused by vacating the royal laws governing his feudal estates. He would tempt him still further by making him desire to buy land from the feudal lords; and by offering to force the attendants on the land to aid him in cultivating and seeding it; and if it were a place proper for wine-pressing, that he should receive wood from the royal demesne; that he should be assisted in producing seed, in paying all that was due the government and in carrying out all measures neces-

⁴¹ متدبل might mean one of various things.

⁴² The text gives no sense: ويظنون الباء بالقماش. I do not know what الباء is in this connection.

⁴³ Read مستوفى الدولة and not as in ms., مستوفين.

sary. If everything could not be done, he hoped that the greatest part could be effected.

Some of them gave money liberally—horses, linens and the like. Now the Emir to whom I am referring went so far as himself to go, together with his officer, to have a personal interview with the Sultan,⁴⁴ whenever the dog of a fellow saw that he was not succeeding. He overrode his authority, persisting with the help of the cursed fellow, so that he betrayed the trust (fol. 23b) of those who had had faith in him. He even increased his robberies, his seizures and his plunderings, relying upon those who protected him because of the bribes they received and the presents.

Turn away from other [and similar] stories that I might relate to you if I wanted. Had I the power, or could I rely upon sufficient strength, I would relate particulars of many circumstances connected with the scribes of the Christians, and how many of them would have proclaimed Islam openly, had they not been afraid of being killed or punished—even giving their very names. I could recount the story of every one of them taken in by his own artifice, or by his own evil conduct counted among the trespassers—doing wrong, straying from the right path, a big fool, a bastard and one despised. I could disclose the state of every one who professed Islam [merely] with some trick in mind. I could explain the condition in which he was, due to those who were haughty in their ravings—by their lies condemning⁴⁵ every learned Moslem as faulty, so that calamities came upon him like the falling of arrows—always going further in his treachery and robbery and increasing in his greed. In reality, his profession of Islam was only a blind. He was using it as a ladder to reach the height at which he was aiming—more devilish than the devil, the very elixir of lying (fol. 24a) and fraud. He would take an oath on the faith of Islam—which constituted an untruth. Out of clean cloth he would fashion that which never had occurred, by means of falsehood and misstatement. He had been amongst the lowest of the low among the Christians, the biggest liar, the one who possessed least shame and truthfulness, the greatest in impudence, with an inborn disposition to do things disgraceful and vicious. By such means he was able ostensibly to free himself

⁴⁴ My translation is free; the text, الى التحدث للسلطان, does not seem to be right.

⁴⁵ Reading Mukhatt'ian. Ms. has Mukhatt'in.

from the lower position accorded the Christians, the ignominy of paying the head-tax, and to prevent himself from falling into despoil.⁴² Openly, he would converse just like a Moslem—in order to preserve his fortune and his person, and that he might have an opportunity to cheat and to despoil. In fact, publicly he was a Moslem; but, as soon as he entered his house he found his wife, his sons, his daughters, his relations and the relations of all his people Christian—and he was a Christian with them in very truth, fasting during their fasts, and breaking the fast at the same time they did. Had anyone taken the trouble to observe him, they would have found that he had led the life of a Christian for more than twenty-five years. Now, his appointment had lasted only for five; and during these years his fees could not have amounted to more than two-hundred dinārs for all this time. Yet, you would have found his possessions and his manner of living to be such as to require thousands of dinārs; not to mention the brocade, the dyed-goods, the precious stones that he had—the servants, the slaves, the marked horses, (fol. 24b) the flocks, the buffaloes, and the merchandise that had come over land and sea. On the other hand, imagine the condition of the greatest and most loyal Moslems, who have done service to kings and to sultans during the last fifty years—functionaries with high pay and of distinction—how they turned their pay and the moneys they expended into expressions of loyalty; each one of them spending the money received in his office in the interests of the Sultanate and in increasing its splendor by means of horsemen and young men and by his own fine experience. If ever these inherited anything, they spent it. Indeed, at the end of their life they were in debt and poor, because of the strength of mind they had shown and their fidelity [to the ruling house].

Now, when the un-eyelashed Tartars obtained possession of Syria the well-guarded, the learned Abū al-Fada'il⁴³ ibn Ukht al-Makīn ibn al-'Amid, known as Secretary of War in Damascus, went to Hulagu, King of the Tartars. He carried with him much money from his uncle, the afore-mentioned al-Makīn, and from the rich Christians in Damascus, as well as presents and gifts. He was aided especially by the governor of Irbil,⁴⁴ who succeeded in

⁴² Both here and further on ms. has *إعانة*, where one would expect *الإعانة*.

⁴³ I am unable to identify this man. Ms. has *العالم* for *العالم*.

⁴⁴ Ms. *إربيل*.

obtaining a firmān from Hulagu, sending his command to the inhabitants in the eastern part of the Empire, in Jazīrat-ihn-'Umar¹⁶ (fol. 25a) and the whole of Syria that every religious sect could proclaim its faith openly—whether Christian, Jew, Magian, Sun-worshipper or idolater; and that no Moslem should disapprove of any one of the faiths or oppose them in language or in deed. Whoever should do anything like this was to be put to death. Then, this cursed fellow was able to make Hulagu covetous by telling him that the schools, business-quarters, Mosques and hospitals were all to be in the hands of the Moslems; and that, because of collusion one with the other, they do not pay that which is due to the King; the Kādi being one of their own men, just as the witnesses are of their body. He [the Secretary of War] therefore laid it down that one-third of all the religious mortmain should be seized and given to Hulagu. In doing this, the intention the cursed fellow had was to destroy the forms customary in Islam by weakening the legal lights, by throwing despite upon the Kādīs, and by trampling under foot the holy law. He returned with a firmān in his favor, ordering him to allow the various faiths to practise their religion openly and to seize one-third of the religious mortmain. He stopped at Šaidanāyā,¹⁷ and sent to the Christians in Damascus to tell them that he was coming with a firmān from Hulagu and that they had won a victory over Islam. He said to them: 'Come out to meet me with the crosses on the croziers, with Evangels (fol. 25b) clothed in brocade, shining white cloth¹⁸ and satin—the censers full of aloes-wood, with deacons and priests in their capes, the Metropolitan bishops decked out with their jewels, and with them the holy wine uncovered.'

This occurred during the middle days of the month of Ramadān in the year 658.¹⁹ The wine was on trays of silver and gold and in golden flasks and bowls. They came out to meet him in parties and singly. In such manner the fellow and those with him entered the City of Damascus in open daylight, with drums and trumpets, cymbals, silver-inlaid censers,²⁰ . . . raising cries in a loud voice,

¹⁶ Ms. جزيرة ابن عمر.

¹⁷ Yāqūt, 3. 441.

¹⁸ A guess. The text has ذر : ذر = glisten, and بنت, calico.

¹⁹ I. e. 1259 A.D.

²⁰ Ms. has والمطعة 'and incrustations', I believe the conjunction must be a mistake.

carried by this large multitude—the most frequent of which were: 'the Messiah Jesus son of Mary!' and 'the Holy Cross!' Whenever they passed by a Mosque or a Madrasah, they halted there and sprinkled upon the doors [of these buildings] wine from the residue in the flasks out of which they had drunk, loudly wishing 'long life' to the dynasty of Hulagu: 'who has pledged victory to us, and the triumph of our true religion over the religions of the Liars.' On that day there was not one single Christian—of the common people and the lowest, or of the highest and the wealthiest—who did not put on his finest apparel. Their women decked themselves out with jewels and necklaces (fol. 26a). On that day—it was in the sacred month of Ramaḍān, when Allah openly showed their godlessness—the Moslems suffered abasement and anguish of heart. They broke out in weeping, in the shedding of hot tears; and they besought Allah to remove from them all this sadness.

Upon the second day after the entrance of the cursed Abū al-Faḍā'il, the firmān was read out publicly in the Maidān of Damascus. On that day two persons came to me. One of them was named 'Izz ibn Amsainā al-Wāsiṭ. He was a man known for his attainments—especially, for his ability to write in gold. The second was the Kāḍī Mubashshir ibn al-Kaṣṭalānī, acquainted in government circles and with Vezirs. They told me that the Christians had exhibited a treatise composed by al-Mu'tamin ibn al-'Assāl al-Musta'fi in Damascus in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.⁷⁴ This treatise [the author] had entitled: 'The Whetted Sword, an Answer to the Koran.' A summons was issued against him publicly on the 'Bridge of the Feltworkers'⁷⁵ in Damascus. But, at that moment he was paying a visit to al-Shams al-Jazarī, the bookseller, known as al-Fāshṭshah (Mr. Irresolute); and the two were studying carefully the aforementioned book. That which had struck their minds especially in the book was how this cursed fellow had tried to prove in it (fol. 26b) that the expression: 'Bismillahi-rraḥmān-ir-rahīm' can be interpreted as containing the words: 'The Messiah, son of God.'⁷⁶ The cursed fellow did not know that any particle,

⁷⁴ Probably Nāṣir Salāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf of Aleppo, 1250-1260, who ruled over Damascus.

⁷⁵ I can not find mention of *جسر البادين* 'Bridge of the Feltmakers' in al-Kalānassī's description.

⁷⁶ By some sort of Athash?

noun or verb that contains two letters or more can be mutated [to mean something else]. He said that the Holy Book contains the passage:⁷⁷ 'Verily, the like of Jesus with Allah, etc.'; that it also mentions Mary the sister of Aaron, whose son was Imrān (Amram). He added that the name of Jesus among the Jews was Joshua; that Mary the mother of Jesus was the daughter of a Jew; that her mother's name was Hannah; and that no such name as 'Isa was used by them or was known to them. The cursed fellow added further: 'Did not he who gave the Koran know that between Mary on the one hand and Moses and Aaron on the other there were thousands of years.' He declared the story of al-Khidr (St. George), Peace be upon him!, to be untrue, saying that we had no mention of him [in the Koran]. The Christians say that his name was the Holy St. George,⁷⁸ and that he lived a long time after the Messiah. Cursed fellow! he declared many similar stories to be apocryphal; e. g. the history of Solomon, Peace be upon him!, and Bilkis, and all the other events that are connected with his name. He threw doubt upon the 'Cave-Dwellers.'⁷⁹ He went even so far as to say that this was merely the foolish talk of storytellers.

Now, just at this time I was in the service (fol. 27a) of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Muṭṭahaffar al-Dīn Mūsā,⁸⁰ the ruler of Emesa—God keep him in mercy and favor! So, I went in person to the 'Bridge of the Feltmakers,' and interviewed al-Shams al-Jazari the bookseller; and I asked him to let me see the aforementioned book. He swore that he had given it to the cursed al-Mu'tamin; and that, in his presence, the latter had torn it to pieces and destroyed the very paper upon which it was written. Then, I presented myself before the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf—sending, of my account, one of my servants in whom I had full trust, to bring al-Jazari. I related to the Sultan what had happened; and he said: 'Get the book and produce the fellow. I'll have the head of al-Mu'tamin cut off.' I asked the cursed fellow for the book. He denied that he had it; saying: 'It was not at all in my own handwriting; and, [anyhow], I tore it to pieces.' Then, I took him to my own house and questioned him minutely. I threatened him and frightened him. The

⁷⁷ Qurān 3. 52.

⁷⁸ القديس امير جرجس 'the holy Emir George'.

⁷⁹ The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

⁸⁰ 1245-1262.

while, a number of Damascus Christians—among whom were al-Makīn ibn al-Mu'tamid and al-Rashīd, known as Kātib al-Tāfiṣī, as well as a number of the leading and wealthy Christians—arose and went to the Ṭāhīrī Garden, to al-Sibbān,⁴² the Tartar general. It was said that he was a cousin, on the mother's side, of Hulagu. He was authoritative in tone, bloodthirsty and an unbeliever. The Christians brought him a goodly sum of money; and told him that a firmān of the Ilkhān⁴³ had appeared to the effect that everyone should have the right to profess his faith (fol. 27b) openly and his religious connection; and that the members of one religious body should not oppose those of another; further, that the Secretary of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf had seized the author of the book written against our faith, and that he intended to have him put to death. Thereupon, al-Sibbān sent to the Kādi Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳummī, the Tartar representative in Damascus—who was then in the Dār al-Sa'ādah Palace—telling him to have an audience of al-Malik al-Ashraf and to say to him: 'This . . . ⁴⁴of yours has disobeyed the firmān of the Ilkhān; he shall die!' Al-Ḳummī asked my master for my services; related to me all that had occurred, and said: 'These fellows are unbelievers and wicked. There is no difference between a Moslem and a Christian. If you thwart this Christian you yourself will be hurt; your master will be harmed; and you both will get the reputation with Hulagu of having done that which is prohibited. The faith of Islam has claims upon whomsoever asks its protection, even if he is other than you [i. e. not a Moslem].⁴⁵ This whole affair has become notorious; the great, the prominent, the learned men in Damascus—all know about it.'

Allah, however, made it possible—a very short time after this—for the Sultan al-Malik al-Muṭṭaḥḥar Saif al-Dīn to break the tail of the cursed Tartars; and the Moslems were able to seize this cursed fellow, Faḍā'il⁴⁶ ibn Ukht al-Makīn ibn al-'Amid.

⁴² Who is Sibbān?

⁴³ Ms. has *الخان*. These Ilkhāns formed a dynasty in Persia; and for many years disputed the power of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt.

⁴⁴ Ms. has *بتكجي*. Is it composed of *بتك*, pl. of *بتك*, 'a part cut off', and the ending *جي*?

⁴⁵ I have translated somewhat literally.

⁴⁶ Ms. has *فضائل*. I have restored the former reading *فضائل*. I should perhaps, have put 'Abu al-Faḍā'il'.

He was given into the custody of the Emīr Sharaf al-Dīn Qairān al-Fahri, head of the household of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muṭṭaṣṣar, who punished him (fol. 28a), and made him pay a fine. But, the Christian scribes worked secretly and had this cursed fellow gotten out of prison and hurried to Mosul. There he met al-Rashīd al-Taḥṣīṣī; and they did all manner of things to the hurt of the Moslems, the mention even of which is impossible. In fact, they were the cause why the people of Mosul were put to the sword while in chains.

In the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Thāhir,⁸⁶ a lot of sincere Moslems from the country of the Tartars told him that al-Makīn ibn al-Amīd, the Secretary of War, was corresponding with Hulagu in reference to the Egyptian army, its men and its commanders. Al-Malik al-Thāhir had him seized, with the intention of having him put to death. His condition was much worse than that of those who were governed by Christian Emirs—he was confined in prison for more than eleven years. Then, through payments of money, his release was effected. In order to put through this release, it was considered proper by Moslems to seize the property of Christians, their wives and their very lives. In the end, not a single Christian and not a single Jew remained in the land. Now, Sa'īd al-Daulah,⁸⁷ Chief Minister in Baghdad and Mesopotamia, was busy doing whatever injury he could to the Moslems and elevating the status (fol. 28b) of the Jews. Then [Sa'īd] struck at Arghūn⁸⁸ and plotted against him with someone who gave him poison, after he had impounded the wealth of Islam, raised the condition of the Jews, and brought Islam into despoil. Indeed, these two cursed religions were always on the lookout for an occasion to arise in which—Allah forbid!—they could do some injury to Islam by picking a quarrel.

Now, when a knowledge of that which I have related had

⁸⁶ I. e. al-Thāhir Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars, Bahri Mamluke, 1260-1277, the founder of the dynasty. William of Tripoli says that 'he was just to his own people and even kind to his Christian subjects'. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 263. His Empire was threatened by the Persians.

⁸⁷ Usually called Sa'īd al-Daulah, 'who was hated by the Moslems as a Jew, and unpopular with the Moslem grandees; during Arghūn's last illness, a few days before his death, he was deprived of his office and his life by his enemies'; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 430. He was killed March 5, 1291; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v.

⁸⁸ Fourth Ilkhān of Persia, 1284-1291.

⁸⁹ March and April, 1265. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. 267.

become common property, I suggested to the high government to seize the wealth of those dogs which they had stolen from the treasury of the Moslems, and through which they had been able to establish businesses and to have dealings with merchants on land and on sea, in Syria and in Egypt. Our Master the Sultan became thoroughly informed of the audacity of these cursed peoples, who bought the captives of Tripoli—royal princes, rich women and Christian notables—as well as of the hurt and the affliction that was being wrought by them upon the Moslems, in their various provinces and to the very limit of their power. So the poet says:

'How many a weak person, when once he attains power, kills;
this is the customary fate of the weak!' (fol. 29a)

During the rule of our Master the Sultan al-Malik al-Thāhir, when he was in the act of conquering Caesarea and Arsūf, the people of Acre sent to the Christians in Cairo some men who were secretly to plot with them to set fire to al-Bāṭiliyyah,⁸⁹ to burn the quarter of Farāḥ,⁹⁰ a mortmain in Egypt belonging to the Ḥarām al-Sharif, and many other places—for the sole purpose of putting a thorn in the path of the Sultan al-Malik al-Thāhir and of injuring the Moslems. The fire spread to a number of places up to Jurūn al-Rif.⁹¹

People, ready to offer good advice, wrote about this to al-Malik al-Thāhir from European countries. Whereupon, the Sultan seized the Christians and the Jews in Cairo and in Miṣr, gathering them all together for the purpose of burning them in a heap at the stake.⁹² He himself rode out, accompanied by a number of his Emirs to be present at the burning just on the outskirts of Cairo; but Ibn al-Kaẓrīnī al-Ṣairafī made his way to the Sultan and said to him: 'I beg of you, in the name of God, not to burn us in company with these dogs of Christians—your

⁸⁹ A street in the Eastern quarter of Cairo, not far from the Azhar Mosque.

Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, 2. 111 بَطْنُ الْبَاطِلَةِ.

⁹⁰ I can not identify this quarter of Egypt.

⁹¹ جُرُونُ الرِّيفِ. Is this the name of a place; or is جُرُون pl. of جَرُون ?

⁹² This must be the event referred to by Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.* I. 104, as having occurred in the year 663. A more detailed description will be found in Maḡrīfī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, 2. 16; though, according to Maḡrīfī, it was the Atabek Fāris al-Dīn Aktai who interceded for them.

enemies as well as ours. Burn us by ourselves and away from them!" Both the Sultan and the Emirs laughed at such buffoonery on the part of Ibn al-Kāzrīnī; and some of the Emirs came to him and asked him [simply] to place a fine upon them, to let them go and not burn them at the stake. The Sultan fixed upon a heavy ransom and appointed (fol. 29b) the Emir Saif al-Dīn Balbān al-Mahrānī⁹¹ to come to definite agreements with them to pay a certain amount each year. This arrangement held good until the days of al-Malik al-Sa'id,⁹² when a new agreement was come to with the Christians, limiting their liability up to a change in reigns; and just as soon as our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr⁹³—may Allah sanctify his pure spirit!—began to reign, the [whole] matter was arranged by money and other bribes, and that which had been laid upon them was removed.

During the reign of al-Thāhir, also, it was found out that all the Christians, Armenians and Georgians who lived near to the Church of the Crucifixion in Jerusalem the Holy were nothing more than spies of the un-cyelashed Tartars, and that they were accustomed to keep these informed concerning the affairs of the Moslems and the armies of Egypt and all the things done by the Emirs—about those that had been put to death or imprisoned, when there was an uprising and when affairs were quiet; in fact, whatever came to their knowledge through the Christian pilgrims from Egypt who visited the Church of the Resurrection. Therefore he ordered that these spies should be put to death together with those with whom they associated. He, also, had that church turned into a mosque. (fol. 30a.)

King al-Manṣūr—⁹⁴ May Allah, in his mercy, grant him forgiveness!

The Kādi of one of the Manūf districts,⁹⁵ upon the basis of unimpeachable testimony, determined that a new church had

⁹¹ Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit.* 1. 99, speaks of one بلبان الهاروني at this time. Is this a mistake of Ibn Iyās? Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, 4. 119, has also 'al-Mahrānī'.

⁹² Evidently, Sa'id Nāṣir al-Dīn Baraka Khān, Bahri Mamluke, 1277-1279; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* pp. 227 ff.

⁹³ Al-Manṣūr Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Lājīn, 1296-1298.

⁹⁴ Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Kalā'īn, 1279-1290.

⁹⁵ In no dictionary is this word to be found in this sense; but see Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, pp. 214, 219. Lane gives ناحة as a synonym. Manūf is between Tanta and Ashmūn in the delta of the Nile.

been built in Ḥarwān,⁹⁸ and that Christians must have built it between the 'Egyptian' dynasty and that of Saladin⁹⁹. The judge ordered that it should be pulled down, in accordance with the law on that subject, after having obtained legal opinions from the most prominent jurists in Cairo in regard to its destruction. But the Christians brought much influence to bear upon the Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Turuntai¹⁰⁰ al-Manṣūri, who was lieutenant-governor¹⁰¹ at the time, so that he had the Qāḍi cited before him and beaten with cudgels at the gate al-Karāfah. But the church remained in ruins—as I am told by the Emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jaharkasi, Governor of Manūf—until the end of the year 689.¹⁰² [He added that] the supporting documents in regard to this were in the possession of the aforementioned Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Jaharkasi. Then in the year [6]90, it was rebuilt with the help of 'Izz al-Dīn al-Kashshāsh, Governor of the Gharbiyyah province, for the sake of Mr. Someone and the son of Mr. Someone, scribe of Mr. Someone. Now the incorruptible Mūsā al-Shaubakī, the merchant, formed a plan and commenced to pay frequent visits to Acre, going and coming (fol. 30b), until he had carried to Acre all the crops of the Sultan and of some of the Egyptian Emirs that they possessed in the region of the Dead Sea. This was the manner in which he brought aid to the Franks against the Moslems. Could I seek shelter under some strong pillar, I would relate who it was that gave the aforementioned help—[which I do not do] for reasons that are self-evident.

Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭi, the author of this book, says that it is not proper for any Islamic Sultan, King, Governor or Vizier to permit the Church of the Resurrection that is in the Holy Jerusalem to remain as it is; since there the deception is practised by the Christians which makes it appear that fire descends upon the grave in which the Christians think that the Messiah—upon whom be peace!—was buried; a deception that is practised simply

⁹⁸ I can not identify this place. Ibn Dukmāk, *loc. cit.* 5. 107, has a جروان.

⁹⁹ What is meant by these two terms?

¹⁰⁰ Chief Vizier of Lājīn; Lane-Poole, p. 285; Van Berchem, p. 319.

¹⁰¹ ملر نطاي باب السلطنة; Ibn Iyās, I. 118, below. [Read third word *ad'ib*.]

¹⁰² On باب القراة see Makrizi (2d ed.) 2. 151, 185; Van Berchem, p. 521.

¹⁰³ I. e. 1290. Jaharkasi = Circassian.

because of the tax that is levied upon them at the time of the [annual] pilgrimage. Then, the cursed Patriarch says to the fool of a Christian that Moslem witnesses watch this fire, trying how to produce it themselves—but that their perplexity only increases and they lose their senses, because their own fire will not catch. In this way they are more confirmed than ever in the faith of their unbelieving fathers. This is true especially of those who are born [there] and see this occurrence every year at his rising. (fol. 31a.) In addition, the appearance of this fire drives the Christian as a missionary to the erring ones; and it is made a proof [which is used] to hold people attached to the accursed faith and religion. [By permitting such things] the representatives of the Sultan would be their supporters in the persistence in absurdity, the perseverance in error, unbelief and atheism and the attachment to cheating. If this church were destroyed, and the affair connected with the grave and the fire made impossible, the whole truth would come out, to wit, that [one of the] leading men of Jerusalem takes a flint, two woolen threads and brimstone, and in the presence of the cursed Patriarch, strikes fire and lights the wick in a lamp filled with oil. When the oil is finished and the lamp which was called 'al-Nūr' goes out—then, a little sense will come to those poor fellows, and they will realize that they have been fooled, lied to and led astray. The circumstance would be a powerful influence leading them away from their own faith. It would happen that the majority of those would turn and become Moslems who had witnessed the fraud practised by their very highest cursed ecclesiastic, e. g. the Patriarch, Bishop and Metropolitan. Their aspirations would become cooled and their faith would wane [simply] because they missed this fire.

Thus it happened in the time of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān when he sent his army into Cyprus.¹⁰¹ The Moslem Arabs penetrated (fol. 31b) into the island of Cyprus and became its rulers. They found in it an iron cross standing upright between two high posts. The Arabs [naturally] wondered at this, and how it was able to stand upright without any support. But, there was one man among them who had excellent sight. He came forward and pulled up one of the posts. The cross fell over. Attached to this post there was found a magnetic stone of the greatest possible magnitude, both as regards length and breadth. He,

¹⁰¹ According to al-Bilādīhūrī, p. 153, in the year 28 or 29 (648-649). I can find no confirmation of the following story (e. g. in Tabari, I. 2826).

then, threw down the second post, and found the same to be the case with it. The explanation is that the two magnetic stones drew the cross, each to its own side, with equal strength, producing an equilibrium, so that it did not fall. But, when one of the posts fell, the cross was bound to fall also. In such manner a fraud that had been practised became discovered, and what had been done by these cursed leading men among the Christians. People recognized that the whole affair was an insidious fraud.

I ask Allah the Most-High, who has granted to our Master the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the glorious King *Salah al-Din*,¹⁰⁵ victory, many conquests and desertions of their faith on the part of the unbelievers—such as he has never granted to any Sultan before him—, and who has united in his person good actions with the qualities of bravery, generosity, perseverance and fine personality, that he cause to be written upon the pages dealing with the noble deeds done during the days of his excellent Sultanate, the [account of the] erasure of the traces (fol. 32a) in the official *Diwāns* and the like of the nonsense practised by the ignorant Copts in Egypt and in Syria. In illustration of this an eminent man cited the verse of *al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ma'arrī*:¹⁰⁶

'She listened and said, Lo and behold' this is the tread of the foot of a walking horse.'

Although these words are strange they have been said and repeated [in common parlance], so that they are similar to [the use of the expression] 'the scorpion's charm' denoting the limit of possibility, in that he said that she 'hears the tread of the horse's hoof.' Just so are the technical terms of the Copts, seemingly nonsensical expressions and strange terms.¹⁰⁷ When they are explained, they are as easy as the simplest rule in grammar, which the smallest Moslem children learn in their schools. Now, when a clever man from among those who have studied this technical language goes to Mesopotamia, to Asia Minor or to Persia, it serves him in no way at all. Every country has technical terms that are peculiar to its own people, or to a tribe inhabiting that country, and are without any ambiguity whatsoever. Now, in the

¹⁰⁵ I. e. *Khalil ibn Kīlān*, 1200–1293.

¹⁰⁶ This can hardly refer to *Abū Nuwās*, whose name was *al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī*. The verse is quite unintelligible in this connection.

¹⁰⁷ *Ma' has* الخريبات. Evidently, the author is making fun of the Copts.

region of Aleppo and Mesopotamia, the manner in which accounts are kept and the records in their *Diwāns* had, even recently,¹⁰⁰ been the very opposite of that used in Egypt. (fol. 32b.) When the victorious King Salāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-'Azīz¹⁰¹ came to rule over Damascus and placed some Copts in various positions in the provinces of Aleppo and Mesopotamia, these Copts changed the manner of keeping the accounts to that of Egypt—for the simple reason that they were unacquainted with the method used in Syria; according to which latter the relation of the original amount to the exchange and of the exchange to the original amount is so regulated that it is impossible for a cheat to use any guile and come off well with it,¹⁰² without its coming to light at once. Up to the end of the Nāṣirite dynasty, it was the custom of the Kings of Syria and of their Sultans not to permit the *Diwān* known as the *Diwān al-Istifā'*¹⁰³ to be without Moslems, some of the most prominent headmen belonging to the leading families who were renowned for their good faith and for their activity. In such manner, no Jew nor Christian was alone in laying down the law in any matter relating to Syria. He was unable to speak or write [officially] about an event that had happened, except after the truth had been established by a Moslem. So, the Jew or the Christian would prepare the account; and the prominent [Moslem] would countersign the reliability of the document. Then, in the shortest possible time the Moslems turned their attention to accustoming their children to uncovering the lies of these vile and ignorant people, and, by their sagacity, to perfecting themselves to a great degree (fol. 33a) and to excelling in unearthing the guile [of others], as they already excelled in the religious sciences. Along this line they composed thousands of works, wherein they developed points of view which neither Jew nor Christian could reach. They were able to deal with the contents of the Moslem treasury as dictated by the Moslem Scriptures and the traditions of Allah's prophet.

In this manner the contents of the treasury increased—through the blessings [of Allah] and the equity [of the treasury's governors].

¹⁰⁰ Ms. عهد عن قرب عهد ? Lane, s. v. عهدي بقريب : 'I met him a short time ago.'

¹⁰¹ 'Aziz must be a mistake for 'Ayyūb—i. e. Salāḥ.

¹⁰² Literally: 'to plant his seed in it.'

¹⁰³ I. e. Treasury-General.

All noxious prejudices were rooted out, and all avenues of injustice closed. Their guide-posts were battered down; their disgraceful and shameful traces were extinguished. Our Master, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Salāh al-Dīn, [in doing all this] acted according to the traditions of the Prophet, and did exactly as did the righteous Caliphs and the just Sultans. Verily, Mālik writes in his *Kitāb al-Mudawwanah al-Kubra*,¹²² that the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'There must not be chosen, either from among the Jews or the Christians, diviners or money-brokers; they must be removed from our market-places; Allah has made them unnecessary for the Moslems.'

Now, if this is so in questions of [ordinary] buying and selling, which are matters to which no importance and no [ethical] value can be attached, (fol. 35b) how much the more should it be the rule when the question of leadership in an affair is at stake! The Jews hold that interest may be taken from those who are not of their religion; for, according to their principles, the collection of fortunes is permitted. How, then, can anyone who holds it is permissible to gain money out of Moslems be put in a superior position—either in argument or in law? Intelligent men have said: 'What a wonder it is to see a believer take as a servant an unbeliever who differs from him in opinion, who is opposed to him in faith and belief!' They also have said: 'What a wonder it is to see someone put aside a believing, intelligent friend and be contented with a foolish, unbelieving enemy!' Still another has said: 'In a Moslem are to be found four qualities which you will not find in anyone else—excellent self-restraint in regard to women, plenitude of equity, consideration for people of [other] faiths, and liberality in advice to Moslems. In a Polytheist are also to be found four qualities—want of faith, abundance of perfidy, willingness to deceive Moslems, keeping at a distance people with faith.'

Finished is the book through the favor of the Kind One, the Giver. Praised be Allah! Pray Allah for Mohammed and his family of Pure Ones and his Companions! Sufficient is Allah, the trustiest Agent.

¹²² I. e. 'The Great Decretal.' This is really not the work of Mālik himself, but a résumé of his legal system prepared by his disciple 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Kāsim who died in 806.

BRIEF NOTES

Ancient Teimā and Babylonia

An Aramaic inscription found at Teimā, Arabia, is the source of our knowledge of the influence of Egypt and particularly Babylonia upon ancient Teimā at the beginning of the 5th Century B. C. See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 195-199. Delitzsch in *Wo lag das Paradies?*, pp. 301ff, shows the connection between Arabian 'Taimā', Biblical Tēmā' and Assyrian ^{alt}*Te-ma-a*, from which is derived the Gentilic term ^{alt}*Te-ma-a-a*, mentioned by Tiglathpileser IV in the 8th Century B. C. Teimā was recognized as an important city in antiquity and is called Θαῖμα on Ptolemy's map of Arabia Felix. Hogarth in *The Penetration of Arabia*, p. 280, emphasizes the fact that Teimā was 'on the old route from the Gulf of Akabah to the Persian Gulf' and 'a dividing point of roads from Petra to Gerra in the east and Sheba in the south.'

A tablet in the Goucher College Babylonian Collection is of unusual interest in this connection. It shows that a man was sent on a journey from Babylonia to ^{mt}*Te-ma-a* in the 6th Century B. C. The term ^{mt}*Te-ma-a* is equivalent to 'the land of Tema' found in Isaiah 21.14. Cyrus in his Chronicle states that Nabonidus was in ^{alt}*Te-ma-a* in the 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th years of his reign. Cf. *TSBA*, Vol. 8, pp. 139-176, and *KB*, Band 3, 2. Hälfte, pp. 128-135. Up to the present the ^{alt}*Te-ma-a* of this Chronicle has not been connected with Arabian Teimā. Cf. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, Part 1, p. 470f. However, the clear intimation of the record is that Nabonidus was outside of ^{mt}*Akkadu* in the years mentioned, and as a result certain religious ceremonies were not performed in Babylon. Furthermore, Nabonidus is not mentioned as taking part in the mourning in Akkad for his mother who died in the 9th year of his reign.

Three Yale documents throw additional light upon the situation. Text 134 in *YBT*, Vol. 6, dated in the 10th year of Nabonidus, indicates that food for the king was taken to ^{mt}*Te-ma-a*. Texts 11 and 150 in the same volume are royal leases of land. The former, dated in the 1st year of Nabonidus, was obtained from the king himself. The latter, dated in the 11th year, was obtained from Belshazzar. Thus all the documentary evidence now at our

disposal tends to confirm the conclusion that Nabonidus was absent from Babylonia during at least a part of the 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th years of his reign. It seems to the writer not only possible but highly probable that the ⁴¹*Te-ma-a* visited by Nabonidus was ancient Teimā in Arabia. That the Neo-Babylonian empire included a large part of Arabia is not unlikely. Nabonidus may have looked after administrative affairs in Arabia, while Belshazzar, as crown prince, directed the government at home. Such a situation would be entirely in harmony with the high position accorded Belshazzar as the second ruler in the kingdom. We can only infer that a close relationship existed between ancient Teimā and Babylonia. This preliminary note will be followed by a fuller discussion in a future number of the JOURNAL.

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Note on Māgadhi ahake

V. S. Sukthankar, *JAOS* 40, p. 253, while discussing *Māgadhi ahake* and noting that Pischel brackets the form as not being actually quotable, overlooks the fact that thirteen years ago I pointed out in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 23. 129 f. that as a matter of fact it occurs a few times in the Devanāgarī redaction of the *Śakuntalā*: see Monier Williams' edition, pp. 218, 219, 221, and Goḍābole's edition (1891), pp. 183, 184; and note the comment of Rāghavaghaṭṭa: *ahake*: 'ham. 'Aham arthe 'hake hage' ity ukteḥ.

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A New Creation Story

In a volume of tablets published by H. F. Lutz (*Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*. PBS, Vol. I, Pt. 2) are found two very important documents which have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars. The first (No. 103), referring to the Fall of Man, will probably appear in *ATSL*. I am here giving a summary of the contents of the second (No. 105); a complete discussion of it will be found in a future issue of this JOURNAL. It is a creation story, notwithstanding the fact that Eridu appears to be regarded

as a city already in existence. It has points of contact with the well-known account of the Marduk-Tiamat fight, which it antedates, since this Sumerian document can be safely placed about 2000 B. C. A summary is as follows:

The god Midimmud speaks to his messenger Zubarra about Eridu, the place loved by the god Enki. There the sea meets with no opposition, the large river spreads terror upon the land, and the abyss is covered by great storm clouds. The messenger is directed to bring to Enki the crafty waters of incantation, and his own mighty monsters, as big as rivers. Weapons are prepared, the combat against the sea follows, and, as a result of this, the safety of Eridu is insured. The god then proceeds to create vegetation, birds and fishes. This done, Enki establishes rain for the ocean, overflow for the abyss, winds for the sea. For the river Euphrates he makes a river bed, so as to control its course.

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Once more Shāhbāzgarhi uthanam

I have previously tried to show that Shāhbāzgarhi *uthanam* was a true native word, and that the dental *th* was not merely graphical for lingual *th*: see *JAOS* 30, 85, 86 and *IP* 29, 224-226. The publication of Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛtasarvasva* in the *Grantha Pradarśanī*, and Hultsch's paraphrase of the section dealing with Śaurasenī in *ZDMG* 66, 709-726 makes it possible to support this claim with additional evidence. Observe that Mārkaṇḍeya distinctly prescribes Śaurasenī *utthido* (with dental *th*) but Māhārāṣṭrī *utthio* (with lingual *th*) as correspondents to Sanskrit *utthitas* (for *ud*+*sthitās*): see III, 15, IX, 40, IX, 137. Hence we may infer a Śaurasenī word *utthānam* (with dental *th*) which would exactly correspond to Shāhbāzgarhi *uthanam*. That Rājasekhara does not conform to the rule laid down by Mārkaṇḍeya that in Śaurasenī *sthā* when combined with *ud* becomes *utth-* (with dental *th*) proves nothing; for years ago both Pischel and Kenow proved in detail that he frequently confuses Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jacobi implied the same thing; more recently (*AJP* 41, 266, 267, 269) I have pointed out a couple more of such blunders. Sir George Grierson in a letter dated November 15th,

1920, calls my attention to Mārkaṇḍeya VI. 4 where Rājasekhara is rebuked for confusing Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī.

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*The locative singular of masculine and neuter i and u stems in
Śaurasenī Prākṛit*

Mārkaṇḍeya at IX. 63 gives the rule that *i* and *u* stems in the locative singular have the termination *-mmi*. Now of course this means that a pronominal ending has been extended to nouns. And this is precisely where there is a difficulty: for it should be noted that in the pronouns we have Śaurasenī *-esim*, Māgadhi *-śsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *-msi*, but Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī *-mmi*. Thus Sanskrit *tasmin*, Śaurasenī *tassim*, Māgadhi *tāssim*, Ardhamāgadhi *taṃsi*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī *tammi*; Sanskrit *etamin*, Śaurasenī *edassim*, Māgadhi *edaśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *eyamsi*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *eyammi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *eammi*; Sanskrit *yasmin*, Śaurasenī *jassim*, Māgadhi *yāssim*, Ardhamāgadhi *jaṃsi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *jammi*; Sanskrit *kasmin*, Śaurasenī *kassim*, Māgadhi *kāśim*, Ardhamāgadhi *kaṃsi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *kammi*; Sanskrit *anyasmin*, Śaurasenī *aṇyassim*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *annammi*; **imasmin*, Śaurasenī *imassim*, Māgadhi *imaśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *imaṃsi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *imammi*.¹ Observe also that Mārkaṇḍeya explicitly states (IX. 62) that in Śaurasenī nominal *a* stems have the locative singular in *-e*, which is confirmed by the best texts. Both Pischel and Konow have pointed out that Rājasekhara violates the dialect by using *-ammi* as well as *-e*, for in Māhārāṣṭrī the locative singular of *a* stems ends in *-ammi* as

¹ I regard the Ardhamāgadhi locatives in *-mmi* (which occur mostly in verse, as can be seen from Pischel's fine collections) as simply Māhārāṣṭrīisms, due to scribal efforts to make the dialect coincide with the dialect mostly used in literature. The locatives in *-msi* are not easily explained. See Pischel, §313 end. For Māhārāṣṭrīisms in Ardhamāgadhi see also Pischel, §17 near the middle. Ardhamāgadhi *kamsi*, beside *kaṃsi*, is evidently an error for *kammi*: see Pischel, §366^a near the middle. *Amg. assim* is an anomaly; it is explicable in Ś. Note that Rājasekhara, in the Karpūramañjarī, twice uses Śaurasenī *jassim* for Māhārāṣṭrī *jammi*. This is another instance (hitherto unreported) where the author confuses his dialects.

well as *-e*.² This last is intelligible as it has the pronominal ending *-ammi* as a point of departure, whereas in the case of Śaurasenī there is none. And it should be noted that in Māhārāṣṭrī *i* and *u* stems the same analogical extension takes place, thus *girimmi*, *pahummi*. Accordingly either Māhārāṣṭrī, as the literary Prākṛit *par excellence*, has influenced Śaurasenī, or else Mārkaṇḍeya has made a mistake, or else the manuscripts of his grammar are to be corrected, for forms such as **aggissim* and **eḍussim* in Śaurasenī would be natural analogical extensions, having pronominal *-ssim* as the point of departure. Observe that Pischel quotes no actual form in the literature for the Śaurasenī locative singular of *i* stems and but two (in *-uṇi*) for that of *u* stems. Till we have further materials it is impossible to decide with absolute certainty which of the above hypotheses is correct; but the first is the most likely.

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*On the doubling of consonants in the seam of certain
Pāli compounds*

anuddayā, 'compassion': Skt. *anu*+*dayā*.
paṭikkāla (beside *paṭikāla*), 'contrary': Skt. *prati-kāla*.
abhiṅkanta, 'lovely': Skt. *abhi*+*kānta* (not *abhi-kānta*; cf. Childers s. v., and Geiger, *Pāli Grammar*, in the *Grundriss*, §33, p. 53).

paribbālha, 'strong', etc.: Skt. *pari-bhḍha*.
vikkhāyitaka, one of the ten *asubha kammaṭṭhānas*, obtained by contemplation of a corpse gnawed by beasts of prey: Skt. *vi-khādītaka* (with Prākṛitic loss of *d*; etymology guaranteed by simple *khāyita*, 'eaten'; Geiger, *op. cit.* § 36, p. 55).

More or less plausible attempts have been, or may be, made to explain the double consonant in some (or even possibly all) of these words individually. Thus Anderson suggests that *anuddayā* is influenced by *niddaya* = *nirdaya* (the analogy is imperfect, since *anuddayā* is a noun, *niddaya* an adjective and a *bahuvrīhi*

² In Māgadhī the regular ending of *a* stems for the locative singular is *-e*; in verse the Māhārāṣṭrīan *-ammi* also occurs: see Pischel, §368². Similarly *-ammi* in Amg.: the regular terminations in Amg. are *-e* and *-ammi*.

cpd.), and that *paṭikkāla* goes back to an imaginary Skt. **prattikāla* (which theory is the less likely because Pāli *paṭikkāla* is also actually found). One might possibly—at a pinch—think of influence from the homonym *abhikkanta*=*abhikrānta* 'advanst' in the case of *abhikkanta* 'lovely', and of a vague influence from the root *kṣi* in *vikkhāyitaka*.

But a unitary explanation is always preferable in the case of a group of forms showing such obviously similar phenomena. Meter cannot be concerned; the words occur predominantly in prose. The iambic law is not likely to apply; in four out of the five words quoted above the next syllable is long. Such suggestions as the influence of recessive accent (Geiger *op. cit.* §24, p. 49) are most dubious; many of the forms quoted under this rubric can be explained otherwise, and the whole idea seems to me not much more than a *petitio principii*. I think that most of the 'vowel-lengthenings' in the seam of compounds mentioned in Geiger §33, p. 53, are different in character (e. g. *sakkibhāva*, cf. the regular in compositions of root *bhū* and their derivatives, Whitney *Gr.* §1094; *rajā-* in *rajāpatha* stands for Skt. *rajaḥ*, which rules it out; etc.).

I suggest that the explanation is this. There were countless cases in Pāli in which a simple 'root' beginning in one consonant appears to begin with a double consonant as soon as it is compounded. Of course, the original Sanskrit had two consonants in both cases. E.g. Pāli *kama*=Skt. *krama*, but *anukkama*=*anukrama*. From the point of view of Pāli—which neither knows nor cares what the Sanskrit had—such forms suggest that the second element of a (primarily verbal! see below) compound should have its initial single consonant doubled. It is a case of proportional analogy: *kama:anukkama*=*dayā:anuddayā*.

It is quite to be expected that this phenomenon should be nearly or quite restricted to verb-compounds and their noun derivatives, or at least to words which look like derivatives of compound verbs, because their prior member is a preposition. For in noun compounds, even when the second element originally began with two consonants, we find it frequently beginning with only one in Pāli, as is well known. This is of course due to the comparative looseness of noun, as contrasted with verb, composition; noun compounds tend more to behave like separate words. Yet note *jātasara* 'natural lake': Skt. *jāta-saras* (Geiger, *op.cit.* §33, p. 53).

The list given at the head of this Note does not by any means

claim to be exhaustiv. I am certain that there ar other cases: these ar simply the most certain instances of those which I hav discoverd, mainly from the lexicons and vocabularies. Systematic serch of the texts will undoubtedly bring to light more. Before closing I should like to refer to a few more questionable cases.

paggharati, 'trickles', would be a case in point if from Skt. *pra-ghr*; no forms of root *ghr* occur with two initial consonants. But the derivation cannot be considered certain. Geiger (*op.cit.* §56. 2, p. 67) derives from Skt. *kṣar*, and deduces (apparently from forms of this root and *jhā=kṣā*, 'burn', alone) a fonetic law which seems to me to hav a rather questionable basis, positing a special treatment of *kṣ* in Pāli-Prākṛit when *kṣ*=Indo-Iranian *ṣ*. It must be admitted that Prākṛit *pajjharai* lends some support to this theory.

vissussati, 'is dried up', Skt. *vi-ṣuṣ*, is quoted by Childers from a single passage only, and there, as Ch. notes, it is immediately preceded by *ussussati*; the *ss* may be due to direct influence from this adjoining form. Yet I suspect that the case belongs under my rule. Other occurrences, if there ar any, would presumably decide.

Compounds beginning with *su-* followed by a doubled consonant ar open to the suspicion of having been influenst by their opposits in (Sanskrit) *dus-*; e.g. *subboca*: Skt. *su-vacas*: *subbatta*, *sup-patha*. So also *suddiṭṭha* according to Anderson, *JPTS* 1909 p. 193: *su-ḍṛṣṭa* (which seems a more likely derivation than that of Geiger, *op.cit.* §24 n. 1, p. 49, from *su+uddiṭṭha*=Skt. *uddiṣṭa*).

Compounds of the Skt. root *ṣrj* and their derivatives, showing *ss* (e. g. *vissajjati*), hav no dout been partly influenst by Sanskrit forms beginning in *ṣr* (aor. *asrākṣit* etc.); they would then be blend forms (*ṣraj* and *sarj*). Yet it seems possible that such forms as these may hav helpt in the creation of the psychological predisposition to double an initial consonant of a root preceded by a preposition.

Probably not pertinent at all ar such forms as *okkattha*: Skt. *avakṣṣṭa* and the like; they presumably involv mere compensatory lengthening of the consonant attendant on shortening of the *o*-vowel.

Certainly not pertinent ar blend forms like *upakkilesa*: Skt. *upakleśa* (blend of **upakṣesa* and **upakilesa*), *sasirika*: Skt. *sairika* (blend of **sasiika* and **sairika*), etc.

Finally, the question would naturally arise whether the Prakrit dialects show tendencies of this same sort. I have examined this question in a somewhat superficial way, but do not feel like expressing an opinion. The matter of doubling of consonants in Prakrit is much more confused than in Pāli, and requires a special study.

The tendency which I assume never acquired anything like universal prevalence in Pāli. But this cannot be counted as a disproof of the thesis. Pāli fonology is full of such tentative leads, never fully carried out.

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On a possible Pre-Vedic Form in Pāli and Prakrit

The Pāli-Prakrit root *kaddh*, 'draw', 'plow', is the lexical equivalent of Sanskrit *kars*, *kṛs*,¹ but cannot be derived from its presumptive source by any known fonetic process. Analogical infection, or blend with any other root does not suggest itself, the possibilities of that sort are not entirely precluded by mere negation. But it is possible to explain root *kaddh* by an historical process of another kind.

The 'root-determinative' *d* attaches itself with great predilection in the Aryan tongues to roots ending in sibilants. Thus in Vedic the root *id* = *is-d*, from *iṣ* (*ichati*), for which see *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* 1906, pp. 13 ff.²; *pid* = *piṣ-d* (*JHUC*. l. c.) from *piṣ*, 'crush' (*पिच्छ* has nothing to do with the case); *mid*, from **mid* = *miṣ-d* from *miṣ*, both in the sense of 'shut the eyes' (Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* i. 221 ff.).

Some of those formations are Indo-Iranian, or even Indo-European: Avestan *khraoḍaiti*, 'harden', *khruḍa*, 'hard'; Sanskrit *krūḍayati*, 'thicken', *kroḍas*, 'breast': Greek *κρυο-ταίνω*, 'congeal'. Sanskrit *heḍ*, *hiḍ*, 'hate', Avestan *zoḍda*, 'ugly', OHG. *geist* (cf. ON. *geisa* 'be infuriated'); Goth. *usgaisjan*, 'make beside one's self'. Especially as regards the sounds *id*, preceded by *r*, cf. Aryan *mṛṣd*, in Sanskrit *mṛḍ*, Avestan *morṣd*, 'pity', either from root *mṛs*, 'forget', or I.-E. *mṛḡ* 'wipe off'.

¹ Hemarandra 4. 187; the basis *kaddh* is probably continued in the modern Hindu dialects; e. g., in Marāṭhī *kāḍhneṃ*; see Bloch, *Langue Marāṭhi*, §§112, 231, and p. 308.

² Persistent identifications with Lat. *arsuṃ*; Goth. *aislan*; OHG. *era*; or with Skt. *prajāti* (*iṣṭa-*) are all wrong.

It seems hardly possible that Pāli-Prākṛit *kaḍḍh* does not contain this same additional *d* (*kṛṣ-d*, *kṛṣ-d*), tho there is no trace of it in Iranian and Vedic. The form should be Aryan *kṛṣd* (Avestan *kərəd*; Vedic *kṛṣ*). From this otherwise defunct Aryan *kṛṣd* the Pāli-Prākṛit *kaḍḍh* is derivable by impeccable fonetics. The assumption is daring but not impossible when we remember that the Middle-Indic dialects have certainly preserved some Vedic forms that are lost in Sanskrit; see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, §6 (with bibliography).

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Gobryas, governor of Babylonia

In *Revue d'assyriologie* II. 165 ff., Père Scheil published a letter from Erech, written by Amur-shar-usur to Nabû-mukin-apli and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, in which reference is made to soldiers who are on the *ti'û* 'roll' of Nebuchadrezzar and Neriglissar; and the fact that the captain was anxious that the depleted ranks of these soldiers should not become known to Gubaru. From this Scheil concluded that Gobryas had already exercised a high command in the army at the time of Nebuchadrezzar. (See also King, *A History of Babylon*, p. 281.)

The mention of soldiers' 'rolls' of Nebuchadrezzar and of Neriglissar when Gobryas was in control would at once suggest that the time the letter was written was not in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, but when he was governor, in the reign of Cyrus; and from what follows this is shown to be correct.

In the writer's *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech* (YBT III) there is one, No. 45, in which the *ti'û* 'rolls' of Neriglissar and Nabonidus are referred to in connection with food for the soldiers of Cyrus. From what follows this was written in the same reign, namely that of Cyrus. See also No. 81, written by the same man. No. 106 also refers to the *ti'û* of Nebuchadrezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus, and was written by the same man, Innina-aḥ-iddin, but probably in the following reign because of the references to Cambyses (see line 34).

In Tremayne's *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses* (YBT VII), which is ready for the press, the names of Nabû-mukin-apli and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the two addressees in Scheil's tablet, frequently occur together as two officers, the former as the

shalammu of Eanna, and the latter as the *shagū sharri* and *bēl piqittu* of Eanna (see 47 : 2, 3/84 : 18, 19/94 : 3, 4, etc.). Nabū-mukin-aplu as the *shalammu* occurs in these texts first in the sixth year of Cyrus (YBT VII 54 : 5), having followed Nidintum-Bēl in this office, which he continued to hold until the sixth year of Cambyzes (190 : 13). Nabū-ah-iddin held this office from the seventeenth year of the previous reign (Dougherty YBT VI 156 : 3) unto the fourth year of Cambyzes (Tremayne YBT VII 172 : 10). The writer of Scheil's tablet, Anu-shar-usur, was the *gipu* of Eanna in the reign of Cyrus (YBT VII 7 : 7). This office was apparently higher in rank than the other two that have been mentioned (see YBT VII 7 : 7; YBT III 10 : 2/61 : 10).

These facts show that the letter published by Scheil was written in the reign of Cyrus, when Gobryas was governor of Babylon; and also that, until other evidence is obtained, we can only conclude that the activity of Gobryas in Babylonia began with the reign of Cyrus. It would seem also from the references to soldiers as belonging to rolls of Nebuchadrezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus during the reign of Cyrus that this was a method of classification of men in the army at that time.

ALBERT T. CLAY

Yale University

A new method of syntactical arrangement

Grammars fall roughly into two classes, the so-called scientific grammars, in which an attempt is made to marshal all the phonological, morphological, and syntactical facts of the language in question, with little or no regard for vocabulary and idiom, and the so-called practical grammars, in which vocabulary and idiom occupy the center of the stage, and as little attention as possible is devoted to the study of forms and constructions.

Many works of both classes are excellent in their way, but in no single instance does any grammar, so far as I know, accomplish what I believe should be the real purpose of every grammar, namely, to actually teach the language in question. By the term language here I mean at least that portion of it which is the common possession of all the people who speak it, the language of every-day life. The reason for this failure of grammar to teach language is not to be sought in the treatment of phonetic or morphological phenomena; there are many practically perfect pho-

nologies and morphologies. It lies in the unsatisfactory arrangement of syntactical material, and in the lack of a good plan for a systematic study of vocabulary and idiom.

The aim of the present paper is to outline a plan for the improvement of the first of these defects, the unsatisfactory arrangement of syntactical material. At a later time I hope to offer some suggestions with regard to the systematic study of vocabulary and idiom.

There are two well-recognized methods of syntactical arrangement.¹ First, the formal method, in which the uses of the various important words and forms of the language are explained from the point of view of the individual word or form, such matters being treated as, e. g., the use of the article, the uses of the various case forms of the noun, and of the various tense and mood forms of the verb, etc. Secondly, the logical method, in which the arrangement is based on the idea involved, all the various expressions for the same idea being grouped together, e. g., all the ways of expressing the definite state of a noun, all the ways of expressing the various case relations of a noun, the various tenses and moods of a verb, etc. Of these two methods the formal is the one which usually forms the basis of the ordinary syntax.

A third principle of arrangement, which is also employed to some extent in many syntaxes, tho I have never seen it formally recognized as a principle of arrangement, is what may be called the combinatory principle. Here the material is treated from the point of view of the combination of a word with its modifiers, and not from that of the individual form making up the combination. This third principle of arrangement, this practically unrecognized principle, must be regarded, I have come to believe, as the fundamental principle of any good syntactical treatment.

This conviction on my part is largely due to my study of Philippine languages. When I came to write a grammar of Tagalog, one of the chief of this group, a language in which words that stand to one another in the relation of modifier and modified are usually joined together by connective particles (e. g., *ang mabuti-ng laro* 'the good man', guttural nasal *ng* being the connective particle) my attention was necessarily attracted to the importance

¹ Cf. *Die Sprachwissenschaft* . . . von G. von d. Gabelentz, 2^{te}, verm. u. verb. Aufl. herausg. von Dr. Albrecht Graf von der Schulenburg, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 85, 86; H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, N. Y., 1900, pp. 125, 126.

of the combination in syntactical study, and ultimately I found it both advisable and necessary to arrange the whole syntactical material of the language on the combinatory principle.

This method of arrangement may be spoken of as combinatory syntax or syntax of combinations. The combinations it treats may be briefly summarized as follows: Most of the parts of speech may, in addition to their use as separate words, form the dominant element of composite ideas, each consisting of a modified word and one or more modifying ideas; the modified word is, of course, in each case the dominant element. For example, in the English phrases 'this good man', 'which old man', 'any old man', the word 'man' is the dominant element. The modifying idea may be expressed by inflection or agglutination, e. g., Hebrew *kalb-i* 'my dog', *hakkeleb* 'the dog'; by a single word, as 'this' in English 'this man'; by several words, as *ce(t)-ci* in French *cet homme-ci*; or it may be indicated by some peculiarity of the construction, e. g., in Hebrew 'I have no bread' is rendered by 'ēn lī leḥem, where the construction of the negative 'ēn with the indefinite noun, expresses the indefinite adjectival idea 'no'. The element that expresses the modifying idea is not always grammatically dependent on the noun, e. g., in Hebrew *kol hā-anāšim* 'all the men', *hā anāšim* 'men' is genitive after *kol* 'all'. The noun may be combined with about a dozen of these modifying ideas¹; the verb, with a half dozen or more; the adjective, with three or four; and so on. The phrases thus formed may now be combined in the relation of subject and predicate to form simple sentences, and simple sentences may be combined to form compound, complex, and involved sentences. In other words combinatory syntax shows how to combine linguistic atoms, i. e., words, into linguistic molecules, i. e., phrases, and how to form from these linguistic molecules linguistic mixtures, i. e., sentences, of varying degrees of complexity. It is evident that such a treatment consistently carried thru will reach all the possible combinations in the language, and it is also clear on the other hand that any conceivable combination in the language must find its place all ready for it in the system.

The lack of adequate attention to the combination as such is a weak point in most grammars that deal with highly synthetic forms of speech, as, for example, Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit.

¹ Cf. my article *Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic*, *JAOS*, 32 (1912), p. 136.

Here, too much of the same ground is covered in connection with the study of the syntax of forms, the points made very largely lose their full effect, because they are out of their proper connection. It would serve, for example, to give more concreteness and vividness to the teaching of Latin if the combinations of the noun with the various pronominal adjectives, demonstrative, interrogative, etc., were learned more or less as units, viz., *hic homo, qui homo*, etc., instead of practically the whole attention of the student being riveted on the pronominal adjective, with the indefinite knowledge added by way of appendix, that it may be employed on occasion to modify a noun. Similarly in Sanskrit instead of studying exclusively in a formal way the compounds which make up so important a part of the language, and which constitute one of the chief stumbling blocks to the beginner, how much more concrete and definite it is to regard them as variant ways of expressing the combination of noun or adjective with different modifying ideas, to teach a student, for example, that he can express the phrase 'his man' either by a compound, viz., *tat-puruṣaḥ* or by two words, viz., *tasya puruṣaḥ*. Moreover the eagerness with which the mind, working thru the mazes of a formal Greek syntax, seizes upon and holds such a statement as that the phrase 'the wise man' may be expressed in the three ways *ὁ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός, or ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός*, indicates the naturalness and vividness of the method in question.

One special advantage inherent in the combinatory method, in which, as we have seen, all the possible combinations of a language are catalogued and discussed in a regular order, is the facility with which the syntactical phenomena of languages so arranged can be compared; and no one will deny that real progress in syntactical study is contingent on such comparisons.

The combinatory method, however, in spite of its manifest advantages is not meant to supersede entirely the formal and logical methods. The three methods must work hand in hand in order that all the phenomena of the language may be adequately treated. I believe that a good syntax should consist of two parts. First all the material of the language should be treated from the combinatory point of view; secondly, the same material should be discussed again from the point of view of the use of the various forms. Theoretically a third part, in which all the material of the language would be treated from the point of view of the idea involved, would be necessary to complete the scheme of a perfect

syntax, but in practise this is usually not necessary. It will, in most cases, be found sufficient occasionally to exchange the combinatory or formal points of view for the logical in parts one and two respectively. For instance in the case of such topics as indefinite pronominal ideas, and modal auxiliary ideas such as *may*, *can*, *must*, etc., it is well for the sake of completeness to add a logical treatment to the combinatory and formal statements.

Of course such a method of syntactical treatment cannot be carried thru mechanically; its successful application requires not only a thoro knowledge of the language in question, but also an acquaintance with the fundamental principles of linguistic science, and a reasonable amount of common sense.

I am thoroly convinced, after rather prolonged thought on the subject, and after using the method here outlined in my own study of a number of tongues, that there is no language which will not gain greatly by the application of this method to its syntactical phenomena.

FRANK R. BLAKE

Johns Hopkins University

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Editors, acting upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, have made arrangements for printing the *JOURNAL* in Germany, on account of the very reasonable rates that can be procured there. This arrangement will begin with the next volume, which will appear in two parts. But it is hoped, as soon as postal conditions warrant, to publish quarterly.

Members and subscribers are requested to note that there will necessarily be considerable delay in issuing the next number of the *JOURNAL*, which, as just stated, will be a double number and will be printed in Germany. Its issuance can hardly be expected before May or June, 1922.

On September 27, 1921, the Executive Committee received a report from the Publication Committee on the cost of printing in Germany Blake's *Tagalog Grammar* and Edgerton's *Pafestantra Reconstructed*. The publication of these books was recommended by the Society to the Directors (*JOURNAL*, 41: 175, 185), and the Directors had entrusted the matter to the Executive Committee with power to act. The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, that the Executive Committee, having heard the report of the Publication Committee regarding the cost of publishing the books by Dr. Blake and Professor Edgerton, votes to refer the publication of these books to the Publication Committee with power to act and with power to draw upon the Treasurer for the amounts involved, not exceeding \$1000.

On the same date the Executive Committee also passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the Executive Committee recommend to the Editors that they make arrangements to print the *JOURNAL* abroad as soon as they deem it advisable.

Resolved, that the Editors take under consideration the advisability of publishing an *Oriental Review* and report thereon to the Executive Committee or the Board of Directors at their next meeting.

Resolved, that the President and the Treasurer be authorized to purchase such an amount of German marks as may be needed to cover the cost of publication of the *JOURNAL* during the coming year and of the two books recommended for publication.

The President was authorized by the Executive Committee to appoint a delegate to represent the American Oriental Society in the American Council of Learned Societies, in place of Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., deceased, such delegate to serve until the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

By unanimous vote of the Executive Committee, the following have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Frances Crosby Bartter	Mr. Merton L. Miller
Dr. Joshua Bloch	Rev. Omer Hillman Mott
Mt. Cecil M. P. Cross	Prof. H. R. Purinton
Mr. Benjamin Fain	Prof. S. B. Slack
Rev. Dr. L. Legrain	Prof. Hutton Webster

In accordance with By-Law VIII (as amended in 1921), providing that, "if any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society," the following members, reported by the Treasurer to be in arrears for two years or more, have been, by vote of the Executive Committee, suspended until their back dues shall be paid.

Francis C. Anseombe
Miss Effie Bendann
Dr. E. W. Burlingame
Edwin Sanford Crandon
Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis
Dr. Viccaji Dinshaw
Louis A. Dole
Dr. Henry C. Finkel
Prof. John Fryer
Robert Garrett
Rev. F. Georgelin
Rev. K. K. Huddaway
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett
Dr. Edward H. Hume
T. Y. Leo

Prof. Enno Littman
Walter C. Maier
Dr. Riley D. Moore
Rev. Hans K. Moussa
Prof. Hanns Oertel
Dr. Julius J. Price
Prof. George H. Richardson
Prof. H. Schumacher
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott
Dr. Henry B. Sharman
Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim
Dr. Walter T. Swingle
Tsch Ling Tsu
Rev. Samuel W. Waus

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

A special meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was held in Boston, October 5-7, to receive delegates from the Royal Asiatic Society and the Société Asiatique and to confer on cooperation in the promotion of Oriental studies. The foreign delegates present were A. E. Cowley, M.A., Prof. S. Langdon, Lee Shuttleworth, Esq., of Oxford; M. Alexandre Moret, director of the Musée Guimet; Prof. Paul Pelliot, of the Collège de France.

The School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University announces in connection with courses in Commerce, Diplomacy, etc., courses in Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis met at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, December 28-29. In addition to the usual program of papers there was a Symposium on Biblical Eschatology. An evening was devoted to illustrated addresses on Palestinian and Babylonian Archaeology. New officers elected are: President, Prof. W. R. Arnold (Harvard); Treasurer, T. J. Meek (Meadville Seminary); Editors, Professors Porter, Bacon, Dahl (Yale).

In conjunction with the meeting of the Biblical Society, the corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research held its first meeting. The trustees and officers were reelected. President J. A. Kelso (Western Theological Seminary) and Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt (Cornell) were appointed Honorary Lecturers at the School in Jerusalem for 1922-23, and Prof. Paul

Haupt (Johns Hopkins) Annual Professor for 1923-24. It was decided to raise a library endowment fund in memory of Dr. Jastrow and a fund for the endowment of the Bagdad School in memory of Dr. Peters.

The Archaeological Institute of America met at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, December 28-30. New officers elected are: President, Prof. R. V. D. Magoffin (Johns Hopkins); Secretary, Prof. D. M. Robinson (Johns Hopkins).

PERSONALIA

News has reached this country of the death of Professor **IGNAZ GOLDSCHMIDT**, of Budapest. Professor Goldschmidt, the noted Arabist and student of Islam, became an Honorary Member of this Society in 1906.

The Rev. Professor **JOHN P. PETERS** died in New York, November 10. Dr. Peters became a member of this Society in 1882. He was successively professor in the Philadelphia Divinity School and the University of Pennsylvania, rector of St. Michael's Church, New York, and professor in the University of the South. He was the excavator of Nippur and the author of many books and papers on biblical and archaeological research.

A meeting in memory of the late Professor **MORRIS JASTROW, JR.**, was held in the hall of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, November 22. Addresses were made by Provost Penniman of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. George A. Barton, Dr. W. W. Keen, the Hon. Roland S. Morris, Dr. Horace H. Furness, Miss Agnes Repplier, and Dr. Felix Adler; and a portrait of Dr. Jastrow was presented to the University of Pennsylvania on behalf of the donors by Dr. James A. Montgomery. The meeting was under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, the University of Pennsylvania, the American Oriental Society, the Archaeological Institute, the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Schools of Oriental Research, the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, and several local societies. The committee representing the Oriental Society were President Niss, Drs. F. Edgerton, R. G. Kent, A. T. Olmstead, N. Schmidt, Talcott Williams.

Dr. W. F. ALABURCH, Director of the American School in Jerusalem, has been elected president of the Palestine Oriental Society.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for Oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates.

ARTICLE IV. SECTION 1. Honorary members and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

SECTION 2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same manner as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the JOURNAL, and nine Directors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The

Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the JOURNAL shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week; the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or

near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. All members shall be entitled to one copy of all current numbers of the *JOURNAL* issued during their membership. Back volumes of the *JOURNAL* shall be furnished to members at twenty per cent reduction from the list price. All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS

I. FOR THE LIBRARY

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian,

pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

II. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF BRANCHES

1. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches may be organized with the approval of the Directors. The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the Directors.

2. Upon the formation of a branch, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate membership in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the JOURNAL and all notices issued by the Society.

3. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society, in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

4. The President and Secretary of any branch duly authorized as provided under Section 1 shall have the right to sit *ex officio* with the Directors at their meetings and to take part in their deliberations.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.
 † designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
 Prof. THEODOR NOLDEKE, Eilingenstr. 53, Karlsruhe, Germany. 1878.
 Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
 Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Südstr. 47^{II}, Leipzig, Germany. 1893.
 Prof. IGNAIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
 Prof. RICHARD V. GAHRK, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biedinger Str. 14.) 1902.
 Prof. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennestr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.
 Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
 Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Honorary, 1905.
 †Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, University of Budapest, Hungary. (vii Holk-Utcza 4.) 1906.
 Prof. T. W. RHYS-DAVIES, Cottesstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.
 Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Gross-Lichterfelde-West.) 1908.
 EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
 Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Collège de France, Paris, France. (1 Avenue de l'Alma.) 1909.
 Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstr. 59.) 1909.
 Prof. C. SNOECK HUMBRONIE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapeunberg 61.) 1914.
 Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, V^e.) 1917.
 Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
 FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.
 Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
 Prof. V. SCHILL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4^{ème} Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
 Dr. F. W. THOMAS, The Library, India Office, London S. W. 1, England. 1920.
 Rév. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole française archéologique de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.

[Total: 24]

HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- HON. CHARLES R. CRANE, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 REV. DR. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, American Consul, Nice, France. 1921.
 PRES. FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 HON. HENRY MORGENTHAU, The Plaza, New York, N. Y. 1921.
 DR. PAUL S. REINSCH, 204 Southern Building, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1921.

[Total: 6]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- MARCUS AARON, 402 Winchiddle Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
 REV. DR. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 (MRS. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 PRES. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 PROF. S. KRISHNAWAMI AITANGAH (Univ. of Madras), Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.
 DR. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Director, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.
 DR. RUTH NORTON (Mrs. W. F.) ALBRIGHT, care of American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1918.
 PROF. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 1921.
 DR. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 DR. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 PROF. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
 PROF. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), 84 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 PROF. KAN-ICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 L. A. AULT, P. O. Drawer 880, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 PROF. WILLIAM FREDERICK BAKE (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Box 296, Lancaster, Cal. 1916.
 HON. SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, M.A., 415 Malcolm House, Poona, India. 1921.
 *DR. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 *PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, care of Mercantile Trust Co., San Francisco, Cal. 1917.
 RABBI HENRY BARNSTON, Ph.D., 3515 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
 PROF. LEROY CABE BARNET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 PROF. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 MRS. FRANCES CROSSBY BARTTER, Box 655, Manila, P. I. 1921.
 MRS. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.

- Prof. LOHNG W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 3 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- F. C. BEAZER, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1921.
- Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
- *Prof. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakanja Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.
- Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
- E. BEN YEHUDA, care of Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1916.
- Prof. C. THEODORE BENIS, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
- OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum and McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- PIERRE A. BERNARD, Rossiter House, Brueburn Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.
- ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Inter So. Bldg., Louisville, Ky. 1920.
- Rabbi LOUIS BRONSTEIN, Har Sinai Temple, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 16 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, M.D., 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. FREDERICK L. BIRD, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1917.
- CARL W. BIRKOV, 81 N. Washington St., Tarrytown, N. Y. 1917.
- Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 109 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, 1155 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH (New York Univ.), 346 East 173d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. MATTHEW BLOOMFIELD, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, 1080 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1916.
- EMANUEL BOASBERG, 1296 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.
- SWAMI BOBHANANDA, care of The Vedanta Society, 117 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Genève, Switzerland. 1897.
- Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDEU, S.T.B., The Mariet College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1890.
- Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
- Prof. EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 South Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIDCK, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.

- Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1920 (1906).
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Summit Road, Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
- MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.
- DAVID A. BROWN, 60 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1921.
- G. M. L. BROWN, 22 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1909.
- LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.
- Dr. W. NORMAN BROWN, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- LUDLOW S. BULL, Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- *Prof. JOHN M. BURNAM (Univ. of Cincinnati), 3413 Whitfield Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. HOWARD CHERRY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Prof. MORIS BUTTENWIEGER (Hebrew Union College), 257 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY (Andover Theol. Seminary), 1075 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 3055 Kingsbridge Ave., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. ISAAC CANNADAY, M.A., Ranchi, Bihar, India. 1920.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, 50 Rue des Joyeuses Entrées, Louvain, Belgium. 1916.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWITZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunny-side, Rayapettah, Madras, India. 1899.
- Prof. RAMAPRASAD CHANDRA, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 1538 South Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- EMERSON B. CHRISTIE (Department of State), 3220 McKinley St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- CHARLES P. COFFIN, 1744-208 South LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Dr. GEORGE H. COHEN, 120 Capital Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1920.

- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
 Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 6634 Newgard St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. KENNETH COLEGROVE, (Northwestern Univ.), 105 Harris Hall, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 Prof. HERMANN COLLITS (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
 Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1905.
 Dr. MAUDE GARDNER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Baylor College, Belton, Texas. 1915.
 Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
 Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
 CECIL M. P. CROSS, American Consulate, Aden, Arabia. 1921.
 Prof. GEORGE DAHL (Yale Univ.), 51 Avon St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
 Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China. 1921.
 Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
 Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
 Prof. IRWIN HOCH DELONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church), 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
 ROBERT E. DENGLER, 226 South Atherton St., State College, Pa. 1920.
 Pro-Vice-Chancellor A. B. DHURVA, The Benares Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
 (Rev. Dr. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
 LEON DOMINIAN, care of American Consulate General, Rome, Italy. 1916.
 Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 North Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
 Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 (Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
 Rev. WILLIAM HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
 Prof. F. C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
 Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion), 2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Rev. EDWARD SLATER DUNLAP, 2629 Garfield St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
 WILLIAM F. EDGERTON (Univ. of Chicago), 1401 East 53d St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
 Rev. JAMES F. EDWARDS, Gordon Hall House, New Nopada Road, Bombay, India. 1921.
 Dr. ISRAEL I. EYROS (Baltimore Hebrew College), 2040 East Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.

- Rabbi ISRAEL ELFENBEIN, I.H.D., 128 West 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ABRAHAM I. ELKUS, 111 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. AARON EMER, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Rabbi H. G. ENELOW, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Rabbi HARRY W. ETTELSON, Ph.D., Hotel Lorraine, Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- Prof. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES P. FAGNANT (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- BENJAMIN FAIN, 1260 President St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Temple Keneseth Israel, Broad St. above Columbia Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
- GEORGE ALBERT FIELD, P. O. Box 304, Station B, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
- Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 540 South 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind. 1920.
- Dr. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- DEAN HUGHELL E. W. FOSSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rabbi SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.
- Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRANK, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 110 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 10 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEDOF, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- (J. WALTER FREIREBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- MAURICE J. FREIREBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- SIGMUND FRET, 632 Irvington Ave., Huntington Park, Cal. 1920.
- HARRY FRIEDENWALD, M.D., 1029 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Prof. CARL GAENSELE (Concordia College), 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. A. B. GADGURAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Mrs. H. P. GAMBOE, Kuluahar, U. P., India. 1921.
- Mrs. WILLIAM TUDOR GARDINER, 29 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1915.

- REV. FRANK GAVIN, S.S.J.E., 637 Marshall St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
 Dr. HENRY SNYDER GERMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
 Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 Ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.
 Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 112 West Conway St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1002 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
 DWIGHT GODDARD, Lancaster, Mass. 1920.
 Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
 Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 55th and Scoville Sts., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
 PHILIP J. GODHART, 21 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1912.
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
 KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.
 Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM (Wesleyan Theol. College), 756 University St., Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
 Prof. LOUIS H. GRAY, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1907.
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, care of University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1907.
 Prof. EVARTS B. GREENE (Univ. of Illinois), 315 Lincoln Hill, Urbana, Ill. 1921.
 Miss LILY DEXTER GREENE, 2844 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
 Prof. ROBERT F. GRIBBLE, Mercedes, Texas. 1918.
 Dr. ETTA LENE M. GRICE, care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
 Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, Violet Hill Farm, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
 Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1920.
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
 Prof. LÉON GHY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M-et-L., France. 1921.
 Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Srva-Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
 Pres. WILLIAM W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
 *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 Miss LUISE HANSSLED, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Rev. ALEXANDER D. HAIL (Osaka Theol. Training School), 946 of 3. Tesu-kayama, Sumiyoshi Mura, Setsu, Japan. 1921.
 Dr. GEORGE ELLERT HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Cal. 1920.
 Dr. B. HALPER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, 1511 Hanover St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Prof. MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- DANIEL P. HAYS, 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Rabbi JAMES (I. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1828 Marengo St., New Orleans, La. 1920.
 PHILIP S. HENRY, Zerlandia, Asheville, N. C. 1914.
 Rev. CHARLES W. HEFNER, Woodstock, Va. 1921.
 Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILFRECHT, 1321 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH (Univ. of Chicago), 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 BERNARD HIRSBERG, 260 Todd Lane, Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Hainhauserstr. 19, München, Germany. 1903.
 Prof. PHILIP K. HITTI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1915.
 Rev. Dr. CHARLES T. HOCK (Bloomfield Theol. Seminary), 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1921 (1903).
 Rev. Dr. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Summer St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
 THEODORE HOFELER, 59 Ashland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
 G. E. HOFF, 403 Union Building, San Diego, Cal. 1920.
 Miss ALICE M. HOLMES, Southern Pines, N. C. 1920.
 *Prof. F. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 SAMUEL HORCHOW, 1307 Fourth St., Portsmouth, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. JACOB HOCHANDER (Dropsie College), 3220 Monument Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. ISAAC HUNIK (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 408 South 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
 ALBERT D. HUTCHES, 3 Carroll Road, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. MOSES HYAMSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 115 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, France. 1909.
 Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 HAROLD INGOLY, Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1921.
 Prof. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL (Former Christian College), Waris Road, Lahore, Panjab, India. 1921.
 Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL, Springfield, Ill. 1920.
 MELVIN M. ISRAEL, 50 East 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.

- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. FLEMING JAMES, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1921.
- Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1919.
- [Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 421 Washington St., Norwichtown, Conn. 1916.
- FRANKLIN PLOTINOS JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, care of Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India. 1921.
- NELSON TRUMER JOHNSON, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- CHARLES JOHNSTON, 80 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, Chang Wang Hutung, The Old Drum Tower Road, Peking, China. 1919.
- FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Box 95, Coytesville, N. J. 1918.
- Mrs. RUSSELL K. (Alice Judson) JONES, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- FELIX KAHN, Hotel Alma, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- JULIUS KAHN, 429 Wick Ave., Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
- Dean MAXIMO M. KALAW, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 East Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Rabbi C. E. HILLEL KACVAB, Ph.D., 1607 Gilpin St., Denver, Colo. 1921.
- Prof. ELMER LOUIS KATSER (George Washington Univ.), 3129 O St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- PFR. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Rev. JAMES L. KELSO, 501 North Walnut St., Bloomington, Ind. 1921.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Royal Oak, Md. 1916.
- ISADORE KEYFITZ, 4020 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1921.
- Prof. TAIKEN KIMURA, Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- EUGENE KLEIN, 1318 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi SAMUEL KOCH, M.A., 916 Twentieth Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1921.
- PFR. KAUFMANN KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAKING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. GEORGES S. KUKUL, care of Y. M. C. A., Davies-Bryan Building, Cairo, Egypt. 1917.

- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Aitott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
 Pandit D. K. LADDU, 833 Sadashiva Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
 HAROLD ALBERT LAMB, 7 West 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
 Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 12, Zap, Mercer Co., N. Dak. 1917.
 *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
 AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. L. H. LARIMER, D.D., Hanna Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio. 1921.
 Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1917.
 Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
 Rabbi JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
 SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.
 DARWIN A. LEAVITT (Univ. of Chicago), 5767 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
 Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 1833 Forest Ave., Dallas, Texas. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. LEON LEGRAIN, Univ. of Penna. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
 Rabbi GIBSON B. LEVI, Ph.D., 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Rabbi SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
 ISIDOR S. LEVITAN, 124 North Fremont Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Mrs. LEE LOEB, 53 Gibbs St., Charleston, S. C. 1920.
 Prof. LINDSAT B. LONGACHE, 2272 South Filmore St., Denver, Colo. 1918.
 Rev. ARNOLD E. LOOK, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1920.
 Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, JR., 267 Clarendon St., Boston, Mass. 1916.
 Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1916.
 Prof. ALBERT HOWE LUTHER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 West California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
 Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
 ALBERT MORTON LYTHER, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
 Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
 DAVID ISRAEL MACIET, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 RALPH W. MACE, 3836 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Dr. ROBERT CECIL MACMAHON, 78 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Dr. JUDAH I. MAGNES, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Rabbi EDGAR F. MAGNIN, 2187 West 16th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1920.
 Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOWN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

- Prof. HENRY MALTER (Dropsie College), 1531 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. JACOB MANN (Baltimore Hebrew College), 1819 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 92 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 144 East 74th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL MASHY (Ewing Christian College, Allahabad), 54 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB R. MARCUS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- RALPH MARCUS, 531 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ARTHUR WILLIAM MARGIT, 157 Homestead St., Roxbury, Mass. 1920.
- HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 West Horner St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Prof. H. I. MARSHALL (Karen Theol. Seminary), Insein, Burma, India. 1920.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. D. ROY MATHEWS, Northwestern Military Academy, Lake Geneva, Wis. 1920.
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD (Univ. of Chicago), 2132 West 110th Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEER (Meadville Theol. School), 650 Arch St., Meadville, Pa. 1917.
- HENRY MEIS, 806 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi RAPHAEL H. MELAMED, Ph.D., 1295 Central Ave., Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- R. D. MESSAYER, 49 East 127th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Rabbi MYRON M. MEYERHOVITZ, Alexandria, La. 1920.
- Dr. THOMAS MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- MERTON L. MILLER, care of International Banking Corporation, Cebu, P. I. 1921.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, 3407 North 5th St., Des Moines, Iowa. 1892.
- Rabbi LOUIS A. MISHKIN, M.A., Tremont Temple, Grand Concourse and Burnside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN MONCURE, Box 179, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 7 Cavendish Mansions, Langham St., London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 5806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.

- FREDERICK MOORE, Japanese Embassy, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 *MRS. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
 Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 3988 Parker Place, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
 *EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Tyn-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
 Hon. ROLAND S. MORRIS, 1617 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
 Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
 Rev. OMER HELMAN MOTT, Belmont Abbey, Belmont, N. C. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM (International Y. M. C. A. College), 90 High St., Springfield, Mass. 1921 (1898).
 Sardar G. N. MUJUMDAR, 187 Ksaba Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
 Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 203 Radnor Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
 Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLD, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.
 Prof. H. NAU (Luther College), 324 South Jefferson Davis Parkway, New Orleans, La. 1921.
 Prof. EDOUARD NAVILLE (Univ. of Geneva), Malagny near Geneva, Switzerland. 1921.
 Prof. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBITT, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
 Professor WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
 EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, 12 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
 Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, care of Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
 Mrs. CHARLES F. NORTON, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1919.
 Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
 ADOLF S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Rt. Rev. DENIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
 Dr. FELIX, FREIHERR VON OEFFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
 HERBERT C. OETTINGER, Eighth and Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Mrs. MYER OETTINGER, Rose Hill and Redbud Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 NAOTOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
 Dr. CHARLES J. OUDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
 Dr. ELLEN S. OUDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
 Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
 Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMESTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 706 South Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
 Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Assiut College, Assiut, Egypt. 1921.
 Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
 ROBERT LEEY PATTERSON, Shickla, Allegheny Co., Pa. 1920.
 Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.

- JAL DESTAR CURSETJI PAVRY, 21 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Dr. CHARLES PRABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
 HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
 Dr. JOSEPH LOUIS PERRIER, 315 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERLIN (Boston Univ.), Wellesley Hills, Mass. 1921.
 Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 512 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
 Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
 [Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, University of the South, Seawance, Tenn. 1882.
 Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. 1909.
 ROBERT HENRY PFEDFER, 39 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
 Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
 Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands. 1917.
 JULIAN A. POLLAK, 927 Redway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 PAUL POPENOE, Theatrical, Cal. 1914.
 Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
 Rev. Dr. THOMAS PORTER (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary), 3 Rua Padre Vieira, Campinas, Brazil. 1921.
 D. V. POTDAR, 180 Shivajee Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. SARTRELL PRENTICE, 127 South Broadway, Nyack, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
 Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark. 1888.
 CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUESSNER, Krainat 19, Weltevreden, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1921.
 Prof. ALEXANDER C. PURDY, Earlham College, Earlham, Ind. 1921.
 Prof. HERBERT R. PURINTON, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. 1921.
 Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
 Dr. G. PAYN QUACKENBOS, Northrup Ave., Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
 Rev. Dr. MAX RAISIN, 1063 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
 Dr. V. V. RAMANA-SASTRIN, Vedastaniam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
 Prof. H. M. RAMSEY, Seabury Divinity School, Fairbault, Minn. 1920.
 MARCUS RAUB, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 185 College Ave., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
 Prof. HARRY B. REED, 812 North 10th St., Fargo, N. Dak. 1921.
 Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
 JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 150th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
 Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane Shiba, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.
 Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.

- RL. REV. PHILIP M. KHEINLANDER, 251 So. 22d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
 PROF. ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLE, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.
 DR. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.
 REV. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
 PROF. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 PROF. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
 PROF. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 HARRY L. ROSEN, 831 South 3d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 DR. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 *JULIUS ROSENWALD, care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
 SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 MISS ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 DR. ELEBERT RUSSELL, Woolmer House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
 RABBI SAMUEL SALE, 4621 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
 RABBI MARCUS SALEMAN, Ph.D., 94 West Ross St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 1920.
 REV. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
 PROF. HENRY A. SANDERS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1921.
 MRS. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 PROF. HENRY P. SCHAEFFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1016 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
 GOTTLIEB SCHAEFFELIN, 2618 Oswego Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 DR. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
 DR. JOHANN F. SCHELTZEMA, care of Kerkhoven and Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Netherlands. 1906.
 JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 1430 Woodhaven Boulevard, Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.
 (A. K. SCHMAVONIAN, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 PROF. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 ADOLPH SCHENFELD, 321 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
 RABBI WILLIAM B. SCHWARTZ, Montgomery, Ala. 1921.
 WILLIAM BACON SCOTFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
 PROF. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
 PROF. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 *MRS. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*nee* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 PROF. HELEN M. SEARLES, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.
 DR. MOSES SEIDEL (Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Seminary), 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 H. A. SKINSKIMER, Fourth and Pike Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 REV. DR. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Mosher St., Baltimore, Md. 1902.
 O. R. SELLERS, Wentworth Military Academy, Lexington, Mo. 1917.
 MAX SENIOR, 21 Mitchell Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.

- G. HOWLAND SHAW, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Rev. WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR, 43 Madison Ave., Madison, N. J. 1919.
 Prof. WILLIAM A. SHELTON, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. 1921.
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
 ANDREW R. SHERIFF, The Chicago Club, 404 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.
 GYOKSHU SHIBATA, 330 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. and Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
 HIRAM HILL SILES, Rajahmundry, Godavery District, India. 1920.
 JACK H. SKIRBALL, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. S. B. SLACK, Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
 *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14^{bis} Rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Union Theol. Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Dr. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
 Rev. WILBUR MOOREHEAD SMITH, Ocean City, Md. 1921.
 Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Box 796, Fargo, N. Dak. 1916.
 Rev. Dr. ELIAS L. SOLOMON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 1326 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. EDMUND D. SOPER, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 Prof. VENKATESH VAMAN SOFANI, Meerut College, Meerut, U. P., India. 1921.
 ALEXANDER N. SPANAKIDIS. 1920.
 Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Assistant Director General of Archaeology in India, "Benmore," Simla, Panjab, India. 1918.
 Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. WALLACE N. STEARNS, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.
 Dr. W. STEDE, Osterdeich 195, Bremen, Germany. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
 HERMAN STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 MAX STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. THOMAS STENHOUSE, Mickley Vicarage, Stocksfield-on-Tyne, England. 1921.
 M. T. STEHLYN, P. O. Box 7, Vladivostok, East Siberia. 1919.
 HORACE STERN, 1524 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
 Mrs. W. YORKE STEVENSON, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, West Stockbridge, Mass. 1900.
 Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 4714 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. FREDERICK ANNE STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1263, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
 Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, 22 Carnac Road, Kalbadevi P. O., Bombay, India. 1921.
 HOG. MATYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.

- Prof. LEO SUFFAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2109a Russell Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE SYVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
- Prof. FRED J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.
- EREN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, 126 Manhattan Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY A. TOMB (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- BATOU DR. GYOTU TOKIWA (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Isshinden, Province of Ise, Japan. 1921.
- DEAN HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 4138 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1918.
- Prof. RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India. 1921.
- Prof. HAROLD H. TRYON (Union Theol. Seminary), 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB TURNER, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rev. DUDLEY TYNG, 37 Congress St., Milford, Mass. 1920.
- *Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, College Bungalow, Arundelpet, Guntur, Madras Presidency, India. 1921.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Rev. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, Ph.D. (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1908.
- Rev. JOHN VAN ESS, Baza, Mesopotamia. 1921.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- Rev. M. VANOVERBERGH (Bangor Catholic School), Bangor La Union, P. I. 1921.
- Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSBELAER, 157 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. ARTHUR A. VANBRALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. J. PH. VOGEL (Univ. of Leiden), Noordeindeplein 4a, Leiden, Netherlands. 1921.
- LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. JACOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzerland. 1921.
- Regent EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J., School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 506 E St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- *FELIX M. WARRBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- †Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.

- *Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- Miss ISABEL C. WELLS, 1609 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. O. V. WERNER, 1507 Metropolitan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYER, 12-16 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- MORRIS F. WESTEIMER, Traction Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. MILTON C. J. WESTPHAL, 2348 Seneca St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- RICHARD B. WETHERILL, M.D., 525 Columbia St., Lafayette, Ind. 1921.
- PROF. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- FREDERICK B. WHEELER, R. F. D. No. 1, Seymour, Conn. 1921.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
- PROF. WILBERT W. WHITE, D.D., Bible Teachers Training School, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Miss ETHEL E. WHITNEY, Hotel Hemmway, Boston, Mass. 1921.
- *Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, 520 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- PETER WIENIK, 220 Henry St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- HERMAN WILE, Ellicott and Carroll Sts., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chestbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. CLARENCE RUSSELL WILLIAMS, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1920.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- Prof. CURT PAUL WIMMER, Columbia University, College of Pharmacy, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Major HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINGLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rabbi JONAH B. WISE, 715 Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Ore. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WINHART (Xenia Theol. Seminary), 6834 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1911.
- HENRY B. WYTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ont., Canada. 1885.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 20 Tajimacho, Asakusa, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON (Univ. of Wisconsin), 1113 West Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
- Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.

- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
 Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 23 North Main St., Hanover, N. H. 1917.
 Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 16 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 Prof. A. C. WOOLNER, University of the Panjab, Lahore, India. 1921.
 Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH, (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
 Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Vengurla, Bombay Presidency, India. 1921.
 JOHN MAX WULFING, 3448 Longfellow Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.
 Miss ELEANOR F. F. YEAWORTH, 6237 Bellona Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
 Rev. S. C. YLVIKAKER, Ph.D., 1317 Dayton Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 1913.
 Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 LOUIS GABRIEL ZELSON, 427 Titan St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.
 JOSEPH SOLOMON ZUCKERBAUM (Miztachi Teachers' Institute), 2 West 111th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, Holland, Mich. 1920.

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